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The AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW



Vol. LVII, No. 1

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Still Another Renaissance?

ROBERT SABATINO LOPEZ

WE have certainly gone a long way toward the full rehabilitation of the Middle Ages since the days when Oliver Goldsmith hardly dared include Dante, "who first followed nature and was persecuted by the critics as long as he lived," in his description of the brave new world of polite learning. The outer works of the medieval citadel already have crumbled under a concentric attack. On the one hand, Pirenne has shown that Roman institutions, economy, and culture survived in western Europe up to the time of Heraclius and Mohammed in the seventh century. On the other hand, Michelet's and Burckhardt's Renaissance—with a capital *R*—has been extended backward until it has amalgamated, as it were, with Haskins' twelfth-century renaissance, which in turn has been traced to causes deeply rooted in the religious, political, and social stirrings of the late eleventh century. There still remained some three or four hundred years of medieval bleakness—but even this is so illuminated by the Carolingian renaissance, the Anglo-Saxon renaissance, and the Ottonian renaissance, that one wonders whether any meaning is left to the term Middle Ages. Indeed Liutprand of Cremona knew more Greek than did Shakespeare, and the Goliardic poems were less otherworldly than the *Paradise Lost*. Read Alfons Dopsch uncritically,

and you may be led to think that in so far as economy and institutions are concerned there were no Middle Ages at all. Follow the meandering thought of Strzygowski up to its extreme conclusions, and you may be forced to blush for having regarded the Middle Ages as artistic decadence. You also may feel distress at living in the twentieth century if you share the enthusiasm of certain Neo-Guelph writers for what they call the Age of Faith.¹

We must not exaggerate. Obviously there was a strong difference between the empires of Constantine, Charlemagne, and Charles V; obviously the renaissances of Alcuin and Abelard were a far cry from that of Michelangelo and More. Perhaps not so obvious, but equally undeniable, is the fact that the lofty ideals of medieval religion were no more, though no less, effective in molding political activity and the way of life than are our ideals of democracy, equality, toleration, and progress. Yet it has become apparent that the Middle Ages were not a uniform stretch of depression, that there were lights as well as shadows, and that the turning point—if there are any turning points in the history of civilization—lies neither at the beginning nor at the end but right in the middle. We are still duly impressed by the twilight of the fifth century and the glare of the fifteenth, but we regard the dawn of the tenth century as the announcement of more profound changes. If renaissance be understood in its original meaning of revival, new birth, or, indeed, new conception, no period in European history seems entitled to be called renaissance more than the tenth century.

What was born in the renaissance of the tenth century? First of all, a great many children. This is a very elementary, but very important basis for the birth of a new age. Though many scholars have maintained that the growth of the population at that period was not owing to an increase in the birth rate but to better chances of survival for the living—and hence it was a consequence rather than a cause of progress—there are no proofs at all that life was more sheltered and that economic resources were more plentiful in the tenth century than they had been before. There were certainly as many wars and probably as many epidemics as in the ninth century. The important technical improvements in agriculture and transportation which made their appearance in the tenth century could not spread so rapidly and so generally

¹ It would be impossible to supply adequate references in a paper which endeavors to survey the civilization of the tenth century in some of its broadest and most controversial aspects. The paper is based largely on a re-examination of primary sources, but the reader will easily discover how much it owes to classic works such as those of Michele Amari, Marc Bloch, Charles Homer Haskins, Eduardo Hinojosa, Ernst Mayer, Henri Pirenne, Silvio Pivano, Adolf Schaube, and many others who have not always been cited, including some with whose views the writer disagrees. Citations in the footnotes list only a few recent contributions which seem remarkable or which give references to sources and earlier research. For the latter reason—namely, their bibliographies—some papers of the writer also have been cited.

that they might change the expectation of life of the common man everywhere in Europe. Moreover, there are indications that in the tenth century the population trend was common to the entire Old World, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, including regions where the economic and political background was radically different from that of the European West. In western Europe more men handling better tools headed for a millennium of material and moral progress, but in northwest Africa a long depression followed the peak of the tenth century, and in China the increase of the population seems to have spelled greater poverty to the masses.²

We cannot tell why the human plant became more vigorous and fertile in the tenth century, even as we are unable to forecast demographic trends in the near future, but we can trace its growth throughout the Eastern Hemisphere. The Chinese census of 845 recorded a population of some thirty millions; almost ninety millions were counted in 1083. Without forgetting Wittfogel's warning about the unreliability of Chinese population figures we may accept the figures as rough indications of a trend which is confirmed by other sources. A writer of the early eleventh century draws a grim picture of the agrarian proletariat, forced to bid for work in the large estates where immigrants are welcome if they bend their back to a hard yoke. Other laborers left their homes in old China to colonize frontier regions in the south. Still farther south, in Malay and Sumatra, the "enormous population" of the kingdoms of Zābag and Kalāh, then at their height, amazed the Muslim travelers. These travelers also noted the swift growth of the Chola empire in India. Other peoples were spilling over from the great reservoir of central Asia. The Mongolian tribes of the Khitai and the Tangut broke through the Great Wall to occupy part of the oldest Chinese territory in the north. Other Mongolians and Turks had to look for outlets more to the west. Large groups encroached upon Muslim territory, where they met many of their kinsmen who had previously entered the caliphate as mercenaries or as slaves. Tens of thousands of Turks and Slavs were sold, often by fathers who had no surplus products to offer but children, in the Muslim markets, already well stocked with Negro slaves. Some Turkish bands, unable to find

² While waiting for the publication of the proceedings of the Ninth International Historical Convention in Paris, where demographic problems were discussed at length, one may see the bibliography in Josiah C. Russell, "Demographic Pattern in History," *Population Studies*, I (1948). A particularly optimistic view in Hans van Werveke, "De Bevolkingsdichtheid in de IXe eeuw," *Annales du XXXe Congrès de la Fédération archéologique et historique de Belgique* (1936). Perhaps the most convincing reason for the turning of the tide in the West is that suggested by Strayer: "Europe had hit rock-bottom. . . . Now that there was little left to destroy, almost any activity had to be constructive." (Joseph R. Strayer and Dana C. Munro, *The Middle Ages* [New York, 1942], p. 158.) This, however, does not account for similar population trends in the Near and Far East. Could climate have something to do with secular waves in demographic cycles?

a *Lebensraum* in Asia, after a long trek were finally exterminated in Greece; a large section of the Magyar people successfully concluded a still longer trek in central Europe; other tribes held out in the Near East and laid the foundations of what was later to be the Seljuk Empire.³

Demographic pressure also was growing among the Muslims; no wonder when, thanks to polygamy, spinsters were extremely rare. The mass movement of Muslim peoples in the tenth century surpassed in size if not in military achievements the expeditions of the first caliphs. Bands of ghazis (warriors for the faith) traded blows with the Byzantine *akritai* of the Anatolian frontier and with Lombards and Saxons in southern Italy. Others poured into India with the Ghaznevids, struck far north up to and beyond the Alps, swarmed southward into the African desert. There, on artificially irrigated land which now the desert has reconquered, Sijilmāsa became the capital of a thriving heretic kingdom. At the opposite end of the hemisphere, other Muslim heretics settled in Korea. Isolated pioneers and caravans of merchants reached countries untouched by Muslim conquest and colonization. They went up the frozen rivers of northern Russia and down along the torrid coasts of southeast Africa. Some of them made their way through uncivilized Finnish and western Slavic territory to the half-civilized outposts of western Europe. Here they met other Muslims who came north from Spain. "England," says a Persian geographer of the tenth century, "is the mart of the Romans and of the Andalusians." A sailor's tale, which may contain a kernel of truth, tells of a Muslim ship which sailed westward from Lisbon and was stranded on an island in the Atlantic inhabited by savages. The splendor of the Umayyad and Fatimid caliphates of Spain and Egypt at that time fully offset the political eclipse of the Abassid regime. To be sure, the "Renaissance of the Islam," as Mez calls the climax of Muslim expansion, was not limited to the tenth century, but recent investigations of Lombard and Minorsky tend to show that the tenth century marked the zenith.⁴

³ Karl A. Wittfogel and Fêng Chia-shêng, *History of Chinese Society, Liào*, in *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, XXXVI (Philadelphia, 1949); René Grousset, *Histoire de la Chine* (Paris, 1942) and *L'Empire des steppes* (2d ed., Paris, 1941); Lawrence P. Briggs, "The Khmer Empire and the Malay Peninsula," *Far Eastern Quarterly*, IX (1950); Vasilii V. Barthold, *Vorlesungen über die Geschichte der Türken Mittelasiens* (Berlin, 1935); Gyula Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2 vols. (Budapest, 1942-43); Gina Fasoli, *Le incursioni ungare in Europa nel secolo X* (Florence, 1945).

⁴ Adam Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islams* (Heidelberg, 1922)—a rather infelicitous English translation appeared in Calcutta and London in 1927, extraordinarily enough, under the name of the translator; Maurice Lombard, "L'Or musulman du vii^e au xi^e siècle" and "Mahomet et Charlemagne," *Annales (Économies-Sociétés-Civilisations)*, II and III (1947-48); Vladimir Minorsky, introd. and footnotes to *Hudud al-Akam* (London, 1937); Evariste Lévi-Provençal, *Histoire de l'Espagne musulmane*, I (Cairo, 1943)—Spanish translation, with an introd. by E. García Gómez (Madrid, 1950); Gaston Wiet, *L'Égypte arabe* (Paris, 1937), mediocre; Wolsceley

The tenth century was perhaps the brightest in the Middle Ages for other peoples who did not belong to the "Christiana Respublica," the Catholic Commonwealth—the Greeks, the Russians, and the Jews. Indeed in the ninth century already the "Radanite" Jews shuttled between Spain and China by three land and sea routes, but they were a small group of merchants whose precarious prosperity rested upon the general decline of trade and the blocking of commercial routes to others. Later, in the twelfth century, the Jewish communities probably were larger and had more strings to their harp, but they were restricted by growing Catholic and Muslim intolerance. In the tenth century Jewish colonies flourished throughout the Eastern Hemisphere, persecution being exceptional and localized, and their demographic and economic expansion paid dividends in the intellectual field. In a large part of western Europe the Jews were unchallenged leaders in trade; in the Muslim world they often rose to the highest economic, social, and official positions; in the Khazar state they ruled.⁵ The collapse of Khazaria before the end of the tenth century only marked the triumph of Kievan Russia, another civilization which reached its material and moral zenith about that time. When we admire the achievements of the early Russian state we must not think only in terms of towns springing up as if by enchantment along a thin lifeline of rivers which were alleys to international trade. Towns and trade were very remarkable for the time, but they did not endure. More lasting was the obscure work of peasants breaking the primeval forest far beyond the pale.⁶ Nor must we forget that the tenth century saw perhaps the finest hour of the Byzantine Empire. Industry and trade flourished in the towns, and the emperors defended the peasants from enemy incursions and from the relentless pressure of the "powerful," the barons and the monasteries which tried to enlarge their immense holdings. Although one may question whether higher peaks were not reached at other periods, there can be no doubt that under the Macedonian dynasty the power, the wealth, the literary and artistic production of the oldest empire in Europe blossomed in a new youth.⁷

Haig, *Cambridge History of India*, III (1928); Gerard Salinger, "Was the Futūwa an Oriental Form of Chivalry?" *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, XCIV (1950); Francesco Gabrieli, *Storia e civiltà musulmana* (Naples, 1947); etc.

⁵ Julius Brutzkus, "Trade with Eastern Europe, 800-1200," *Economic History Review*, XIII (1943); Walter J. Fischel, *The Jews in the Economic and Political Life of the Medieval Islam* (London, 1937); Lewis Rabinowitz, *Jewish Merchant Adventurers* (London, 1948)—but see the review of this book by Joshua Starr in *Jewish Social Studies*, XII (1950), 276 ff.

⁶ Exhaustive bibliography in George Vernadsky, *Kievan Russia* (New Haven, 1948).

⁷ On the Byzantine population, see André M. Andréadès in *Byzantium*, ed. Norman H. Baynes and Henry St. L. B. Moss, pp. 51-70; on agrarian developments, bibliography in George Ostrogorsky in *Cambridge Economic History*, I, 579-83—and see now Peter Charanis, "The Monastic Properties and the State in the Byzantine Empire," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, IV (1948);

For the larger part of Europe the tenth century was the prime of youth. The peoples were small but they grew rapidly in numbers. Overpopulated and quarrelsome Scandinavia engaged in one of the most daring westward treks in history. Between 874 and 930 hundreds of Norsemen with their households settled in faraway Iceland. At the close of the period what had been called the "Desert in the Ocean" had a population of about 25,000 according to conservative estimates. Less than fifty years later, a new migration led to the establishment of some 280 farms in Greenland, where no farming is attempted today. Neither country, however, sufficed to the expansion of the Scandinavians, who before the century was over sought another outlet in America. Meanwhile settlement in the three Scandinavian kingdoms was becoming thicker, and Varangians, Normans, and Danes roamed far and wide into the core of Europe.⁸ Here they found more organized resistance than in the recent past. The core of Europe in the tenth century witnessed a tremendous quickening of the settlement process which had been carried out in a desultory way before the great invasions of the ninth century. No matter how much destruction was left by later returns of the Norse, Slavic, Magyar, or Saracen invaders, in the tenth century there always were landless peasants eager to go to the deserted lands and to exploit more and more thoroughly whatever new areas were offered to the plow. True, there still were countries so rich in unused land that the cultivators fluctuated from one region to another, clearing a forest and exploiting the soil until its exhaustion forced them again to move, clear another forest, and let the former clearing recover its mantle of trees. In a large part of western Europe, however, the peasants had to learn how to economize the soil and how to make inferior land productive. Reclamation of marshes, irrigation of waste, changes in the rotation of crops, and improvements in agricultural tools first appear or become more frequent in the tenth century.⁹

Gautier and Marçais have gathered information to prove that about the same period a sedentary civilization, based on intensive agriculture and city life, was emerging in northwest Africa. Around 1050, however, the invasions of the Hilalian Arabs again set loose the nomadic tribes and frus-

on town life, industry, and trade, bibliography in Robert S. Lopez, "Silk Industry in the Byzantine Empire," *Speculum*, XX (1945). It is also worth noting that the Bulgarian Empire also was at its peak in the tenth century although the superior force of the Byzantine Empire crushed it.

⁸ Poul Nörlund, *Viking Settlers in Greenland and Their Descendants* (London, 1936); Halldór Hermannsson, *The Vinland Sagas* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1944); Knut Liestøl, *The Origin of the Icelandic Family Sagas* (Oslo, 1930); further bibliography in Giovanni Bach *et al.*, *The History of the Scandinavian Literatures* (New York, 1938).

⁹ Richard Koebner in *Cambridge Economic History*, I, 1-88, with a select bibliography pp. 565-70; see also below, nn. 26, 27, 28.

trated all attempts to build the entire country into a prosperous nation.¹⁰ At the same time, or shortly thereafter, the development of the Byzantine Empire and that of Kievan Russia also were interrupted by the clash with other wanderers, the Seljuk and Petcheneg Turks. The region of western and central Europe was more fortunate. The process of settlement, so happily undertaken in the tenth century, has continued and gathered new speed ever since; the anonymous toil of the peasants prepared and accompanied the slow emergence of the bourgeoisie, which was to gain momentum in the following centuries from the spring of the medieval commercial revolution to the summer of the contemporary Industrial Revolution. The humble beginnings of the tenth century ushered in the long age of European preponderance in the world.

Although the European bourgeoisie was puny as compared to the urban masses of other areas, the revival of old towns and the birth of new ones in the tenth century were of greater consequence than the flowering of larger cities in the Chinese, Muslim, or Byzantine worlds. The latter were not allowed to develop unbrokenly, great disasters often succeeding periods of unequaled prosperity. In the tenth century, however, the growth of the population everywhere swelled the towns faster than the villages. It was then that Peking began to play a great role as one of the five "capitals" of the Liao empire. In the same period Cairo and Tunis, heirs to Memphis and Carthage, jumped to the foreground in Egypt and northwest Africa. Of the old capitals which preserved their rank Constantinople outshone Baghdad because the Byzantine Empire was attaining a new youth whereas the Abassid caliphate was on the verge of disintegrating, but the economic prosperity of Baghdad continued to grow notwithstanding the political crisis.¹¹ In western Europe, Paris and London reached for the functions of national and international leaders, which no French or English city had fulfilled before. Among the many villages which became towns in the tenth century we may number Algiers and Antwerp, to limit ourselves to the first letter of the alphabet. Bolghar, Bremen, Kiev, Itil, Magdeburg, Prague, frontier towns in half-developed surroundings, became gathering places for the agricultural surpluses of their districts and meeting places for merchants of distant regions. In southern Europe the old Roman towns rebuilt the walls, built new suburbs, and faced unyieldingly wave after wave of invasion, the

¹⁰ Emile Gautier, *Les siècles obscurs du Maghreb* (Paris, 1927); Georges Marçais, *La Berbérie musulmane et l'Orient au moyen âge* (Paris, 1946). Above all, however, see the greatest historian of the Middle Ages, Ibn Khaldun; bibliography on him in Charles Issawi, *An Arab Philosophy of History* (London, 1950).

¹¹ On Peking see Wittfogel and Fêng, and Grousset, cited above, n. 3. On the Muslim towns see the pertinent articles in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*; more recent works by Jean Sauvaget, Reuben Lévy, Evariste Lévi-Provençal, etc., are listed in the select bibliography by Lopez in *Cambridge Economic History*, II.

repetition of the raids being in itself a proof that new riches were being accumulated constantly. Pavia, for instance, was half destroyed in 924 by the Magyars; fifty years later, it was a lively commercial center impressing Hrotswitha with its unusual size. Asti, a minor town near the Alpine passes where the Saracens of Fraxinetum were constantly preying upon traders and pilgrims, astonished an Arab traveler by the efficient organization of its market.¹²

As a matter of fact, in the tenth century the techniques which had given Easterners an overwhelming superiority in trade were being adopted in some parts of Europe, Italy above all. *Collegastia* or *commenda* agreements between an investor and a manager, Europe's improved version of the Muslim *mudharaba* and of the Byzantine *chreokoinonia*, are mentioned in a Venetian document of 976 together with other important commercial contracts of the new age. These contracts were to the growing number of *negotiatores* and *mercatores* what the *complantatio* and the *colonia partiaria* agreements between a landowner and a peasant, also emerging in Italy and southern France at that period, were to agricultural life. They brought together capital and labor in the most convenient way. Their origin probably goes much farther back than the first references in extant documents, but their spread was chiefly a new phenomenon of the tenth century and of the following ones.¹³ The legal instruments of commercial expansion were thus made available, but expansion could take place only if the means of communication were improved. The newly contrived Italo-Byzantine galley, which supplied a happy compromise between sturdiness and capaciousness on the one hand, speed and cheapness on the other, was now taking the upper hand over the Viking boat, so fast and easy to build but hopelessly small and

¹² J. Lestocquoy, "The Tenth Century," *Economic History Review*, XVII (1947); François L. Ganshof, *Etude sur le développement des villes entre Loire et Rhin au moyen âge* (Paris and Brussels, 1944); Hans Planitz, "Frühgeschichte der deutschen Stadt IX-XI Jahrhunderts," *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte*, Germ. Abt., LXIII (1943); André Dupont, *Les cités de la Narbonnaise première depuis les invasions germaniques jusqu'au Consulat* (Nîmes, 1942); Luis G. de Valdeavellano, "El mercado, apuntes para su estudio en León y Castilla," *Anuario de historia del derecho español*, VIII (1931)—for Catalonia, where markets are mentioned in the tenth century but there is no notable development of towns, see now José M. Font Rius, "Orígenes del régimen municipal de Cataluña," *ibid.*, XVI (1945); James Tait, *The Medieval English Borough* (Manchester, 1936); Filippo Carli, *Il mercato nell'alto medioevo and Il mercato nell'età del Comune* (Padua, 1931 and 1936); Gino Luzzatto, *Storia economica d'Italia*, I (Rome, 1949). Further bibliography in Hans van Werveke in *Cambridge Economic History*, II.

¹³ The voluminous bibliography on the *commenda* is listed in Guido Astuti, *Origini e svolgimento della commenda fino al secolo XIII* (Turin, 1933) and that on other commercial contracts in Enrico Besta, *Le obbligazioni nella storia del diritto italiano* (Padua, 1937); some more recent works are listed in Section III of R. S. Lopez and Irving W. Raymond, *Medieval Trade in the Mediterranean World* (to appear in the "Records of Civilization" series of the Columbia University Press). On agrarian contracts, bibliography in Juan Beneyto-Pérez, *Estudios sobre la historia del régimen agrario* (Barcelona, 1941); Mario Luzzatto, "Contributo alla storia del contratto di mezzadria," *Nuova rivista storica*, XXXII (1948); Roger Grand and Raymond Delatouche, *L'agriculture au moyen âge* (Paris, 1950).

fragile. The Norsemen themselves were to build larger if slower vessels. In overland transportation slow barges pulled by oars or towed by man and horse through river and canal were still rendering important services in the conveyance of cheap bulky goods, but they could not carry all the merchandise. Happily the horseshoe and the horse collar, long known to Slavs, Greeks, and Orientals but seldom used in western Europe before, in the tenth century spread rapidly to the German and Romance peoples. Henceforth the full power of the horse would be used. In mountainous regions, however, mules were long to remain more useful than horses—and it was another important gain that mules became more common and less expensive as the century advanced.¹⁴

This incipient commercial revolution multiplied the opportunities for international trade and intercourse. Travel ceased to be looked upon as an abnormal and presumably ill-intentioned activity. At the beginning of the tenth century the Byzantine Empire still confined foreign merchants to special buildings in a small number of towns and forbade them to settle within its borders. Similar restrictions existed in the Muslim territory and in Catholic Europe, although they were not fully enforced. During the tenth century, however, the example of China, which permitted foreigners to found autonomous commercial colonies was imitated in other countries. The Muslims established autonomous settlements in India, in the Khazar state, and in Constantinople. Soon al-Bīrunī would be able to show the immense progress of geography since the time of Ptolemy. "The different peoples," he says, "are brought together in mutual understanding. . . . To obtain information concerning places of the earth has now become incomparably easier and safer." Even Catholic Europe organized inns along the main highways and multiplied the fairs where strangers might trade for a limited time. The roads were crammed with travelers from every walk of life. French adventurers flocked to Italy under King Hugh, Italian scholars were invited to Germany by the Saxonian emperors, German missionaries spread their *Kultur* to the more or less willing Slavs. Bishops and prelates were

¹⁴ André Haudricourt, "De l'origine de l'attelage moderne," *Annales d'histoire économique et sociale*, VIII (1936); Lynn T. White, "Technology and Invention in the Middle Ages," *Speculum*, XV (1940); Carl Stephenson, "In Praise of Medieval Tinkers," *Journal of Economic History*, VIII (1948), and see, on the same documents, Franz M. Feldhaus, *Geschichte der Technik der Antike und des Mittelalters* (Potsdam, 1931), pp. 253 ff.; Leicester B. Holland, *Traffic Ways about France in the Dark Ages* (Allentown, Pa., 1919); Giulio C. Zimolo, "Cremona nella storia della navigazione interna," *Atti e memorie del III Congresso storico Lombardo* (Milan, 1939), etc. But there is no work dealing specially with the mule, and no satisfactory work on Scandinavian shipping. On the Byzantine navy there is some information in Louis Bréhier, *Les institutions de l'Empire Byzantin* (Paris, 1949), pp. 404 ff.; on later Italian ships the most recent works are Raffaele Di Tucci, *Studi sull'economia genovese del secolo XII* (Turin, 1933) and Frederic C. Lane, *Venetian Ships and Shipbuilders of the Renaissance* (Baltimore, 1934).

carried by their official duties to distant sees, where they came across Anglo-Saxon pilgrims, Byzantine emissaries, Muslim and Mozarab merchants. Along the road from Verdun to the Alps Jewish slave traders and Lotharingian clergy traveled happily together.¹⁵

This mobility of the population partly offset the isolation of manor and fief in the vacuum which the final collapse of the still-born Carolingian Empire had left. The necessity of joining forces against common enemies—Saracens, Magyars, Normans, or merely unruly noblemen across the border—created new ties. On the one hand, the Mediterranean, which had never been barred to Byzantine, Venetian, or Amalfitan convoys, now became a better link between opposite shores. Too much credence has been given to the retroactive boast of a fourteenth-century Muslim historian, that in the tenth century "the Christians could not float a plank on the sea"; two Muslim historians of the tenth century mention peaceful trade between African and Christian seaports, and naval attacks by Christians, whom the Muslims could not easily withstand.¹⁶ On the other hand, Europe was now emerging as a new economic, cultural, and political unit. The imperial restoration of Otto the Great was much more durable than that of Charlemagne. The emperor not only welded together Germany and Italy but also acted as a superior lord and arbiter in France, and found the king of Burgundy a most obedient vassal. His successors were to have little authority beyond the limits of the empire, but the shrinking of the empire would be counterbalanced by the expansion of the church. Already in the tenth century Gerbert—Sylvester II, the adviser of Hugh Capet and the collaborator of Otto III—stands out as a far more prepossessing figure than Pope Leo III, the supporter of Charlemagne. He was an intellectual leader, and, by sending a crown to St. Stephen of Hungary, he began the series of monarchs who were to acknowledge their kingdoms as fiefs held of the see of St. Peter.¹⁷

¹⁵ Bibliography in R. S. Lopez, "Du marché temporaire à la colonie permanente," *Annales (Economies-Sociétés-Civilisations)*, IV (1949); Etienne Sabbe, "L'importation des tissus orientaux en Europe Occidentale aux ix^e et x^e siècles," *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire*, XIV (1935); Nafis Ahmad, *Muslim Contribution to Geography* (Lahore, 1947). The statements of al-Biruni (973-1048), who lived at the court of Ghaznah, stem from the same period as the first movements for the Peace of God and Truce of God in France. On these the most recent work is Roger Bonnaud-Delamare, "Fondement des institutions de paix au xi^e siècle," *Mélanges d'histoire du moyen âge dédiés à la mémoire de Louis Halphen* (Paris, 1951).

¹⁶ It is unfortunate that the great work of a great master has given a new lease of life to the double misconception which described the Muslims as hostile to trade with the Christians and the Christians as afraid of sailing in waters dominated by the Muslims. On the economic aspects of the problem besides Lombard, quoted above, see the select bibliography in Daniel C. Dennett, "Pirenne and Muhammad," *Speculum*, XXIII (1948). On the military aspects see Roberto Cessi, *Venezia Ducale*, 2 vols. (Padua, 1928-29; R. S. Lopez, *Storia delle colonie genovesi nel Mediterraneo* (Bologna, 1938); Gennaro M. Monti, *L'espansione mediterranea del Mezzogiorno e della Sicilia* (Bologna, 1942); Archibald R. Lewis, *Naval Power and Trade in the Mediterranean, 500-1100* (Princeton, 1951), with bibliography.

¹⁷ Bibliography in Arsenio Frugoni, *Papato, impero e regni occidentali* (Florence, 1940);

Beneath the revival of the ideals of universal church and universal empire, the terrain was prepared for the growth of something still more durable and concrete: the European nations. The map of Europe was completed in the tenth century, as Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Poland, Bohemia, Hungary, Russia at last found their unity and accepted, with the Christian religion, the elements of civilized life and orderly administration. For these peoples, hitherto beyond the pale, it was a new birth. It was a rebirth for the older nations of western Europe, which had lost their identity first under the leveling influence of the Roman order, then under the disrupting impact of the barbarian disorder. Political unity was approaching in England, in spite of Danish invasions—the title *totius Britanniae basileus* was proudly assumed by the kings of Wessex; in France, notwithstanding feudal anarchy, there was taking place a definitive separation of the Romance-speaking western Franks from their German-speaking eastern brothers. Spain itself under the Umayyads was emerging from the melting pot of peoples as a new nation. Germany and Italy after an experiment of separate life were again forced together, but they found some consciousness of their different traditions through mutual dislike of Romans and Teutons, which expressed itself in local popular uprisings and in the angry outbursts of such men as Liutprand of Cremona. Nor must we forget that Byzantine and Western missionaries, soldiers, and diplomats were now contending for the last remaining stretches of neutral ground and preparing the day when East and West would part—never to be completely reunited up to our time.¹⁸

Still, Eastern and Western traditions, papal and imperial pretensions, and even national feelings in the tenth century were too large and too remote to affect deeply the everyday life of the common man. There was more immediate significance in humbler associations of a local character, which blossomed out everywhere at this period. A historian of antiquity, Heichel-

Miguel de Ferdinandy, "Sobre el poder temporal en la cultura occidental alrededor del año 1000," *Universidad nacional de Buenos Aires, Anales de historia antigua y medieval*, I (1948); Anthony F. Czajkowski, "The Congress of Gniezno in the Year 1000," *Speculum*, XXIV (1949) on Gerbert bibliography in Jean Leflon, *Gerbert: Humanisme et Chrétienté au x^e siècle* (St. Wandrille, 1946); Oscar G. Darlington, "Gerbert the Teacher," *AHR*, LII (1947).

¹⁸ Of course we do not imply that true nationalism existed in the tenth century in western Europe. Though a Frankish historian about 830 asserted that the establishment of new kingdoms on Roman territory constituted the beginning of a new era, his statement did not spring from a national consciousness comparable to ours; see Halvdan Koht, "The Dawn of Nationalism in Europe," *AHR*, LII (1947). But we cannot agree with Hans Kohn, *The Idea of Nationalism* (New York, 1946) in regarding all hatreds of one medieval people against another as motivated by religious differences only. As early as the tenth century (and even earlier) we often see that such differences are not as decisive as the lack of common traditions, language, geographic background, or economic interests. See, for instance, M. Berza, "Sentiment national et esprit local chez les Lombards méridionaux aux ix^e-x^e siècles," *Revue historique du Sud-Est européen*, XIX (1942); Erich Zöllner, *Die politische Stellung der Völker im Frankenreich* (Vienna, 1950), with bibliography.

heim, pointed out that toward the end of the ninth century the growth of the revival of professional guilds was noticeable almost simultaneously in the Muslim Near East with the Karmatian movement, in the Byzantine Empire with the regulation in the Book of the Prefect, and in the Western Jewish communities with the institution of the Herem Ha-Yishub (the latter, however, was actually somewhat later). Let us add that Pavia in the tenth century also had state-controlled teams of merchants and craftsmen, that guilds of a similar kind existed in Ravenna and Rome, and that the organized groups of craftsmen whom we meet in 1020 in Nájera and León, in Catholic Spain, must have had their origins in the tenth century if not earlier. By the year 1000 we come across a merchant gild in Tiel, "the new town of stone" by the mouth of the Rhine. In this particular instance one may perhaps think that the gild was formed by newly enriched adventurers such as those whom Henri Pirenne regarded as the fathers of medieval trade and urbanization, but more frequently the tenth century brought to maturity plants with older roots. Coornaert has shown that in a very large area of northwestern Europe merchant and professional guilds of the twelfth and thirteenth century arose from economic and social specialization of associations of fellow-drinkers and religious or charitable brotherhoods of the early Middle Ages, the tenth century being the crucial period during which the change occurred. For other guilds a Roman origin, however indirect, can be postulated—the "oaths" of the moneyers, with branches in every mint place of Italy, France, and Germany are a notable example—but the tenth century brings to them an entirely new life.¹⁹

Italy, which outstripped all other Western countries in commercial development, also had a more vigorous communal life. As early as 897 the "citizens" of Turin ousted the bishop from the town; a few years later the Romans forced King Hugh himself to run away from their city; the "people" and the merchants of Cremona in spite of many rebukes by kings and emperors kept encroaching upon the rights of their bishops. Sometimes groups and assemblies of upper-class men (*maiores*), free men (*milites*, *arimanni*), merchants (*negotiatores*), or the whole "people" (*populus*) of a town carried out their activities in collaboration with the legal authorities, but other times we see them acting as if no lay or ecclesiastic official except

¹⁹ Henri Pirenne, *Medieval Cities* (3d ed., Princeton, 1939); Emile Coornaert, "Les ghildes médiévales," *Revue historique*, CXCIX (1948); Gunnar Mickwitz, *Die Kartellfunktionen der Zünfte* (Helsingfors, 1936); Pier Silverio Leicht, *Corporazioni romane e arti medievali* (Turin, 1937); R. S. Lopez, "Un millennio di storia delle associazioni di monetieri," *Studi in onore di Gino Luzzatto*, II (Milan, 1950) and, for the Byzantine guilds, bibliography in "Silk Industry" (above, n. 7) and in "La crise du besant au x^e siècle et la date du Livre du Préfet," *Mélanges Henri Grégoire*, II (Brussels, 1950); Bernard Lewis, "The Islamic Guilds," *Economic History Review*, VIII (1937); Lewis Rabinowitz, *The Herem Hayyishub* (London, 1945).

the king had any power over them. "All the inhabitants" of Genoa obtained from King Berengar II full recognition of their customs, properties, and special rights; "certain men" of rural Lazise received from Otto II the grant of tolls and fisheries. In 945 King Lothar made the popular assemblies (*conventus civium*) of Mantua, Verona, and Brescia the arbiters of the monetary standard to be adopted by the Mantuan bishops in their districts. There were no true communes as yet, but communal activity of this kind, as Chiappelli, Mengozzi, Solmi, and many others have shown, was a preparation to self-government.²⁰ French towns did not advance with the same speed. Renée Dochaerd has pointed out the precocious development of Laon, but as late as 1111 the people of that town were unable to prevent their bishop from striking worthless money. Nevertheless, the French townsmen of the tenth century were not sleeping. As early as 916 the organized crafts or *ministeria* of St. Omer built the castle of that community. In 958 the people of Cambrai, in the border region between France and the empire, organized a conspiracy (*conjunctio*) against their bishop.²¹ In Germany proper the stage of open revolt was not reached before the eleventh century, but in the late tenth the merchants of Hamburg, Bremen, Magdeburg, and other towns obtained collective privileges from the emperor.²² Of English town life we know next to nothing at this early period, but we may perhaps attach some significance to the fact that special laws now recognized the special status of the so-called *ports* within the kingdom. The *witans* of four Devonshire boroughs are mentioned as early as 1013; if the views of Tait and Helen Cam are to prevail over those of Stephenson, we shall assume that similar town assemblies existed in London and elsewhere as early as the tenth century.²³ Assemblies of that kind seem to have been well established in a few semi-rural towns of Castile—"free and equalitarian Castile . . . where poor noblemen [*infanzones*] and small proprietors were grouped in embryonic rural communities without any lord."²⁴

²⁰ Select bibliography in Paolo Brezzi, *I Comuni cittadini italiani, origine e primitiva costituzione* (Milan, 1940) and in Gino Luzzatto, quoted above, n. 12.

²¹ Bibliography for northern France in Charles Petit-Dutaillis, *Les communes françaises* (Paris, 1947); for southern France, in Ferdinand Lot, *Recherches sur la population et la superficie des cités remontant à la période gallo-romaine, Sud-Est* (Paris, 1945-46) and in Dupont, quoted above, n. 12. On Laon see now Renée Dochaerd, "Laon, capitale du vin," *Annales (Economies-Sociétés-Civilisations)*, V (1950).

²² Bibliography in Hans Planitz, "Die deutsche Stadtgemeinde," *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte*, Germ. Abt., LXIV (1944) and in Edith Ennen, "Neuere Arbeiten zur Geschichte des nordwesteuropäischen Städtewesens im Mittelalter," *Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, XXXVIII (1949).

²³ Besides Tait, quoted above, n. 12, see Reginald R. Darlington, "The Early History of English Towns," *History*, XXIII (1938); Helen Cam, *Liberties and Communities in Medieval England* (Cambridge, Eng., 1944).

²⁴ Claudio Sánchez-Albornoz, "El precio de la vida en el reino astur-leonés hace mil años,"

Naturally it is very hard to gather information on the corporate life of country people, but there is no reason to believe that it lagged much behind that of the smaller urban communities. Indeed, towns in many regions were little more than overgrown villages, and their inhabitants were not brought together as closely as peasants were by communal agriculture, social uniformity, and small size of the agglomerations. Without going to such extremes as the scholars who traced the origin of urban communes back to the rural community, we may observe many activities of country people which could have been a training for self-government, if they did not in themselves represent self-government. Some of them went back to immemorial times, such as the communal administration of common pastures and parish churches. Others seem to have been born or to have become more intensive in the tenth century, when groups of agriculturists entered upon agreements with lords for the cultivation of old settlements or for the establishment of new ones. We also hear of revolts of free and unfree peasants. Around the year 1000 the Norman peasants showed the same determination as the townsmen of Cambrai and Cremona in holding assemblies and making "conspiracies" against their lords. Probably the song of the rebels, which some overenthusiastic historians have called "*la Marseillaise de l'an Mil*," was a later invention; but the revolt itself is an ascertained and important fact. It is true that this insurrection was quenched in blood—as were, incidentally, the slightly earlier rebellions of the Irakian slaves and North African peasants under the Kharedjite flag. Revolts, however, are usually a token of growth. They show that new opportunities have given birth to new hopes.²⁵

Calling the tenth century an epoch of great opportunities is not as paradoxical as it may seem at first. Consider that the lowest class of the population—slaves—all but disappeared in Catholic Europe at that period. Language itself, as Verlinden has shown, bears witness to this revolution. In the tenth century the word *servus* in the meaning of "slave" began to be replaced by *slavus* (Slav) or *saracinus* (Muslim), as if to imply that no slaves were forthcoming any more from Christian countries. It is still doubtful whether this great step in the history of civilization was a cause or a consequence of labor-saving technological improvements, or whether it was

Logos, III (1945), p. 18 of the offprint. Bibliography there and in Valdeavellano, quoted above, n. 12.

²⁵ Bibliography in Marc Bloch, *La société féodale*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1939-40); Gian Piero Bognetti, *Sulle origini dei comuni rurali nel medioevo* (Pavia, 1926); Fabio Cusin, "Per la storia del castello medievale," *Rivista storica italiana*, ser. 5, IV (1939); Ernst Mayer, *Historia de las instituciones sociales y políticas de España y Portugal* (Madrid, 1925-26)—stimulating but often unreliable; Georg von Below, *Geschichte der deutschen Landwirtschaft des Mittelalters* (Jena, 1937); see also below, nn. 27, 28. For a comparison with the Kharedjites see the works quoted above, n. 10.

connected with the increase in free manpower owing to the growth of the population. Be that as it may, the end of slavery meant that the ladder of human conditions began one step higher. And though the unprotected, but not unredeemable, status of a Roman or Muslim slave may have been richer in opportunities than the stagnant, dreary life of an ordinary medieval serf, we have reasons to believe advancement was not impossible for a serf in the tenth century. "Let us consider a son of a *praefectus* [that is, of a count or duke] whose grandfather is known to have been a *iudex*, the great-grandfather a *tribunus* or a *sculdascius*, and the great-great-grandfather a *miles* [a knight]. Who will remember, after all this, whether the father of that knight was a petty merchant or a painter, a bath attendant or a fowler, a fishmonger or a potter, a tailor or a sausage-maker, a muleteer or a driver of animals, or, lastly, a horseman or a peasant, a freeman or a serf?" These are the words of Raterius, the Belgian-born bishop of Verona in Italy. If they reflect real life with any accuracy, they show that five generations were sufficient to climb from the lowest to the highest rank, and six sufficed to lose track of the starting point.²⁶

The society of the tenth century, it has often been stated, consisted exclusively of three classes: noblemen, clergy, and serfs. Recent investigations, however, have proved that freemen were still numerous everywhere except in the most thoroughly feudalized areas. In Saxony, in Frisia, in the northern Danelaw, in a large part of northern Italy freemen may even have outnumbered serfs. Servile conditions prevailed in France, but Marc Bloch has shown that between the completely free and the completely unfree there were many significant nuances, many persons who had lost some essential liberties but preserved others. In Bavaria, Dollinger has found "a land of knights who were serfs, serfs who were almost free, freemen who were almost serfs, and household slaves who were almost nobles." Nor was a serf altogether beyond redemption. The fact itself that according to feudal notions only the nobleman could bear arms and only a free clergy could intercede between man and God enabled many serfs to become free by taking up arms or ecclesiastic orders with or without the consent of their lords. Other serfs gained liberty simply by refusing to render villein services. The wars, the disorders, and the disorganization of the tenth century often made it comparatively easy to flout the orders of a lord. We read in the capitulary "De servis libertatem anhelantibus," of Otto III, these character-

²⁶ Bibliography in Charles Verlinden, "L'origine de *Sclavus*, Esclave," *Archivum latinitatis Medii Aevi*, XVII (1942); see also Marc Bloch, "Comment et pourquoi finit l'esclavage antique," *Annales (Economies-Sociétés-Civilisations)*, II (1947). The comments of Federico Patetta, "Studi sopra alcune iscrizioni medievali," *Memorie della R. Accademia di scienze, lettere e arti in Modena*, ser. 3, VIII (1909) on Raterius have not lost their freshness.

istic statements: "It is necessary to hold great consultations because the princes of our empire, both lay and ecclesiastic . . . the richer and the poorer, the higher and the lower, are constantly complaining. . . . They cannot obtain due and proper obedience from their own serfs. . . . Some of these pretend that they are free because their lords are unable, as often happens, to prove their unfree status. . . . Others are allowed to claim the honor of liberty because their lords are busy with various occupations . . . and have forgotten about them for a long time."²⁷

Not only individual men but often entire groups of serfs and commoners climbed the social ladder. Everywhere the peasants had good chances to improve their conditions if only they were willing to move to the new settlements where the lords offered liberty to the serf and property to the landless in order to populate their estates. Then and there, as in more recent times and in lands closer to us, frontier expansion was especially profitable to the powerful and the rich, but the many could glean in the field while the few harvested. Never before had there been so many opportunities from end to end of Catholic Europe—in the reclaimed plains of northern Italy, on the war-torn slopes of the Provençal coast, in the strips of no-man's land on the border between Catholic and Muslim Spain, in the swamps of the Low Countries, and in the forest clearings of the German frontier. Sometimes liberty was too much for humble men who struggled against military insecurity and economic stagnation: in Castile and in some regions of England and Germany the eleventh century was to bring a change for the worse. In other places, however, the peasants retained their gains. In Italy the tenth century saw the beginning of a process which in some other countries did not start before the thirteenth: a few lords took the initiative of transforming serfs into tenants in order to obtain cash rents and more willing and productive labor. Other serfs who did not obtain liberty fared still better. They became *servi de masnada* or *ministeriales*, collaborators of the lord in administration and war. In Germany the emperors themselves and many great feudal lords fostered the transformation of villeins into vassals. In 992 Otto III placed an indiscriminating *heribannus* (royal protection and military authority) upon both "free and serf knights." In the eleventh century, Henry IV was to make an able if premature attempt to bypass his vassals and to govern the empire with the help of *ministeriales*. In France also this class of privileged serfs, who remind one of the freedmen

²⁷ Select bibliography in Marc Bloch in *Cambridge Economic History*, I, 583-87. See now also Philippe Dollinger, *L'évolution des classes rurales en Bavière depuis la fin de l'époque carolingienne* (Paris, 1949); the sentence in the text is not a quote from the book but from a review by Joseph R. Strayer in *Speculum*, XXV (1950), 269.

of antiquity, was heading for a brilliant future. Similarly in a large number of towns from Worms to Tournai the privileges granted in the tenth century to a class of semi-free dependents of churches and monasteries (*censuales*) were the seeds of the municipal liberties of the twelfth century. Massiet du Biest has described the gradual transformation of these former underlings into an exclusive urban aristocracy.²⁸

Climbing was easier for the merchants (*negotiatores*) who owned land—all the more so as possession of land was almost a test of noble status—and some land could be purchased for cash, retained as mortgage for unpaid loans, or obtained as a reward for services to those who owned it. Liutfred, the “very rich merchant of Mainz” who was the envoy of Otto I to Constantinople, and Daribert, the merchant of Como to whom Otto III donated valuable land and a section of the town walls near the estates which already belonged to him, certainly were more influential men than many noblemen. Lestocquoy recently suggested that as early as the tenth century a patriciate may have been in process of formation in some cities. Indeed the process was well advanced in certain Italian towns, where the *negotiatores* and the *monetarii* (moneyers) had extensive possessions, transacted business with the nobility, intermarried with it, and were appointed assessors in the imperial tribunals. If we knew the origin of the “patrician” families which came to the fore in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, we would probably find that most of them went back to a non-noble and sometimes to a non-free ancestor. There is the typical case of the Malipiero, described by Gino Luzzatto. This family in the twelfth century gave doges to class-conscious Venice and claimed descent from the highest nobility, but it actually derived its name from a *magister Petrus*, a wealthy commoner of the tenth century. Likewise the Cancellieri of Milan and the Monedier of Le-Puy-en-Velay,

²⁸ Gioachino Volpe, *Medio Evo Italiano* (2d ed., Florence, 1928); Pier S. Leicht, *Operai artigiani e agricoltori in Italia dal secolo vi al xvi* (Milan, 1946); Frank M. Stenton, *The Free Peasantry of the Northern Danelaw* (Lund, 1926); Claudio Sánchez-Albornoz, “Las behetrías” and “Muchas páginas más sobre las behetrías,” *Anuario de historia del derecho español*, I and IV (1924, 1927); J. Massiet du Biest, “Le Chef cens et la demi liberté dans les villes du nord, x^e-xii^e siècles,” *Revue historique de droit français et étranger*, ser. 4, VI (1927); Eberhard F. Otto, *Adel und Freiheit im deutschen Staat: Studien über nobiles und Ministerialien* (Berlin, 1937); Alfons Dopsch, *Herrschaft und Bauer in der deutschen Kaiserzeit* (Jena, 1939)—but see the criticism of Charles E. Perrin, “La société rurale allemande du x^e au xiii^e siècle,” *Revue historique de droit français et étranger*, ser. 4, XXIII (1945), who also uses some elements for comparison from the situation in France. The writer does not share the extreme optimism of Dopsch, in this as in other fields, but he inclines to greater optimism than some of Dopsch’s predecessors. Progress in the country between the tenth and the thirteenth century was certainly slower and more erratic than in the towns, and it is very easy to muster indications of immobility or even regression in one or another region. The gradual saturation of settlement areas and the increasing efficiency of the feudal and manorial organization often seem to eliminate the opportunities and to aggravate the burdens of dependent farmers. Yet greater production and better government caused the peasant to eat more and live in greater security until the commercial and urban revolution more radically transformed his way of life.

whose scions rode with the knights in the First Crusade, in the tenth century were busy making their fortune in the mint. Nay, a Roman pope of the early twelfth century descended from a family of Jewish businessmen who accepted baptism early in the eleventh century. Shortly after their conversion a political adversary lampooned them in verse ("Queen Money lends to them nobility and beauty; by intermarriage they gather around them the entire nobility of the town"), but Gregory VII, who according to some modern historians may have been one of their relatives, treasured their military and financial assistance. Much later, there were genealogists who conjured up for that family an imaginary ancestor who was a Roman senator. Outside Italy such careers must have been more rare, but we can hardly doubt that some merchants even in backward countries rose to higher standing. An English pamphlet of the early eleventh century states that "if a merchant thrive so that he fared farre over the wide sea by his own means, then was he henceforth of the grette right worthy."²⁹

The minor nobility as a whole also reached for greater power and prestige in the tenth century. The entire class of German and Italian *secundi milites* was to gain equality with the higher ranks of the nobility through a law of Conrad II in 1037 there is plentiful evidence that the emperor had only made legal a change which had taken place over the last fifty or sixty years. Nor was promotion from the higher to the highest ranks an uncommon fact. In Italy one Odericus, for instance, is just a *vassus domini regis* in 910; in 913 he is *vassus et missus*; in 915 he is *comes et marchio sacri palatii*; in 918 he is *marchio et missus domini imperatoris*. In France still more spectacular careers are described in a recent monograph by Dhondt. In an epoch of constant disturbances and frequent changes of government such as occurred in the tenth century it was easy for an enterprising man to make a name for himself. Desimoni pointed out long ago that none of the marquesses of the late tenth century in Italy descended from high Carolingian officers; the great majority of the German and French high nobility was likewise unrelated to the great families of the Carolingian period. In

²⁹ Etienne Sabbe, "Quelques types de marchands des ix^e et x^e siècles," *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire*, XIII (1934); Alessandro Visconti, "Note per la storia della società milanese nei secoli x e xi," *Archivio storico lombardo*, LXI (1934); Pietro Vaccari, "Classi e movimenti di classi in Pavia nell' xi secolo," *Bollettino della Società pavese di storia patria*, n.s. I (1946); Gino Luzzatto, "Les Activités économiques du patriciat vénitien," *Annales d'histoire économique et sociale*, IX (1937); R. S. Lopez, "Aux Origines du capitalisme génois," *ibid.*; Arrigo Solmi, *L'Amministrazione finanziaria del Regno Italico* (Pavia, 1932); Lucien Febvre, J. Lestocquoy, G. Espinas, "Fils de riches ou nouveaux riches?" *Annales (Economie-Sociétés-Civilisations)*, I (1946); Renée Doehaerd, "Ce qu'on vendait et comment on le vendait dans le bassin parisien," *ibid.*, II (1947); R. S. Lopez, "A propos d'une virgule," *Revue historique*, CXCVIII (1947), with the bibliography concerning the Pierleoni family. Some scholars have even maintained that both Gregory VI and Gregory VII were related to that family; see lastly Giovanni B. Picotti, Raffaello Morghen, "Ancora una parola su certe questioni gregoriane," *Archivio della Deputazione romana di storia patria*, LXIX (1946).

fact, even the royal title in the tenth century in France, Italy, and Germany ceased to be a hereditary right and was bestowed upon the most daring or the most unobtrusive. In this respect we may affirm that the opportunities of the tenth century were unmatched at later periods.³⁰

At this point one might object that in our current terminology "renaissance" refers to intellectual more than to political, social, and economic developments, and that the writers, artists, and scholars of the Ottonian renaissance in Germany and elsewhere are not even as distinguished as those of the Carolingian renaissance. This we cannot deny. We have an entirely different outlook, however, if we think in terms of masses rather than of elites, and if we consider prospects for the future rather than immediate achievements. No tenth-century philosopher in Catholic Europe was as great as Scotus Erigena (although there were great philosophers outside Europe), but Scotus Erigena worked in an ivory tower. In the tenth century there is the twin fountainhead of popular religious and philosophical thought expressing itself in the church reform movement, which timidly began at Cluny and Montecassino, and in the heresies which spread underground from the East to France and Italy.³¹ Again, Charlemagne's Palatine School and the episcopal schools of the Carolingian period were fine places for the training of the upper class; but in the tenth century the ecclesiastic teachers trained an increasing number of lay commoners, and there were lay wandering teachers in Italy and France. When Wipo states—in the eleventh century, it is true, but the increasing number of autograph signatures of laymen in Italian charters of the tenth century shows that his statement to some extent also applied to an earlier period—that "all children in Italy go to school, and only in Germany do we regard it useless or improper to teach a child unless he is to undertake an ecclesiastic career," he discloses the germs of a greater renaissance than the efforts of any isolated scholar or artist could possibly promote.³²

³⁰ Jean Dhondt, *Etude sur la naissance des principautés territoriales en France* (Bruges, 1948); and see the bibliography above, n. 28. Information must be sought chiefly in monographs on specific families or fiefs—far too numerous for listing. Silvio Pivano, *Stato e Chiesa da Berengario a Arduino* (Turin, 1904) is still the best general work for Italy and it includes many references to Germany.

³¹ Bibliography in Augustin Fliche, *La réforme grégorienne*, I (Louvain, 1924); Guy de Valous, *Le monachisme clunisien des origines au xv^e siècle* (Paris, 1935); Antonino de Stefano, "Le eresie popolari del Medio Evo" in *Questioni di storia medievale*, ed. Ettore Rota (Milan, 1946). It is true that the first cases of heresy mentioned in the sources go back respectively to about 1000 (Liutard, bishopric of Châlons) and 1025 (Gandulf, bishopric of Cambrai; probably an Italian by birth), but the emergence of dangerous heretics at fairly distant places indicates an earlier propagation of underground heresy. Moreover there are strong indications of links to earlier popular heresies of the Byzantine territory, on which see Dmitri Obolensky, *The Bogomils* (New York, 1949); Henri Grégoire, "Précisions géographiques et chronologiques sur les Pauliciens," *Bulletin de l'Académie Royale de Belgique*, Lettres, ser. 5, XXXIII (1947).

³² Bibliography in Gustav Schnürer, *Kirche und Kultur im Mittelalter* (Paderborn, 1926); Emile Lesne, *Histoire de la propriété ecclésiastique en France*, IV and V (Lille, 1940); Ugo

The renaissance of the tenth century is not an improper term in the intellectual field if we consider embryos as well as hatched young. "Many of the works which were to have a durable success in the [later] Middle Ages . . . go back to the obscure period which followed the Carolingian blossoming. . . . They were not created in one day, but they presuppose a slow and continuous elaboration, a period of incubation which eventually saw the emergence of some works that were to endure, while others, which were mediocre, were to be forgotten."³³ These words of De Ghellinck refer only to the Latin literature of the tenth century, but they could be repeated for many other intellectual activities—first of all, for Romance literature, of which the tenth-century fragment of Eulalie is probably the earliest extant specimen. Likewise, the "white robe of churches" which according to the chronicler Raoul Glaber reclothed the world after the year 1000 must have been woven partly of earlier yarns. The artists of the Carolingian renaissance, who imitated the classic models without understanding them fully, could hardly have supplied the original patterns which made the early Romanesque tissue.³⁴ Again, the glorious revival of Roman law in the eleventh and twelfth centuries would be inexplicable without the obscure work of the schools of the tenth century—those schools to which we owe the glosses of Turin and Pistoia, several compilations of canon law where Roman sources are used, and several manuals which are no longer extant, but which must have been the sources of the extant *Exceptiones legum Romanarum*.³⁵ Nor would the progress of medical science in the eleventh and twelfth centuries be explicable without the obscure work of the practitioners of Salerno whose "great practical experience owing to natural talent" was well known in France as early as the tenth century. More often than not these physicians, lawyers, and artists were so humble that their names have not come down to us, but they were the bricklayers who laid the foundations upon which great architects were to build.³⁶

Gualazzini, *Ricerche sulle scuole preuniversitarie nel medioevo* (Milan, 1943); Antonio Viscardi, "La cultura nell'Alto Medioevo," in *Questioni di storia medievale*.

³³ Joseph de Ghellinck, *Littérature latine au moyen âge* (Louvain, 1939), II, 7 ff.

³⁴ See above all José Puig y Cadafalch, *Le premier art roman* (Paris, 1928) and *La geografia i els orígens del primer art romànic* (Barcelona, 1930); also Pierre Francastel, *L'Humanisme roman* (Strasbourg and Rodez, 1942), with bibliography.

³⁵ Carlo Guido Mor, "Questioni preliminari per lo studio delle *Exceptiones Petri*," *Studi in memoria di Aldo Albertoni*, I (Palua, 1935) and "La recezione del diritto romano nelle collezioni canoniche dei secoli IX-XI," *Atta Congressi iuridici internationalis*, II (Rome, 1935); Enrico Besta, *Storia del diritto italiano, Fonti: Legislazione e scienza giuridica*, 2 vols. (Milan, 1923-25); further bibliography in Luigi Prodocimi, "La formazione dell'unità giuridica medievale," in *Questioni di storia medievale*.

³⁶ Paul O. Kristeller, "The School of Salerno," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, XVII (1945), with bibliography.

A more serious objection against the use of the term "renaissance" for the tenth century may come from the fact that the extant records of the eighth and ninth centuries are extremely scant and far between. Since documentary evidence grows more abundant during the tenth century we are apt to regard as new some trends and institutions which had begun long before or had never ceased to be. While we cannot fill the blank pages in the record of the early Middle Ages, we must not ignore their existence and disregard the possibility of one or another institution in early medieval times on the sole ground that we find no mention of it. Inasmuch as sharp turns are rare in history and as every age forever melts into another, we ought to expect that whatever was born—or reborn—in the tenth century sprouted from seeds deeply imbedded in earlier soil. But this assumption should not lead us to deny the unavoidable passing of things. Whenever we are able to compare similar series of documents for the eighth or ninth century and for the tenth—for instance, so far as private Lombard charters are concerned—we notice a contrast. What had been a small seed now becomes a youthful but already budding tree.

Let us salute the renaissance of the tenth century with the enchanting refrain of a tenth-century poem, which uses a language halfway between Latin and vernacular and a meter halfway between old and new:

*L'alba part umet mar atra sol
Poy pasa bigil mira clar tenebras.*

The dawn over the dark sea draws on the sun. She passes over the bill.
See, the darkness is clearing!

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Some Demagogues in American History

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EVER since the late eighteenth century and particularly since the Jacksonian era, American political history has been colored in part by the campaign opportunism of the "demagogue," the professional "man of the people." With considerable histrionic variety and always noisily, he has sought to whip up and intensify the emotions, the prejudices and the passions, of the voting public. And not infrequently his tactics have won out over his more sedate rivals in the political arena.

Although there have been a number of studies of individual demagogues and their activities, the term "demagogue" has rarely been defined historically.¹ The tendency to hurl the derogatory epithet indiscriminately at political opponents has perhaps led to confusion as to just what it is that constitutes a demagogue. A historical summing-up of some of America's more influential mob-masters may serve to clarify the meaning of demagoguery and its significance in United States history.

In Britain's thirteen American colonies, gentlemen of birth, wealth, and education, not the "lower orders," monopolized elective offices. In all the colonies the franchise was restricted to those who held property in one form or another.² Occupancy of a government office was a prerogative of the "upper" classes, not a paying job to be sought by flattering the voters. Non-voting American subjects of the British king might well have found an accurate description of their status in the lines:

¹ For studies of demagogues and demagoguery, see Francis P. Simkins, *Pitchfork Ben Tillman, South Carolinian* (Baton Rouge, La., 1944); C. Vann Woodward, *Tom Watson, Agrarian Rebel* (New York, 1938); Joseph F. Dinneen, *The Purple Shamrock: The Hon. James Michael Curley of Boston* (New York, 1949); John Bright, *Hizzoner Big Bill Thompson: An Idyll of Chicago* (New York, 1930); Allan A. Michie and Frank Rhylick, *Dixie Demagogues* (New York, 1939); Glen Douthitt, "The Governorship of Huey P. Long," M.A. thesis, Tulane University, 1947; Herbert Gambrell, "James Stephen Hogg: Statesman or Demagogue?" *Southwest Review*, XIII (Spring, 1928), 338-66; Daniel M. Robison, "From Tillman to Long: Some Striking Leaders of the Rural South," *Journal of Southern History*, III (August, 1937), 289-310; Gerald W. Johnson, "Live Demagogue or Dead Gentleman?" *Virginia Quarterly Review*, XII (January, 1936), 1-14; Wallace Stegner, "Pattern for Demagogues," *Pacific Spectator*, II (Autumn, 1948), 389-411; Richard H. Rovere, "Vito Marcantonio: Machine Politician, New Style," *Harper's Magazine*, April, 1944, pp. 391-98.

² Cortlandt F. Bishop, *History of Elections in the American Colonies* (New York, 1893), pp. 69-90. The aristocratic nature of colonial elections is illustrated in Robert Munford's play, *The Candidates; or, The Humors of a Virginia Election*, written in 1770. See Jay B. Hubbell and Douglass Adair, "Robert Munford's *The Candidates*," *William and Mary Quarterly*, V (April, 1948), 217-57.

God bless the squire and his relations
And keep us all in our proper stations.

In 1776, as the war against England raged, Pennsylvania alone among all the newly proclaimed states adopted a democratic constitution which extended the voting privilege to males without property.³ Thus was the door opened for the entrance of the demagogue upon the political stage. In the Keystone State, with its liberal franchise, was born one of the earliest schools of American demagoguery—the Antifederalist “captains of the people.”

Dissatisfaction with the George Washington–John Adams Federalist policies produced loquacious, spellbinding office seekers who placed their own interests above principle. Spurred on by events in Revolutionary France, there appeared during the 1790's numerous “democratic societies,” in which leaders plotted to defeat the Federalists and to direct public opinion. In their ranks were included, besides idealistic democrats, leaders as selfishly motivated as the “well-born” Federalist foes.⁴ Conspicuous among the self-seeking Antifederalists was a Philadelphia physician, Dr. Michael Leib, who had aided in organizing the German Republican Society.

Together with his Apollo-like figure, Dr. Leib's talents as orator and manipulator of party caucuses carried him far. Selfish and ambitious, he had a spitfire eloquence that “produced effect rather by the velocity of his missiles than the weight of his metal.”⁵ Despite his boisterous concern for the humble citizens, Leib was privately not one himself. He lived luxuriously, powdered his hair, wore ultrafashionable dress, and sprayed himself with perfume, just like the hated Federalists. He nevertheless convinced the humble ones that he was one of them—and landed in the United States Senate. Of all the American states, only Pennsylvania, with its democratic suffrage, could have produced a Leib in the post-Revolutionary generation.⁶

During the first quarter of the new nineteenth century the democratization of the franchise went on apace. Manhood suffrage, with the property qualifications removed, was the new order in state after state. Between 1810 and 1821 six new western states entered the Union with constitutions providing for universal white manhood suffrage or a close approximation; and

³ J. Paul Selsam, *The Pennsylvania Constitution of 1776* (Philadelphia, 1936), pp. 180, 188–89; Paul L. Ford, “The Adoption of the Pennsylvania Constitution of 1776,” *Political Science Quarterly*, X (September, 1895), 454.

⁴ Eugene P. Link, *Democratic-Republican Societies, 1790–1800* (New York, 1942), pp. x, 210–11.

⁵ Raymond Walters, Jr., *Alexander James Dallas* (Philadelphia, 1943), pp. 120–21.

⁶ Hugh Henry Brackenridge, in his satire, *Modern Chivalry*, first published in 1792, criticized the “common” man's preference for crude, uneducated candidates in Pennsylvania. See Claude M. Newlin, *The Life and Writings of Hugh Henry Brackenridge* (Princeton, 1932), pp. 86, 96 n., 112 ff., 254.

four of the older states substantially dropped property qualifications. Not without a fight, however, did the cultivated classes yield. At the New York state constitutional convention in 1821 General J. R. Van Rensselaer, a Tory delegate, fumed against enfranchising the multitude: "That kind of population, thus formed and condensed, always has been, and ever will be, under the control and influence of the artful, the cunning, the aspiring, and ambitious demagogue."⁷ Chancellor James Kent, another delegate, supported Van Rensselaer. But property qualifications for voting were removed, except for Negroes. For years Kent remained unconverted. He wrote that the danger in universal suffrage lay in "active, ambitious, reckless, and unprincipled demagogues, combining, controlling, and abusing the popular voice for their own selfish purposes."⁸ The use of "demagogue" as a term of vituperation was well under way.

While the more dismal events feared by Van Rensselaer and Kent happily did not come to pass entirely, in their own Empire State the broadened franchise, adopted in 1821, provided vote-hungry aspirants with opportunity to incite the newly enfranchised multitude with frivolous, inane issues. The common man was stirring in the 1820's and willing to be stirred further. The field was steadily ripening for the demagogue.

In Rochester, for example, under the skilled direction of Thurlow Weed a political party was organized on the basis of opposition to the Masonic fraternal order.⁹ The Masons were considered "aristocratic" and therefore ideal subjects for the semi-hysterical antagonism unleashed against them by Weed and other electioneering managers, one example of whose tactics may be found in the case of William Morgan.

In 1826 Morgan, an obscure mechanic, supposedly was writing a book, *Illustrations of Masonry*, in which he planned to expose the "secrets" of that fraternal group. Suddenly Morgan disappeared from Canandaigua, in upstate New York, never to be seen again—all of which inspired rumors that Masons had murdered him.¹⁰ Weed maneuvered to have numerous committees of citizens appointed to search for the missing Morgan and his alleged murderers. When, during the campaign of 1827, a corpse was dragged from Lake Ontario, Weed rushed dramatically to the scene, where he declared, so the Masons charged, that the dead body was "a good enough Morgan until after the election."

⁷ *Reports of the Proceedings and Debates of the Convention of 1821*, ed. Nathaniel H. Carter, et al. (Albany, 1821), p. 362.

⁸ James Kent, *Commentaries on American Law* (Boston, 1867), I, 312 n.

⁹ Glyndon G. Van Deuser, *Thurlow Weed: Wizard of the Lobby* (Boston, 1947), pp. 40 ff.

¹⁰ Robert D. Burns, "The Abduction of William Morgan," Rochester Historical Society, *Publication Fund Series*, VI (1927), 219-30.

The Antimasons spread their extraordinary gospel from New York to other states by lectures, distribution of tracts, and the nomination of candidates.¹¹ Among the New Yorkers who rode to the legislature on Weed's Antimasonic wave were Millard Fillmore and William H. Seward.

Thus, from the 1820's onward aspiring office seekers learned to whip up issues that would appeal to the many. They learned also that a particular issue, to win success at the polls, must be presented in colorful phrases and spiced with personalized invective.

During the Jacksonian decade of the 1830's there emerged panderers to the poor and socially oppressed who, often on irrelevant issues, managed to fuse those underprivileged groups with their own personal voting units. Such strategy was evident in the national career of Andrew Jackson, who became a caterer to the many, the technician of mass leadership.

One competent historian concludes that, since Jackson was a planter aristocrat who believed in popular judgment, "it is unfair to dismiss him as a demagogue."¹² Old Hickory nevertheless set a pattern for the influential party chieftain who, by vigorous personality and noisy appeal to the crowd, made gross political capital by waging warfare against the affluent minority—a prime characteristic of the demagogue. His White House predecessors had seemed incapable of playing the game of the populace. Jackson's fiery stump speakers, in fighting for his re-election in 1832, personally reached the voters, face to face, in villages and cornfields and on city street corners and in ward clubhouses, haranguing them against the Bank of the United States and other vested groups, but offering nothing constructive to take the Bank's place. James Gordon Bennett of the New York *Herald*, himself a Democrat, snorted in disgust: "This is an Age of Steam and Humbug."¹³ Certain it is that the Jacksonian concept spawned its share of demagogues—Franklin E. Plummer, Richard Mentor Johnson, and Ely Moore, among others.

A New Englander who had settled in Mississippi, Franklin E. Plummer taught school, then entered politics, to which he brought entertaining talk and vocal concern for the common folk. He rode a tidal wave of "wool hat" adulation which repeatedly returned him to Congress from a piney-woods district on the platform "Plummer for the people and the people for Plummer!"¹⁴ A contemporary gave his estimate: "As a cross-road and

¹¹ George H. Blakeslee, "The History of the Anti-Masonic Party," Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1903; Charles McCarthy, "The Antimasonic Party . . . 1827-1840," *Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1902* (Washington, 1903), I, 365-574.

¹² Richard Hofstadter, *The American Political Tradition and the Men Who Made It* (New York, 1948), p. 47.

¹³ Quoted in the *American Mercury*, XIX (April, 1930), 450.

¹⁴ Dunbar Rowland, ed., *Encyclopedia of Mississippi History* (Madison, 1907), II, 437.

stump orator unequalled—as a bush-whacker and log-cabin electioneer unrivalled.”¹⁵ Once, while canvassing his district with his competitor, the latter kissed the daughter of a constituent. Plummer went one better: he laid her small brother across his lap, and picked off chiggers. The mother never forgot the thoughtful congressman.¹⁶ In Congress during 1834 Plummer launched into a tirade against conservative banking and currency systems and monopolies; he eulogized the “Workingman’s” party of the East, of whom he considered himself the Mississippi apostle.¹⁷

But Plummer, erstwhile friend of farmers and laborers, went over to the Natchez bankers, who in 1835 invited him to town, tendered him banquets, “loaned” him money, and persuaded him to run for United States senator. In a stylish barouche and accompanied by a liveried servant, he started his campaign, no longer a demagogue. His surrender to the interests and display of luxury alienated his piney-woods disciples, who turned against him, and he was defeated.

Another Jacksonian mob-master who gave lip service to the eastern “Workingman’s” party was a Kentuckian, Richard Mentor Johnson, who, back in 1812, had left his seat in Congress to go as a colonel to war against the British. In the battle of the Thames he shot an Indian chief alleged to be Tecumseh. On his return home, Colonel Johnson was presented with a sword, lauded as Tecumseh’s killer, and re-elected to Congress. In the House he held forth on the theme “Vox Populi is Vox Dei”—the lowly are the only group of consequence. In 1819 he was elevated to the Senate. He became Jackson’s satellite in the President’s war on the Bank. The “Workingman’s” party took him up as its presidential candidate. “Rumsey, dumpsey, who killed Tecumsey?” became a preconvention battle cry.¹⁸ At Baltimore in 1834 there was presented a play, *Tecumseh, or the Battle of the Thames*, in which were used the pistol “with which the hero [Johnson] slew his savage foe,” the “identical dress worn by Tecumseh at the time of his death,” and “the identical flag captured by the Colonel from the British”—all borrowed from the War Department.¹⁹ After seeing the play, Johnson confided, “I have more friends than ever by hundreds.”²⁰

Johnson was selected by Andrew Jackson to be Martin Van Buren’s running-mate on the 1836 national ticket. Elected vice-president, Johnson

¹⁵ J. F. H. Claiborne, *Mississippi as a Province, Territory, and State* (Jackson, Miss., 1880), pp. 411-12.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 425-27.

¹⁷ *Register of Debates in Congress*, 23 Cong., 1 sess., pp. 4819 ff.

¹⁸ Leland W. Meyer, *The Life and Times of Colonel Richard Mentor Johnson* (New York, 1932), chaps. 1-vi; Bernard Mayo, “The Man Who Killed Tecumseh,” *American Mercury*, XIX (April, 1930), 446 ff.

¹⁹ *Niles Register*, Feb. 1, 1834.

²⁰ Meyer, p. 402.

registered an unimpressive record. His liberalism disappeared before an obsession for office. His private life proved so embarrassing that the Democrats declined to renominate him in 1840. Some states, however, named him and he took to the stump. In Ohio he opened his shirt to show his scars of war. He boasted: "I was born in a cane-brake and cradled in a sap trough."²¹ He failed of re-election.

An ardent supporter of "Old Tecumsey" Johnson in the "Workingman's" party was Ely Moore, Jacksonian labor spellbinder of New York City. Rising from printer to owner of a hay-weighing monopoly, the eloquent, well-dressed, cane-carrying Moore had married into a prosperous family with Tammany Hall connections. He joined the Typographical Association of New York, from which he stepped up to the presidency of the General Trades' Union. He had become, by 1833, head of the National Trades Union and editor of its organ, which he devoted to his own interests. He lined up behind Jackson by assailing the Bank in an address to "mechanics and workmen," and later supported Johnson for President.²²

Moore won a seat in Congress on the Jacksonian ticket in 1834, as an enemy of monopoly—although he still owned his hay-weighing monopoly. His reputation as labor spokesman, however, was tarnished when, as a member of the state prison commission, he upheld the lease of convict labor to private business and accused mechanics of being "interested witnesses." Moore was denounced as an opportunist, and other evidences appeared to suggest that his liberalism was more apparent than real. He managed, however, to be returned to Congress in 1836. Two years later his disciples drifted away. "Five Thousand Workingmen" wrote to the New York *Evening Star*, denouncing Moore for "transforming our little means and our bread into windy promises" and implored: "Away with the trumpet tones and the magical intellect of idle demagogues who call themselves workingmen, but never lifted a hammer or made a shoe string."²³ When Moore was finally defeated in 1838, he accepted the federal plum of surveyor of the port of New York.

In New York, as in other northern cities, the Jacksonites, whose local organization was Tammany Hall, made effective use of religious and racial appeals, a practice well demonstrated in Irish-populated wards.

²¹ Louisville *Journal*, Oct. 14, 1840.

²² Walter E. Hugins, "Ely Moore: The Case History of a Jacksonian Labor Leader," M.A. thesis, Columbia University, 1947, pp. 1-40, 42-65. Hugins has published part of his researches in the *Political Science Quarterly*, LXV (March, 1950), 105-25.

²³ New York *Evening Star*, Nov. 3, 1838. Schlesinger considers Moore an important expounder of the "pro-labor" tradition of Jacksonian democracy. See Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., *The Age of Jackson* (Boston, 1945), pp. 192-93.

In 1835 Francis Lieber deplored the electioneering bids addressed to the "true-born sons of Ireland."²⁴ A partisan critical satire written in 1839 under the pseudonym, "Blarney O'Democrat," portrayed one demagogue who, before the Celtic voters, regretted that he had not been christened "Patrick" and maintained that all good things had come from the Emerald Isle. Christopher Columbus was really an Irishman! So, too, was George Washington:

And hence America, ye ken,
Of right belongs to Irishmen!
And Washington, I've understood,
Was somewhat touch'd with Irish blood.²⁵

So much for the particular type of Jacksonian electioneering which did, indeed, set a pattern for future swayers of the crowd.

If liberal Jacksonianism spawned a school of demagogues, so, too, did the opposition, the conservative self-styled "Whigs."

In time the Whigs reflected on the errors of their campaigning ways. Their defense of the Bank and aloofness from the many had spelled only continuous defeat. "The more we fight Jacksonism with our present weapons," bemoaned Thurlow Weed, now a Whig chieftain, "*the more it wont die*."²⁶ A pro-Bank platform had proved disastrous at the polls.²⁷ Boston's Whig organ, the *Atlas*, recommended: "Those who would have votes must descend into the forum and take the voters by the hand."²⁸ By 1840 the Whigs were ready to try their talents at arousing the populace.

When President Van Buren came up for re-election in 1840 the Democrats ruefully saw their own system of demagoguery improved upon. Whigs transformed their presidential standard-bearer, General William Henry Harrison, into a humble dweller in a log cabin who drank the poor man's drink, hard cider. They waged a campaign that comprised a gallimaufry of processions, songs, emblems, slang, cider barrels, miniature log cabins, coonskin caps, and meaningless, long-winded oratory—all in lieu of the discussion of issues. Daniel Webster, high priest of ultraconservative Massachusetts Whiggery, informed audiences on the stump: "I have been in his [Harrison's] log cabin. He lives in it still. . . . The string of his latch is not pulled in."²⁹

²⁴ Francis Lieber, *The Stranger in America* (London, 1835), II, 41. By 1832 the "Irish" vote was safely Democratic. See Robert Ernst, *Immigrant Life in New York City, 1825-1863* (New York, 1949), p. 166.

²⁵ Carl Wittke, *We Who Built America: The Saga of the Immigrant* (New York, 1939), p. 162.

²⁶ Weed to Granger, Nov. 23, 1834, Francis Granger Papers, Library of Congress.

²⁷ *Autobiography of Thurlow Weed* (Boston, 1883), pp. 371-72, 424, 431.

²⁸ Boston *Atlas*, quoted in Schlesinger, *The Age of Jackson*, p. 288.

²⁹ *Writings and Speeches of Daniel Webster* (National ed., Boston, 1903), XIII, 141; III, 30.

In his Saratoga speech the God-like Daniel apologized that the house of his birth had not been made of logs. In another oration he threatened to strike any man who called him an aristocrat.³⁰ William H. Seward, on the hustings for Harrison and his own re-election as governor of New York, demonstrated that he was a man of the people by traveling in an old green-painted wagon and riding in rowboats even when steam ferries were available.³¹

The most crowd-compelling Whigs, however, operated on the western frontier. Tom Corwin of Ohio, known as the "Wagon Boy" because he had driven a supply train for General Harrison in the War of 1812, spoke effortlessly the language of the frontiersman, provoking their laughter and sending forth seemingly endless oratory, usually on extraneous subjects. As a circuit-riding lawyer he spent hours every night in smoke-filled taverns listening to and storing his memory with anecdotes which he could use on the stump.³² One deaf listener commented of Corwin: "I can't hear a word he's sayin'; but great Jackson, don't he do the motions splendid!"³³

Because Corwin was "emphatically a man of the people," the Whigs chose him as candidate for governor of Ohio in a convention at Columbus to which flocked hundreds of frontiersmen garbed in buckskin and coonskin caps suggestive of Daniel Boone. In May, 1840, Corwin spoke for himself and Harrison at Wilmington before an audience of 10,000, surrounded by log cabins, huge canoes, and cider barrels—the first of his numerous three-hour marathon talks. For weeks farmers and backwoodsmen came on foot, horseback, and in oxcarts to hear him praise God, the Bible, and the Whigs, and damn the Democrats. They stood in pelting rain or under burning sun, oblivious to everything except their haranguing Wagon Boy in action. Corwin was elected governor and aided in carrying the Buckeye State for Harrison. His followers continued to chant:

Success to you, Tom Corwin!
Tom Corwin, our true hearts love you!
Ohio has no nobler son,
In worth there's none above you.
So let us cheer the Wagon Boy,
Who drove that noble team, wo-hoy!³⁴

³⁰ Dixon Ryan Fox, *The Decline of Aristocracy in the Politics of New York* (New York, 1919), p. 411.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 414.

³² Daryl Pendergraft, "The Public Career of Thomas Corwin," Ph.D. dissertation, State University of Iowa, 1943, I, 1-48; J. Jeffery Auer, "Tom Corwin: 'King of the Stump,'" *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, XXX (February, 1944), 47 ff.

³³ William C. Roberts, *The Leading Orators of Twenty-Five Campaigns* (New York, 1884), p. 104.

³⁴ Pendergraft, p. 250.

Behind all the demagoguery and showmanship of 1840, what were the real issues? "Hard times," an aftermath of the panic of 1837, to be sure. But the Whig orators and editors made no attempt to discuss the policy of the respective candidates or the principles of government. With their cider barrels and coonskin caps and log cabins and noise they overrode all issues. It was enough for Whigs to see that by such strategy they could win, and they accepted the conditions that they found and successfully exploited them. But President Harrison died one month after his inauguration in 1841, and when, in 1844, the Whigs tried to repeat their log-cabin-and-cider act with Henry Clay as their presidential candidate, their strategy was less successful. Weed wrote disappointedly, "The songs don't warm up the masses as they did in '40."³⁵

In 1848 the Whigs abandoned Clay as a presidential standard-bearer and nominated General Zachary Taylor, Mexican War hero. As one erstwhile Clay supporter wrote in May of that year: "Mr. Clay is *too pure a patriot* to win in these *demagoguing* times. We must fix up a little 'humbugging' with our glorious Whig creed, before we can expect a victory—and Gen Taylor's *military fame* is about the best we can make use of at present."³⁶ Because of a Democratic split the Whigs elected Taylor—only to have him die after one year in office.

Again in 1852 the Whigs ran a war hero for President—this time General Winfield Scott. Both parties exploited race and religion. Democrats accused Scott of having hanged fifteen Germans and shot twenty-five Irishmen in the army during the Mexican War.³⁷ Scott himself praised the "rich brogue of the Irish" and the German accent.³⁸ He attended Catholic mass on a Sunday morning and Protestant services in the evening.

Such tactics, however, proved of no avail. Scott was thoroughly drubbed by the Democrat Franklin Pierce in the last presidential contest which the Whigs waged as a national party.³⁹ Sectionalism and other factors were soon to give rise to the Republican party.

With the emergence of Republicanism during the 1850's the "antislavery" school of demagogues came to the fore.

Decades after the Civil War David R. Locke, who, as an antislavery

³⁵ Van Deusen, *Thurlow Weed*, p. 135.

³⁶ Quoted in Glyndon G. Van Deusen, *The Life of Henry Clay* (Boston, 1937), p. 391.

³⁷ Van Deusen, *Thurlow Weed*, p. 192.

³⁸ James Ford Rhodes, *History of the United States from the Compromise of 1850* (New York, 1893), I, 276.

³⁹ For the decline of Whiggery see Harry J. Carman and Reinhard H. Luthin, "The Seward-Fillmore Feud and the Disruption of the Whig Party," *New York History*, XXIV (July, 1943), 335-57.

journalist in Ohio, had known his ante-bellum politics, published posthumously *The Demagogue*,⁴⁰ a political novel which fictionized a particular type of northern public man who exploited the sectional controversy.

Locke's main character in *The Demagogue* was a smart, conscienceless rogue of an Ohio newspaperman, Caleb Mason, who learned electioneering technique by watching a visiting Pennsylvania congressman, Rainey, in action. To rural audiences Rainey praised farmers as "that honored class who are the foundation of national greatness," and told humorous stories, as he studied them "as a physician watched a patient while administering some powerful drug." Rainey confided to Mason: "I'm getting too old . . . to be knocking around in country neighborhoods and tickling the ears of a lot of wooden-headed farmers and country jakes with a pack of worn-out yarns. . . . You young fellows must take up the burden." And so Mason studied law, married into an influential Democratic family, and was elected to the legislature and then to Congress as a Democrat. On the stump he recited tales of American Revolution battles, eulogized the "common flag" and "our glorious country," charged that "town aristocrats" opposed him because he was a "son of the people," and paid tribute to the sturdy settlers.

In 1860 Congressman Mason, watching hawk-like the antislavery agitation, forsook the Democrats and became a Republican. Although he had no deeply rooted convictions about Negro slavery, he denounced the slave power. The author of *The Demagogue* wrote of his character Mason: "His espousal of the anti-slavery cause was as purely a matter of calculation as the buying of a horse or a farm." And he added: "The anti-slavery struggle produced a large crop of this kind of statesman."

If Caleb Mason was only Locke's fictional antislavery demagogue, real ones like him thrived. Congressman James H. Lane, Democrat of Indiana, after voting for the "proslavery" Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854, rushed to Kansas Territory for greener political pastures. When the Democratic rallies which he organized there were poorly attended, Lane went over to the Republican party. Soon he was assailing "all Democrats" as "protectors of Slaveocracy." He raised a force, "Lane's Army of the North," and with it committed depredations on southern strongholds in Kansas as atrocious as those perpetrated by proslavery "border ruffians."⁴¹

In public Lane, a born actor, played a part, mingling with western frontiersmen or haranguing against the South and collecting funds in New

⁴⁰ (Boston, 1891). For Locke, see bibliography in *DAB*.

⁴¹ Wendell H. Stephenson, "The Political Career of General James H. Lane," *Publications of the Kansas State Historical Society*, III (1930), 39-80; W. G. Clugston, *Rascals in Democracy* (New York, 1940), pp. 63-66. See also John Speer, *Life of Gen. James H. Lane* (Garden City, Kansas, 1896).

England, presumably for the fight against slavery in Kansas. In that territory he wore a hair-covered cowhide vest, although in Boston he appeared in black broadcloth suit and white cravat. Among westerners he was a "Hoosier"; with southerners he was a "Kentuckian"; on New England tours he told of his mother, who had been a "Connecticut schoolmarm." At Methodist revival meetings Lane publicly had himself converted time and again in Methodist-populated Kansas. He mispronounced words to curry favor with frontiersmen.⁴² "His ability to humbug a crowd," concludes Wendell H. Stephenson, "approached hypnotism." After Kansas became a state in 1861, Lane had himself elected United States senator. With much justification his foes labeled him "an infamous demagogue."

Another leader who opportunistically boarded the antislavery bandwagon was Nathaniel Prentiss Banks. Starting as "bobbin boy" in a Waltham, Massachusetts, mill, Banks followed a chameleon-like political career, continually changing his color to suit the Bay State's public climate. Invariably he flitted from one party or cause to another, ever ready to drop one issue and adopt the one which ephemerally excited the voters. He began as a temperance Whig in 1833 and proved loquacious on the strong-drink evil. The Democrats adopted him. When antislavery beckoned in the late 1840's he affiliated with the "Free Soilers," although he had few notions about the Negro question. Arraying the poor of the Waltham district against the aristocratic classes, Banks was elected to Congress.⁴³

By 1853 anti-Catholicism overtook Massachusetts—and accordingly Banks forgot about his Irish supporters and joined the Know-Nothings. After being returned to Congress with the nativists' backing, he turned down their ideas and, once more courting the Irish, announced that he had "no enmity towards the foreigners." When antislavery became popular again in 1855, the Bobbin Boy joined the Republicans, the while catering to both Know-Nothing and Irish elements. In 1856 he was chosen Speaker of Congress by a Republican-Know-Nothing coalition—and then became friendly toward the South.⁴⁴ Two years later Banks combined antislavery, Know-Nothing, and Irish groups to have himself elected governor of Massachusetts. In his quest for labor votes he had been "anti-corporation" but when his term in the Boston state house ended, he accepted a lucrative position with the Illinois

⁴² Clugston, pp. 67-68; Jacob Stringfellow, "Jim Lane," *Lippincott's Magazine*, V (March, 1870), 266 ff.

⁴³ Fred Harvey Harrington, "Nathaniel Prentiss Banks: A Study in Anti-Slavery Politics," *New England Quarterly*, IX (December, 1936), 626-35. An excellent study of Banks is Harrington's *Fighting Politician: Major General N. P. Banks* (Philadelphia, 1948).

⁴⁴ Ulrich B. Phillips, ed., *The Correspondence of Robert Toombs, Alexander H. Stephens, and Howell Cobb*, in *Annual Report of the Am. Hist. Assn. for 1911* (Washington, 1913), II, 460.

Central Railroad. Banks's biographer calls him a "popular party spellbinder" with a "record of shifting stands and exploitation of anti-slavery feeling for personal gain."⁴⁵

Any review of Republican antislavery demagogues should include Thaddeus Stevens of Pennsylvania, often viewed as a "leveller" or "egalitarian." Entering politics as an Antimason, he vowed that he would fight on until there existed "no other question than Masonry and Anti-Masonry." In 1848 the Lancaster *Intelligencer*, his home-town paper, observed: "Mr. Stevens was an Anti-Mason, but when the ghost of Morgan had fulfilled its purposes, he turned *Native*."⁴⁶ Mixing antislavery with anti-Catholicism in that year, he was elected to Congress as a Whig. He attended congressional sessions irregularly, occupying himself more with his law practice and iron business and watching for possible shifts in public excitement. Although posing as a friend of the humble, Stevens denied his support to western representatives who would give land to the landless by enactment of a homestead law; he did not want lands to be settled by what he called "paupers."⁴⁷

After being defeated for re-election in 1852 Congressman Stevens joined the temperance movement as a vote-luring tactic—but only for a season. He returned to nativism and finally to antislavery. Several years later found him in Congress—this time as a Republican. One contemporary called Stevens an honest man "outside of politics."⁴⁸

While antislavery spellbinders were doing much to arouse the North against the South, the South too had its flame-tongued agitators. The region below Mason and Dixon's line, almost completely rural and far from centers of news and entertainment, was susceptible to the stump antics and oratory of politicians.⁴⁹ In Jacksonian days Franklin E. Plummer had performed successfully in Mississippi. So, too, had Reuben Davis. Standing for district attorney in the Magnolia State in 1835, Davis was informed that his opponent was "a good fellow, tells a capital story, and plays the fiddle."⁵⁰ In retaliation, Davis emphasized that he was the "son of a godly Baptist preacher" and his wife a "most devout Methodist." Davis also "set up" the drinks in a nearby

⁴⁵ Harrington, "Nathaniel Prentiss Banks," pp. 626, 628.

⁴⁶ Richard N. Current, *Old Thad Stevens: A Study of Ambition* (Madison, 1942), p. 31. Among other studies of Stevens are: Thomas F. Woodley, *Great Leveller: The Life of Thaddeus Stevens* (New York, 1937); Elsie Singmaster, *I Speak for Thaddeus Stevens* (Boston, 1947); W. E. B. DuBois, *Black Reconstruction* (New York, 1935), pp. 166, 191, 265-66.

⁴⁷ Current, pp. 91 ff.

⁴⁸ J. W. Binckley, "The Leader of the House," *Galaxy*, I (1866), 500.

⁴⁹ Avery Craven, "Coming of the War between the States: An Interpretation," *Jour. Southern Hist.*, II (1939).

⁵⁰ Reuben Davis, *Recollections of Mississippi and Mississippians* (Boston, 1891), p. 68.

tavern. He carried the district. By 1843 Bishop H. B. Whipple noted that illiteracy rendered the southern masses the "dupes" of designing politicians.⁵¹ In 1849 W. R. W. Cobb, "the most successful vote-poller in the State of Alabama," made a triumphant canvass for Congress by rendering captivating songs, one of which was entitled, "Uncle Sam Is Rich Enough To Give Us All a Farm." As he sang, Cobb winked, first at one listener and then at another, punctuating his phrases by chewing with gusto a piece of onion and coarse "pone" bread. In Alabama, also, the aristocratic Mrs. Clement C. Clay, Jr., aided her husband's successful contest for a United State Senate seat by donning a plain cambric sunbonnet such as farmers' daughters wore.⁵²

In the decade of the 1850's office seekers appealed to southern voters by utilizing the issue of white supremacy—often insincerely—as they dramatically exploited the excitement over abolition. In 1851 the Union-minded Joel R. Poinsett of South Carolina, who had served in Van Buren's cabinet and held the diplomatic mission to Mexico, deplored the "dangerous agitation, which originated and has been kept up by political Demagogues for their own sordid purposes."⁵³ And by 1856 the *Southern Literary Messenger* quoted the late Judge Abel F. Upshur: "The worst enemy of rational liberty is the demagogue. . . . He begins by flattering the people, and ends by betraying them."⁵⁴

Among the effective proslavery stirrers of the popular southern mind were those loquacious spokesmen for the less prosperous white classes, Albert Gallatin Brown and Henry A. Wise.

Born of poverty-stricken parents in South Carolina, Albert Gallatin Brown was brought as a youth to the piney-woods region of Copiah County, Mississippi. He was elected as a Democrat to the state legislature, becoming an ardent follower of Franklin E. Plummer. Brown's biographer, James B. Ranck, states: "He was an apt pupil in the Plummer school . . . making a stronger appeal by catch phrases than by the solid reasons he may have offered."⁵⁵ Like Plummer, Brown championed the "small" non-slaveholding white farmers of the piney woods against the prosperous slaveholding Delta planters and Natchez bankers.⁵⁶ Since the "poor whites" were intent on protecting their superior social position over the Negroes,

⁵¹ Lester B. Shippee, ed., *Bishop Whipple's Southern Diary, 1843-1844* (Minneapolis, 1937), p. 52.

⁵² Mrs. Virginia Clay-Clopton, *A Belle of the Fifties* (New York, 1905), pp. 21, 22.

⁵³ Clement Eaton, *Freedom of Thought in the Old South* (Durham, 1940), p. 160.

⁵⁴ June, 1856, p. 410.

⁵⁵ James B. Ranck, *Albert Gallatin Brown, Radical Southern Nationalist* (New York, 1937), p. 8.

⁵⁶ Paul H. Buck, "The Poor Whites of the Ante-Bellum South," *AHR*, XXI (October, 1925), 42 ff.

they became the "prey of fire-eating demagogues" who courted their votes by preaching against emancipation of the slaves.⁵⁷ Professor Ranck declares of Brown: "He did not hesitate to play the demagogue. . . . He had discovered the potency of the plea against abolitionism." Elected governor of Mississippi, Brown was hailed as "the first orator of the Democracy." His sway over the multitude was explained in terms of his "control of human minds, wills and passions by his eloquence."⁵⁸ In one campaign he made 115 speeches and traveled 3,200 miles.⁵⁹

Brown had himself elected to Congress and then persuaded the legislature to choose him United States senator. At Washington during the ante-bellum decade the proslavery master of Mississippi's masses ranted against abolitionists.⁶⁰ He made no effort to attract the big planters, who feared that conflict with the North would ruin them. The rabble-rousing proslavery peroration which Brown shot forth from the stump was typical of his talents: "The rich [in Mississippi] will flee the country. . . . Then the non-slaveholder will begin to see what his real fate is. The Negro will intrude into his presence—insist on being treated as an equal. . . . Then will commence a war of races." Clear-thinking men in Mississippi complained that the crowd-stirring senator was "arousing passion and prejudice, and undermining the loyalty of the Southern people to the Union."⁶¹

Another talented mob-master was Henry A. Wise of the Accomac County, Virginia, landed aristocracy. Wise had been sent to Congress as a Jacksonian Democrat in a campaign of "rancorous jibes and biting invective," becoming the "Accomac Orator."⁶² In Congress John Quincy Adams noted "his tartness, his bitterness, his malignity, and his inconsistencies."⁶³ Wise broke with Old Hickory, espoused Whiggery, and stumped for Harrison in the phantasmagoria of 1840. In time he allied himself with President John Tyler.⁶⁴

⁵⁷ Ranck, p. 25.

⁵⁸ Dunbar Rowland, "Political and Parliamentary Orators and Oratory of Mississippi," *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society*, IV (1901), 379, 382.

⁵⁹ Allan Nevins, *Ordeal of the Union* (New York, 1947), I, 184.

⁶⁰ M. W. Cluskey, ed., *Speeches, Messages, and Other Writings of the Hon. Albert G. Brown* (Philadelphia, 1859), pp. 329-43; Cleo Hearon, "Mississippi and the Compromise of 1850," *Publications Mississippi Hist. Soc.*, XIV (1914), 33, 130-33, 169; Samuel P. McCutchen, "The Political Career of Albert Gallatin Brown," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1930. Arthur C. Cole has emphasized the conciliatory views of the prosperous planters in his *The Whig Party in the South* (Washington, 1913), pp. 71 ff., 124, 136, 179 ff., 342.

⁶¹ Percy L. Rainwater, "The Presidential Canvass of 1860 in Mississippi," *Mississippi Law Journal*, V (August, 1933), 279-80, 280-81 (quote from Vicksburg *Whig*, Oct. 23, 1860).

⁶² Edwin P. Adkins, "Henry A. Wise in Sectional Politics, 1830-1860," Ph.D. dissertation, Ohio State University, 1948, pp. 5-39.

⁶³ Charles Francis Adams, ed., *Memoirs of John Quincy Adams* (Philadelphia, 1876), IX, 88; X, 478.

⁶⁴ Henry H. Simms, *The Rise of the Whigs in Virginia, 1824-1840* (Richmond, 1929), pp. 81-82, 151; Oscar D. Lambert, *Presidential Politics in the United States* (Durham, 1936), pp. 85, 93.

Throughout his jumps from party to party he remained a proslavery ultra. One Virginia onlooker described the Accomac Orator: "Reading the Book of Genesis, now a play by Shakespeare comes into his head, and straightway he indulges his audience with an act or two . . . his eyes rolling in a fine frenzy." Another called him "unsurpassed for fiery invective." Still another wrote of Wise: "He speaks excessively loud and twists his face into all kinds of shapes. The blood rushes to his face, and he has the appearance of a man who is strangling."⁶⁵

On his return to Virginia after service as minister to Brazil, Wise—now once more a Democrat—was elected governor in 1855. In that campaign he ended his speech at Parkersburg with the exhortation: "Let us all work together as one man to lift the head of the Old Dominion, the mother of Presidents, our own beloved Virginia, from *the dust in which it grovels*"⁶⁶—an oration which prompted one college student in the audience to write home: "I believe him to be one of the veriest demagogues."⁶⁷ Governor Wise, fiercely ambitious for high national office, sought to unite the slaveholding states under what he called "a bold man in place," which meant himself.⁶⁸ "The People adore him," reported one politician in 1856.⁶⁹ In the presidential contest of that year he stumped for the Democrat, James Buchanan, against the Republican standard-bearer, John C. Frémont, and shouted to a Richmond crowd: "Fremont is nothing . . . an adventurer, born illegitimately . . . a Frenchman's bastard."⁷⁰

Late in 1859 Governor Wise seized the opportunity to further his presidential chances when John Brown led his raid on Harper's Ferry. Dramatically Wise visited Brown in his cell, gave public credence to absurd rumors of further northern invasions, deployed bodies of militia, temporarily suspended travel on railroad trains, and barred certain "Yankee" publications from the mails—in short, he whipped up southern feeling against the North.⁷¹ The governor became a temporary idol. Songs were composed in his honor:

In Harper's Ferry there was an insurrection,
John Brown thought the niggers would sustain him;

⁶⁵ Richmond *Whig*, Apr. 30, 1851; John H. Claiborne, *Seventy-five Years in Old Virginia* (New York, 1902), p. 134; Clement Eaton, "Henry A. Wise, a Liberal of the Old South," *Jour. Southern Hist.*, VII (November, 1941), 482.

⁶⁶ Quoted in Mrs. Arthur G. Beach, "An Example of Political Oratory in 1855," *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Publications*, XXXIX (October, 1930), 680.

⁶⁷ Henry M. Dawes, quoted in *ibid.*, p. 677.

⁶⁸ Clement Eaton, "Henry A. Wise and the Virginia Fire-Eaters of 1856," *Mississippi Valley Hist. Rev.*, XXI (March, 1935), 495.

⁶⁹ Robert Tyler to John Tyler, June 13, 1856, Tyler Family Papers, Library of Congress.

⁷⁰ Allan Nevins, *Frémont* (New York, 1928), II, 508-509.

⁷¹ Allan Nevins, *The Emergence of Lincoln* (New York, 1950), II, 102, 158, 172.

But old Massa Wise put his spectacles on his eyes,
And landed him in the happy land o' Canaan.⁷²

There were those, however, who saw through Wise's motives—Democrats and Whigs in Virginia as well as Democrats in Indiana.⁷³

Numerous other reckless proslavery "men of the people" performed successfully. Conspicuous was Louis T. Wigfall, chosen for the United States Senate from Texas in 1859—"perhaps the greatest orator of the South" who hypnotized his audiences "with the electrical passion that would blaze in his seamed and fierce face."⁷⁴ Georgia, too, contributed a slavery-defending spokesman for the little man in Joseph E. Brown, who hailed from the mountainous country remote from the centers of aristocracy and wealth. Brown was elected governor of the Empire State of the South in 1857 and started a successful career by his "judicious use of his own personality."⁷⁵ Then there was former Congressman William L. Yancey of Alabama, "Orator of Secession," whose magic gift of speech before judges and juries brought invitations from political and agricultural gatherings, where he held forth on the wrongs inflicted on the South by the North. "The greatest orator I ever heard," commented one mesmerized listener. In one three-hour philippic at a monster Alabama barbecue in the campaign of 1856, Yancey, who was to lead the cotton-state delegations out of the Democratic National Convention four years hence, lifted thousands to their feet in an uproar of adulation. Yells rent the air and hats clouded the skies—all for "Southern Rights."⁷⁶

Southern Democratic proslavery demagogues, appealing to popular passions, had effectively vied with northern Republican antislavery demagogues in scotching efforts by Union-minded men, North and South, to hold the sections together. In 1859 William C. Rives of Virginia warned that if such "demagogy" were not stopped, disaster to the Union would ensue.⁷⁷ Ironically enough, such a northern moderate as Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois was

⁷² *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, IX (1901), 393.

⁷³ Charles H. Ambler, ed., *Correspondence of Robert M. T. Hunter, 1826-1876*, in *Annual Report of the Am. Hist. Assn. for 1916* (Washington, 1918), II, 280; Charles H. Ambler, *Sectionalism in Virginia* (Chicago, 1910), p. 329; Clyde C. Webster, "John Minor Botts, Anti-Secessionist," *Richmond College Historical Papers*, I (June, 1915), 23; *Indiana Magazine of History*, XXIV (September, 1928), 206-207.

⁷⁴ Edward A. Pollard, *Life of Jefferson Davis* (Philadelphia, 1869), pp. 418-19. See especially C. L. Lord, "The Ante-Bellum Career of Louis T. Wigfall," M.A. thesis, University of Texas.

⁷⁵ Thomas Robson Hay, "Joseph Emmerson Brown, Governor of Georgia," *Georgia Historical Quarterly*, XIII (June, 1929), 90. Also Louise B. Hill, *Joseph E. Brown and the Confederacy* (Chapel Hill, 1939).

⁷⁶ Avery Craven, *The Coming of the Civil War* (New York, 1942), pp. 276-77; John W. DuBose, *The Life and Times of William Lowndes Yancey* (New York, 1942), I, 91; Nevins, *Ordeal of the Union*, II, 504.

⁷⁷ Nevins, *The Emergence of Lincoln*, I, 18-19.

denounced by a foe as a "ying, hypocritical Demagogical master,"⁷⁸ and such an avid anti-Secessionist as Andrew Johnson was assailed as "the great Democratic demagogue from Tennessee."⁷⁹

Republican demagoguery played its part in the campaign of 1860, and, with the coming of war in 1861, demagogues were still very much a part of the political scene. There was Fernando Wood, for example, who, by his appeal to laboring groups, had become a Tammany Democratic power in New York City and had been chosen for Congress in 1840. "Wood depended," his biographer reveals, "far more upon individual contacts, the sharing of drinks and the manifestation of a warm personal interest in the ordinary voter. . . . He acquired a speaking acquaintance with every long-shoreman in his district." In 1854 Wood had courted those strange bedfellows, the Irish and the Know-Nothings, who elected him mayor. He had proclaimed himself "protector of the poor"—yet he had done nothing for the slum-dwellers and his administrations were honeycombed with graft.⁸⁰

Fighting for re-election in 1861, Mayor Wood charged that the Republicans would free the Negro slaves only in order that they could compete with white labor. He exhorted Celtic and Teutonic groups: "They will get Irishmen and Germans to fill up the regiments"; and, on the same day, he assured a member of Lincoln's cabinet of "my support of the war movement." Beaten for re-election, he became a staunch "War Democrat." By April, 1863, when Union optimism waned again, he made an incendiary antiwar speech to those "opposed to the war for the negro and in favor of the rights of the poor."⁸¹ He became a militant "Peace Democrat," demanding an armistice with the Confederates, and his cohorts fomented the Draft Riots.⁸² In 1864 Wood was again elected to Congress. Secretary of the Navy Gideon Welles expressed disgust with the popular franchise in the cities when such a "party demagogue," as he termed Wood, could again be returned to office.⁸³

The disgust felt by Gideon Welles seemed understandable, judged by

⁷⁸ Jesse D. Bright to Hamilton, December (no day), 1858, Allen Hamilton Papers, Indiana State Library, Indianapolis.

⁷⁹ *Richmond Whig and Public Advertiser*, Mar. 19, 1860, in Dwight L. Dumond, ed., *Southern Editorials on Secession* (New York, 1931), p. 60.

⁸⁰ Samuel A. Pleasants, *Fernando Wood of New York* (New York, 1948), pp. 11-17, 27, 48-100, 140-43; Gilbert M. Halprin, "Fernando Wood," M.A. thesis, Columbia University, 1928, pp. 19-39.

⁸¹ *New York Evening Post*, Nov. 29, 1861; *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington, 1897), 2d series, II, 1267; *Oration Delivered by Fernando Wood on the Anniversary of Washington's Birthday, February 22, 1862*; *New York World*, Apr. 9, 1863.

⁸² Pleasants, pp. 140-143.

⁸³ *Diary of Gideon Welles* (Boston, 1909), I, 524.

some of the characters who were chosen for high office by northern voters in the post-Civil War generation.

The demagogues made feverish efforts to collar votes of the foreign-born citizens.⁸⁴ Carl Schurz was sent out to whip up the "German-Americans."⁸⁵ To national party headquarters flowed a Niagara of such demands as "Send Hynes, an Irish orator, to Augusta at once"; or, to Connecticut, "a wide-awake Irish speaker with an Irish name."⁸⁶

Twisting the British lion's tail also became a favorite vote-catching strategy. Militant "Irish-Americans," convinced that liberation of Erin from England could be achieved by invading Canada, organized an American branch of the Fenian brotherhood. President Andrew Johnson publicly expressed sympathy for the Fenians.⁸⁷ On the congressional floor, representatives having Irish-born constituents called for the release of Fenians who had been captured by British authorities after their raid on Canada.⁸⁸ Governor Richard J. Oglesby of Illinois charged that "every rebel [Confederate] found shelter under Queen Victoria's petticoat" and assured cheering Fenians in Chicago that Fenians crossing into Canada should not be interfered with.⁸⁹ Around New York and Boston, where immigrants from Ireland were concentrated, elected officials loquaciously insisted that their political party defy John Bull. "Every burst of oratory [was] a denunciation of Great Britain,"⁹⁰ it was noted. And the Fenians, encouraged by such windy but seductive promises, continued to threaten Canada. An Irish writer observed that the politicians' mouthings were "so much moonshine, only useful for the purposes of political capital."⁹¹ One reformer protested against "the demagogism that courted the Fenians."⁹²

Through the years the British listened to the American politicians' promises to Irish-born and Irish-descended voters. In 1871 one English commentator noted that in cities of the United States, where the "ignorant foreign element" prevailed, "the quiet working representative who conscientiously

⁸⁴ Charles H. Coleman, *The Election of 1868* (New York, 1933), pp. 90-92, 203, 304-305; *Wisconsin Magazine of History*, XV (1932), 291; O. Fritiof Ander, "Swedish-American Newspapers and the Republican Party, 1855-1875," *Augustana Historical Society Publications*, No. 2 (1932), pp. 74-77.

⁸⁵ Joseph Schafer, ed., *Intimate Letters of Carl Schurz, 1841-1869* (Madison, 1928), pp. 438-450.

⁸⁶ Leon B. Richardson, *William E. Chandler, Republican* (New York, 1940), p. 107.

⁸⁷ Joe Patterson Smith, *The Republican Expansionists of the Early Reconstruction Era* (Chicago, 1933), pp. 80, 88-89.

⁸⁸ *Congressional Globe*, 39 Cong., 1 sess., pp. 4048, 4057, 4293-95.

⁸⁹ Howard K. Beale, *The Critical Year* (New York, 1930), p. 303.

⁹⁰ Smith, p. 89.

⁹¹ John F. Maguire, *The Irish in America* (4th ed.; New York, 1887), p. 614. See also Wittke, *We Who Built America*, p. 178.

⁹² *North American Review*, CIII (October, 1866), 546.

ously devotes his time and abilities to the duties of his position, is very liable to be set aside for the noisy demagogue at elections."⁹³

Benjamin F. Butler, although a self-proclaimed friend of the workingman, had run for governor of Massachusetts on the proslavery Democratic ticket in 1860. When the war came, he maneuvered President Lincoln into appointing him a major general. As commander of captured New Orleans he engaged in exhibitionist tactics, tolerated corruption, and insulted local women. Finally Lincoln removed him from his command. After the war Butler demanded the hanging of Jefferson Davis and Robert E. Lee. Feasting on the fruits of his exaggerated military reputation, he in 1866 was chosen by the Republicans for Congress, where he became an intemperate reconstructionist. In 1882 he was elected governor of the Bay State—as a Democrat and “Greenbacker”! Two years later he ran for President of the United States as an “Antimonopolist” and “Greenbacker” in a “circus” contest.⁹⁴

Ben Butler was only one of the so-called “bloody shirt” demagogues—those who energetically kept the war psychosis from passing.⁹⁵ Frantically the Republicans waved the bloody shirt in the campaign of 1876. In power when the financial panic of 1873 broke, they now softened talk of “prosperity” and shouted about past sins of the South. The G.O.P. platform on which Rutherford B. Hayes successfully ran for President in 1876 called for “the permanent pacification of the Southern section of the country.”⁹⁶ One party strategist reported to Presidential Candidate Hayes: “*A bloody shirt campaign with money, and Indiana is safe for us.*”⁹⁷ Hayes himself advised James G. Blaine: “Our strong ground is the dread of a solid South, rebel rule, etc., etc. I hope you will make these topics prominent in your speeches. It leads people away from ‘hard times’ which is our deadliest foe.”⁹⁸ And Republican orators and editors resurrected the horrors of the old Confed-

⁹³ “The American Republic—Its Strength and Weakness,” *Westminster Review*, XXXIX (1871), 331.

⁹⁴ Henry G. Pearson, “Massachusetts to the Front, 1860–1861,” in Albert Bushnell Hart, ed., *Commonwealth History of Massachusetts* (New York, 1930), IV, 499; Harry J. Carman and Reinhard H. Luthin, *Lincoln and the Patronage* (New York, 1943), pp. 153–54; Howard P. Johnson, “New Orleans under General Butler,” *Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, XXIV (April, 1941), 434–536; Frederick W. Dallinger, “Massachusetts in Reconstruction, 1865–1871,” in Hart, IV, 556 ff.; Louis T. Merrill, “General Benjamin F. Butler and the Presidential Campaign of 1864,” *Mississippi Valley Hist. Rev.* XXXIII (March, 1947), 537 ff.; George F. Hoar, *Autobiography* (New York, 1903), I, 345 f.

⁹⁵ William A. Dunning, *Reconstruction, Political and Economic* (New York, 1907), pp. 296–97, 300.

⁹⁶ Kirk H. Porter, *National Party Platforms* (New York, 1924), p. 95.

⁹⁷ Charles C. Tansill, *The Congressional Career of Thomas Francis Bayard* (Washington, 1946), p. 133.

⁹⁸ Mary Abigail Dodge, *Biography of James G. Blaine* (Norwich, Conn., 1895), p. 422.

erate prison at Andersonville, harped upon intimidation of Negroes in the South, and identified the Democrats with the provocation of war in 1861.⁹⁹ Vice-presidential Candidate William A. Wheeler counseled a Vermont rally: "Let your ballots protect the work so effectually done by your bayonets at Gettysburg."¹⁰⁰ Lamented James Russell Lowell: "Everything possible is done to stir up the old passions of war."¹⁰¹

High-ranking "bloody shirters" included Senator Zachariah Chandler of Michigan, who in 1879 castigated the aging Jefferson Davis as "a double-dyed traitor" on the Senate floor and sobbed loudly about "the piles of legs and arms" which he had seen on a visit to the battlefield a generation earlier.¹⁰² Another such senator was John Sherman of Ohio, whose demagoguery irritated his fellow Buckeye, Congressman James A. Garfield. Wrote Garfield privately: "I have never been more disgusted with Sherman than during this short session [of Congress]. He is very conservative for 5 years and then fiercely radical for one. This is his radical year which always comes before the Senatorial election."¹⁰³ When Jim Garfield, who had served in the war, ran for President in 1880, party strategists moved crowds with anti-southern appeals in verse:

Treason may make its boast, my boys,
And seek to rule again;
Our Jim shall meet its hosts, my boys,
And strike with might and main!
Once more he'll crush the foe, my boys,
With arm and bosom bare;
And this shall be his field, my boys,—
The Presidential Chair!¹⁰⁴

Another indefatigable vote-hungry inciter of sectional animosities in the presidential contest of 1880 was Senator John A. Logan of Illinois, who had aided in organizing Union veterans into the Grand Army of the Republic as an adjunct of the Republican party.¹⁰⁵ Logan whipped up the hysteria of a New York crowd of veterans and others by charging that the Democrats'

⁹⁹ Paul L. Haworth, *The Hayes-Tilden Disputed Presidential Election of 1876* (Cleveland, 1906), p. 40; H. J. Eckenrode, *Rutherford B. Hayes* (New York, 1930), pp. 141-43.

¹⁰⁰ *New York Daily Tribune*, Aug. 26, 1876.

¹⁰¹ Charles Eliot Norton, ed., *Letters of James Russell Lowell* (New York, 1894), II, 176-77.

¹⁰² *Congressional Record*, 43 Cong., 3 sess., p. 2234.

¹⁰³ Theodore Clarke Smith, *The Life and Letters of James Abram Garfield* (New Haven, Conn., 1925), I, 471.

¹⁰⁴ Paul H. Buck, *The Road to Reunion, 1865-1900* (Boston, 1938), p. 113.

¹⁰⁵ In 1868 Logan wrote: "The organization of the G.A.R. has been and is being run in the interests of the Republican Party." See Richardson, *William E. Chandler*, p. 108.

principles "led you into secession, rebellion, and covered this land with distress, and filled your streams with the blood of the best men."¹⁰⁶

In 1884 Grover Cleveland, a Democrat, was elevated to the presidential office. Independent of popular clamor, Cleveland was praised by Andrew D. White, head of Cornell University, for being "utterly incapable of making any bid for mob support; there had appeared not the slightest germ of demagogism in him."¹⁰⁷ Soon President Cleveland provided the bloody shirters with fresh ammunition when he requested various northern governors to return captured Confederate battle flags to their owners. "A host of insincere demagogues," writes Allan Nevins, biographer of Cleveland, "rushed forward merely to traduce the President."¹⁰⁸ Governor Joseph B. Foraker of Ohio, in his campaign for re-election in 1887, utilized the "returned flag" issue when he dramatically answered a protesting Union veteran: "No rebel flags will be surrendered while I am Governor." The Republicans renominated Foraker in a convention by acclamation as delegates and spectators waved their Foraker badges inscribed with the above slogan. Foraker was returned for a second gubernatorial term.¹⁰⁹

Civic-minded citizens, who in England would have "stood for" public office as a patriotic duty, went into business or the professions in the United States, leaving the political arena to those who excited the voters over frivolous issues.¹¹⁰ The prosperous business classes did not fear such mob-masters in office. Frederick Townsend Martin, wealthy New York socialite, later expressed the views of his class when he declared that the affluent could maintain their privileged position by throwing financial support and "our purchased Senators, our hungry Congressmen, and our public-speaking demagogues" against any party platform or legislation that might upset the status quo.¹¹¹

The Populism of the 1890's, aimed at curbing "coupon-clippers" and combating the entrenched commercial, financial, and industrial East,¹¹² contained as many self-seeking "demagogues" as idealistic crusaders. "Dirt farmers" sent to the western state legislatures learned the ways of old-line practical politicians and forgot the interests of their constituents.¹¹³ In 1892

¹⁰⁶ New York *Daily Tribune*, Aug. 7, 1880. When Logan spoke for Garfield in Vermont, "the audience was most enthusiastic over the Southern issues." *Ibid.*, Aug. 10, 1880.

¹⁰⁷ *Autobiography of Andrew D. White* (New York, 1905), I, 207.

¹⁰⁸ Allan Nevins, *Grover Cleveland* (New York, 1933), p. 333.

¹⁰⁹ Joseph Benson Foraker, *Notes of a Busy Life* (Cincinnati, 1916), I, 242; Everett Walters, *Joseph Benson Foraker: An Uncompromising Republican* (Columbus, Ohio, 1948), pp. 57 ff.

¹¹⁰ See Lord Bryce's remarks, James Bryce, *The American Commonwealth* (New York, 1911), II, 74-75.

¹¹¹ Frederick Townsend Martin, *The Passing of the Idle Rich* (New York, 1911), p. 149.

¹¹² See John D. Hicks, *The Populist Revolt* (Minneapolis, 1931).

¹¹³ C. S. Walker, "The Farmers' Movement," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, IV (March, 1894), 794-96.

Hamlin Garland published his novel, *A Spoil of Office* (Boston, 1892), which told of a self-educated hired man who, upon being elected to the Iowa legislature, was told by an old-timer at the state capital: "Every session young fellows like you come down here with high and beautiful ideas of office, and start in to reform everything, and end by becoming meat for Barney [the corporations' lobbyist] and his like" (p. 240). One observer said of the opportunistic Populist in 1894: "He ceased to be a farmer and became a member of some other class, perhaps a stockholder in a great railroad, or manufacturing corporation, with interests in common with the opponents of the agricultural classes."¹¹⁴

Meanwhile, during the post-Civil War decades, the South was producing its own demagogues. Vaudeville was the bait used by the Taylors of Tennessee. Robert L. Taylor, a Democrat, had won a seat in Congress by telling anecdotes and playing a whining fiddle, instead of discussing issues. In 1886 he opposed his Republican brother, Alfred, in a campaign for the Tennessee governorship. In joint "debates" the brothers delighted poverty-pinched and entertainment-starved voters with violin renditions of "Rack Back Davy" and "Arkansas Traveler" and recitation of poetry. "Fiddlin' Bob" was chosen governor over his brother, then was re-elected, and was later sent to the United States Senate.¹¹⁵ As governor Taylor did not accomplish much that was worth while. At a time when agrarian distress was acute, when coal miners were competing with convict labor, when children were being born out of wedlock because parents were too poor to marry, he won votes not by a program for the betterment of conditions but by sawing a squeaky instrument and spouting resounding and hackneyed phrases.¹¹⁶

Bob Taylor's success was an expression of the agrarian restlessness prevalent throughout the South during the 1880's. The town merchants and the conservative so-called "Bourbon" Democrats, led by former Confederate officers—the groups who had taken control of politics after the overthrow of the "carpet bag" and Negro governments—were hearing rumbles of discontent.¹¹⁷ That which they heard was the farmer's discontent directed at

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 796.

¹¹⁵ Daniel M. Robison, *Bob Taylor and the Agrarian Revolt in Tennessee* (Chapel Hill, 1935), pp. 52 ff.; Lois Hale, "Alf Taylor in Tennessee Politics," M.A. thesis, Duke University, 1941, pp. 59 ff.; Nashville *Banner*, Apr. 1, 1912, Nov. 26, 1931.

¹¹⁶ See Philip M. Hamer's criticism of Taylor in the *Journal of Southern History*, I (1935), 532-33.

¹¹⁷ "The hold of the brigadier on the Southern heart-string is weakening"—so wrote the Knoxville *Daily Chronicle*, May 26, 1886, quoted in Robison, p. 33. See also, for evidence of growing discontent, Francis P. Simkins, *The South: Old and New* (New York, 1946), pp. 254 ff.; Hallie Farmer, "The Economic Background of Southern Populism," *South Atlantic Quar.*, XXIX (January, 1930), 77-91; Benjamin B. Kendrick, "Economic Discontent in the

the landlord, banker, and merchant, to all of whom he was in debt; at the manufacturer, whose prosperity he envied; at the government and ruling political cliques, in which he had little voice.

Leadership in overthrowing conservative Bourbon rule was provided by Populist "men of the people," who arrayed the rural whites against the "brigadiers," the town merchants and bankers, and the "courthouse rings," and who preached against Negro equality. During the 1890's Populist-minded heroes pulled themselves up to power and prominence in the deep South.¹¹⁸ Among them were Benjamin R. ("Pitchfork Ben") Tillman in South Carolina, Tom Watson in Georgia, and James S. Hogg in Texas.¹¹⁹ Early in the twentieth century Jeff Davis emerged in Arkansas and James K. Vardaman in Mississippi.¹²⁰ By pandering to the prejudices and pride of the whites in the "counties where the street cars did not run" and using imaginative stump tracks and uncorking coarse invective, such spellbinders climbed to governorships and United States senatorships—in some cases they went from the State House to the Senate.

In their appeals and harangues to the impecunious white agrarians, the Populist leaders exploited the Negro issue. Tillman took the lead in disfranchising the South Carolina blacks.¹²¹ Watson embraced militant anti-Negroism.¹²² Hogg allowed his Texas followers to use the race question.¹²³ Jeff Davis roared against the "nigger" across the Ozark mountains.¹²⁴ Vardaman became Mississippi's "Great White Chief" as, garbed in immaculate white suit and hat, he rode into piney-woods towns in a huge wagon drawn by snow-white oxen—all symbolic of "white supremacy."¹²⁵

South, 1880-1900," *Annual Report of the Am. Hist. Assn. for 1920* (Washington, 1925), pp. 267-72.

¹¹⁸ Francis P. Simkins, *The Tillman Movement in South Carolina* (Durham, 1926); Alex M. Arnett, *The Populist Movement in Georgia* (New York, 1922); William D. McCain, "The Populist Movement in Mississippi," M.A. thesis, University of Mississippi, 1931.

¹¹⁹ Francis P. Simkins, *Pitchfork Ben Tillman, South Carolinian* (Baton Rouge, La., 1944); C. Vann Woodward, *Tom Watson, Agrarian Rebel* (New York, 1938); Herbert Gambrell, "James Stephen Hogg: Statesman or Demagogue?" *Southwest Rev.*, XIII (Spring, 1928), 338-66.

¹²⁰ John Gould Fletcher, *Arkansas* (Chapel Hill, 1947), pp. 289 ff.; Little Rock *Arkansas Gazette*, Jan. 3, 4, 1913; Orlean P. Bolian, "The Meaning of James K. Vardaman," M.A. thesis, Tulane University, 1937; Eugene E. White, "Mississippi's Great White Chief: The Speaking of James K. Vardaman in the Gubernatorial Campaign of 1903," *Quar. Jour. Speech*, XXXII (December, 1946), 442-45.

¹²¹ William A. Mabry, "Ben Tillman Disfranchised the Negro," *South Atlantic Quar.*, XXXVII (April, 1938), 170-83.

¹²² Woodward, *Tom Watson*, pp. 401 ff.

¹²³ Gambrell, "James Stephen Hogg," pp. 355-56.

¹²⁴ Jeff Davis: *Governor and United States Senator: His Life and Speeches* (Little Rock, Ark., 1913), pp. 96, 214.

¹²⁵ Heber A. Ladner, "James Kimble Vardaman in Mississippi Politics," M.A. thesis, Duke University, 1938.

The Populist "people's captains" of the South perpetuated their kind in extreme form. From them sprang that later school of twentieth-century demagogues—those garish spellbinders who, on the stump, promised seemingly everything, preached from the Bible, assailed the "nigger," and used histrionics and hillbilly music. Out of Tillman's following rose Cole Blease of South Carolina.¹²⁶ Watson inspired "Ole Gene" Talmadge in Georgia.¹²⁷ From the teachings of Hogg emerged "Farmer Jim" Ferguson in Texas.¹²⁸ Vardaman's disciple was "The Man" Bilbo.¹²⁹

The southern demagogues rose to power on the ground swell of the farmers' revolt. They kept the waters of public opinion muddy with invective as they ranted against corporations, town merchants, Negroes, "damyankee" Republicans, Wall Streeters, and courthouse rings.¹³⁰

American demagogues have been confined neither to a single political party nor to a particular social viewpoint nor to one section of the country. Antifederalists like Michael Leib; Antimasons like Thurlow Weed; Jacksonian Democrats like Franklin E. Plummer, Richard M. Johnson, and Ely Moore; anti-Jacksonian Whigs like Tom Corwin; antislavery Republicans like James H. Lane, Nathaniel P. Banks, and Thaddeus Stevens; proslavery Democrats like Albert Gallatin Brown, Henry A. Wise, Louis T. Wigfall, Joseph E. Brown, and William L. Yancey; Tammany Democrats like Fernando Wood; anglophobe Republicans like Richard J. Oglesby; "bloody-shirt" Republicans like Ben Butler, James G. Blaine, William A. Wheeler, Zachariah Chandler, John Sherman, John A. Logan, and Joseph B. Foraker; southern Populist-Democrats like Ben Tillman, Tom Watson, Jim Hogg, Jeff Davis, and Jim Vardaman; and their successors like Cole Blease, Eugene Talmadge, Jim Ferguson, and Theodore G. Bilbo—all such "men of the people" played upon the mass mind in an age of the widened franchise.

Such mob-masters as these are long on gasconade and bluster and short on public service and constructive thinking. Issues of national importance

¹²⁶ William C. Ezell, "Tillman and Blease as 'Popular' Leaders," M.A. thesis, University of North Carolina, 1931; James P. Sloan, "The Blease Movement in South Carolina," M.A. thesis, Tulane University, 1938.

¹²⁷ Conversation of the present author with Ralph McGill. See also McGill's "Talmadge's Career," *Atlanta Constitution*, Dec. 22, 1946.

¹²⁸ John F. Onion to Mrs. John Durst, May 9, 1914, clipping from Tyler (Tex.) *Daily Courier-Times*, undated, enclosed in T. W. Jones to Bailey, May 16, 1914, Joseph W. Bailey Papers, Dallas Historical Society, Dallas, Texas. For Ferguson, see Ralph W. Steen, "The Political Career of James E. Ferguson, 1914-1917," M.A. thesis, University of Texas, 1929.

¹²⁹ Albert D. Kirwan, "A History of Mississippi Politics, 1876-1925," Ph.D. dissertation, Duke University, 1947, pp. 389 ff.; see also Kirwan's *Revolt of the Rednecks: Mississippi Politics, 1876-1925* (Lexington, Ky., 1951).

¹³⁰ The present author has traced the rise of demagoguery in the South in an article, "Flowering of the Southern Demagogue," *American Scholar*, XX (Spring, 1951), 185-95.

are ignored or lost in a bedlam of sound and fury. The "gentleman" is eliminated from politics. The people, the mob, are regarded by the demagogue, the "man of the people," not as citizens but as ciphers, numbers of votes to be won or lost by whatever strategy. Ethics and morality count little, and causes are but means to one end, to be dropped or reversed when they lose their vote-catching value. But, conversely, the demagogue owes his rise and continued presence to the people he courts, who delight in his entertaining showmanship, his noisy, rabble-rousing techniques, and his fiery tirades in which emotion substitutes for thought.

The demagogue is a present as well as a historical phenomenon of our public life. In a future fraught with complex social and economic and international problems he will find new areas of ignorance and prejudice to exploit. With new means of communication his voice and his face may invade any house in America or abroad. In view of this disquieting prospect it has seemed worth while to examine the simpler forms of his historical antecedents.

New York, N.Y.

Prince Eugene of Savoy and Central Europe

PAUL R. SWEET

BY the latest count, the books and articles which have a direct bearing upon the biography of Prince Eugene of Savoy number 1,772 and a volume of two hundred pages was required just to list the titles.¹ Yet for all the effort which posterity has made to keep Eugene's memory green and the lineaments of his picture clear, his reputation has become increasingly parochial;² and the outlines of his picture which once stood out so sharply have become blurred. He has remained a great name in central Europe; but since the end of the eighteenth century the world beyond has declined to be particularly interested. This has been conspicuously the case with American historical scholarship. Of all the titles listed by Böhm in his exhaustive bibliography, scarcely one came from the United States, and the effects of this gap are seen in a book such as Penfield Roberts' *Quest for Security, 1715-1740*.

As for British historiography, it has generally viewed Eugene in terms of Marlborough rather than as a creative political personality of intrinsic interest. And while Marlborough remains to British historians a somewhat problematical figure, Eugene has become a museum piece, labeled and set off in a corner. Churchill said of him: "From the age of twenty, for just over fifty years and in more than thirty campaigns, he commanded the armies and fought the battles of Austria on all the fronts of the Empire. When he was not fighting the French, he was fighting the Turks. A colonel at twenty, a major-general at twenty-one, he was made a general of cavalry at twenty-six. He was commander-in-chief ten years before Marlborough. He was still commander-in-chief, fighting always in the van, more than twenty years after Marlborough's work was done. . . . He never married, and although he was a discerning patron of art, his only passion was warfare." And Trevelyan, epitomizing the matter, wrote: "Without a country, and without

¹ Bruno Böhm, *Bibliographie zur Geschichte des prinzen Eugen von Savoyen und seiner Zeit* (Vienna, 1943). This careful compilation was published as Volume XXXIV of the *Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für neuere Geschichte des ehemaligen Österreich*.

² Helmut Oehler, *Prinz Eugen im Urteil Europas: ein Mythos und sein Niederschlag in Dichtung und Geschichtsschreibung* (Munich, 1944). This, the first volume of what the author intended to be a definitive history of Eugene's historical reputation, is confined to the non-German literature of the eighteenth century. Oehler's projected second volume was to deal with the Eugene-myth in Germany from the baroque to the present. The work as it stands is of permanent value, solid in scholarship, and notably uninfluenced by the political atmosphere prevailing at the time of its publication.

wife or family, he pursued honors and fame with the zest of a young knight-errant during a military career of fifty years."³

These conventionalized vignettes by the British masters, which present Eugene as *edler Ritter* pure and simple, differ in broad conception and in detail from almost all the Eugene-portraits of their German contemporaries. Indeed, the most popular of the recent German biographers, Rössler,⁴ in flagrant contradiction to Trevelyan, gave Eugene a country (and the patriotic emotions to go with it), a wife (in all but law), and children; and large political conceptions, divorced from personal interest, were said to have dominated Eugene's activity as soldier and public servant. Rössler, to be sure, is not a scholar to be taken very seriously on his own merits, but he presented a conception of Eugene which already had been sponsored by historians of erudition and great academic influence.

That Eugene's reputation as a general should survive is not surprising, for over a span of many years his qualities of leadership were repeatedly put to the test, both on the field of battle and in the direction of coalition warfare. It is not surprising, either, that Austrian historians should sometimes celebrate him as the actual creator of the Austrian Great Power, or even that a very distinguished Austrian writer should pronounce him to be, without qualification, the greatest Austrian;⁵ for Eugene's years of victory were, generally speaking, the great years of victory in the history of the Habsburg Monarchy. But it is surprising that this man who was Italian in ancestry and French in upbringing and culture, who loyally served the Habsburg emperor for fifty-three years, who never learned the German language well enough to care to write it, should be so fervently proclaimed by leading German historians of the twentieth century, writing in leading German historical journals, as one of the greatest German national heroes.

It is not a question of new sources pointing to a new interpretation, because the Eugene papers discovered during the last fifty years have been extremely meager.⁶ Nor is it a question of the earlier generations of historians neglecting to utilize the sources they had, or being led astray by the faked letters and fabricated memoirs published by literary entrepreneurs in the

³ Winston S. Churchill, *Marlborough: His Life and Times* (new ed., London, 1947), I, 467; George M. Trevelyan, *England under Queen Anne: Blenheim* (New York, 1930), pp. 322-23.

⁴ Hellmuth Rössler, *Der Soldat des Reiches: Prinz Eugen* (Oldenburg and Berlin, 1934). New editions appeared in 1938 and 1944.

⁵ Hugo von Hofmannsthal, "Worte zu Gedächtnis des Prinzen Eugen," *Gesammelte Werke*, III (Berlin, 1924), 37.

⁶ Among the most substantial contributions of a strictly biographical character were Friedrich Engel-Janosi, "Die Anfänge des Prinzen Eugen," *Historische Blätter*, I, Heft 3 (1921-22), 440-47, and Max Braubach, "Der Lebensausgang Prinz Eugens," *Historische Zeitschrift*, CLXI (1940), 42-61. Each of these articles was based upon the discovery of a single new document.

hundred years after Eugene's death; for the historians of the latter half of the nineteenth century made an admirable effort to bring the picture of Eugene into accord with actuality.⁷ Quite simply, the new interpretation of Eugene may be regarded as one manifestation among many of what Huizinga had in mind when, in one of his last essays, he wrote: "Nothing is so dangerous to the future of historical science, nothing threatens it so much as the false heroism of our time."⁸

Eugene's rehabilitation as hero and as exemplifier of grand political conceptions was mainly a post-1918 phenomenon.⁹ When the old Habsburg Empire was torn asunder, the historical contributions of Austria to the German national cause in central and southeastern Europe came to be appreciated in circles where before they had been, in part at least, ignored, denied, or deprecated; and a whole generation of historians, with adherents of the so-called *gesamtdeutsche Geschichtsauffassung* in the van, set about revising the historical record so as to do justice to Austria's share in the national cause.¹⁰

While some historians, indeed, still adhered to the older Arneth tradition and treated Eugene's concern for the *Reich* and for the Germans as something which, while important, was derivative from his concern about the Habsburg state,¹¹ even those whose point of view was fairly close to that of Arneth showed a disposition to measure Eugene primarily in terms of his contribution to the German nation—a *völkisch* emphasis which Arneth him-

⁷ It is sufficient to mention in this connection: Alfred von Arneth's *Prinz Eugen von Savoyen* (3 vols., Vienna, 1858); the great collection of sources published as a part of the *Feldzüge des Prinzen Eugen von Savoyen nach den Feldakten und anderen authentischen Quellen* (21 vols., Vienna, 1876-81); and Aloys Schulte's fundamental article on Eugene's early life, "Die Jugend Prinz Eugens," *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung*, XIII (1892), 470-520.

⁸ "Die Geschichtswissenschaft in ihrer heutigen Lage und in ihrem Werte für das Leben," *Im Bann der Geschichte* (Basel, 1943), p. 90.

⁹ One of the pre-1914 hints of what was to come was to be seen in Karl Renner's *Grundlagen und Entwicklungsziele der Österreichisch-Ungarischen Monarchie* (Vienna and Leipzig, 1906), pp. 12, 19.

¹⁰ Cf. my "Recent German Literature on Mitteleuropa," *Journal of Central European Affairs*, III (1943), 1-24.

¹¹ For example, Oswald Redlich, *Das Werden einer Grossmacht: Österreich von 1700 bis 1740* (3d ed., Brünn, Munich, Vienna, 1942), p. 294. But Redlich, who was born in 1858, belonged actually to the pre-1914 generation. There did continue to be produced in university circles also monographs confined to the modest task of setting the record straight. Of those which dealt in detail and from the sources with problems of policy-making at the Habsburg court at specific periods during the "Age of Prince Eugene," the following were of particular value: Werner Reese, *Das Ringen um Frieden und Sicherheit in den Entscheidungsjahren des Spanischen Erbfolgekriegs 1708-1709* (Munich, 1933); Hugo Hantsch, *Reichsvizekanzler Friedrich Karl Graf von Schönborn (1674-1746)* (Augsburg, 1929); Grete Mecenseffy, *Karls VI. spanische Bündnispolitik 1725-1729* (Innsbruck, 1934); and also Braubach's "Lebensausgang Prinz Eugens" (above, n. 6). Interestingly enough each of these works brought forward evidence showing that Eugene was not the decisive personality in Austrian policy-making in the period under discussion; but this evidence had no perceptible effect on the process of legend-building.

self, it must be admitted, had somewhat encouraged.¹² An example among many is the memorial address which Max Braubach, an outstanding specialist on the period, made upon the two-hundredth anniversary of Eugene's death.¹³ Having established the point that, for Eugene, concern about Austrian dynastic and state policy had primacy over other considerations, Braubach was at pains to show that sound dynastic policy, as Eugene conceived it, led straight to a German-dominated Mitteleuropa, and he placed in the center of discussion the question "whether we are justified in celebrating Eugene as a German hero," which he answered in a ringing affirmative. This was the view sponsored by leading historians of the *gesamtdeutsch* persuasion, by Wilhelm Schüssler¹⁴ and, most notably, by Heinrich von Srbik.

While Srbik did not present the hero in exclusively national terms, and indeed attributed to him extraordinary talent for harmonizing the supra-national and the national¹⁵ within a grand conception of policy, the accent on national considerations was strong in Srbik's interpretation; and it was but a short step from his formulation to one which represented concern for national considerations as "determinative" in explaining the prince's political career. As one of the less cautious epigoni wrote: "In Eugene's deeds, as in the *Tragik* of his fate, the German element finally became determinative. . . . He lives in German history not only as one of the greatest German soldiers but also as a pre-eminent servant of the German nation."¹⁶

¹² While no large dominating points of view show themselves in the body of his Eugene biography, in the last chapter Arneth bestirred himself to assert that the line between Eugene's Great-Austrianism and Pan-Germanism was not at all sharp, and he attributed to him a keen interest in increasing the dignity and greatness of the German nation as well as the power of Austria. These views corresponded very closely to Arneth's own. About that there is no doubt. But Arneth did not give a convincing demonstration that they corresponded to those actually entertained by Eugene of Savoy. The evidence which he had presented in the body of his book did not add up to his conclusions. Certainly Heinrich von Sybel, who published a volume of lectures on Prince Eugene (*Prinz Eugen von Savoyen: drei Vorlesungen*, Munich, 1861) shortly after the Arneth biography appeared, saw no occasion, on the basis of Arneth's work, to hail Eugene as a German national hero. To be sure, Sybel, his pro-Prussian bias notwithstanding, was able to pronounce a decidedly favorable judgment upon Eugene, but it was a judgment based on Eugene's great contributions to Austria. As for Eugene's attitude toward Germany, Sybel merely noted that he had a stronger feeling for German relations than did Charles VI and let it go at that.

¹³ "Eugen von Savoyen," *Hist. Zeitschr.*, CLIV (1936), 17-31. See also Theodor Schieder, "Prinz Eugen und Friedrich der Grosse im gegenseitigen Bilde," *ibid.*, CLVI (1937), 264.

¹⁴ See his "Prinz Eugen," in *Meister der Politik*, ed. K. A. v. Müller (Stuttgart and Berlin, 1922) II, 39-63; reprinted in the volume of articles by Schüssler entitled *Deutsche Einheit und gesamtdeutsche Geschichtsbetrachtung* (Stuttgart, 1937), pp. 23-52; also his "Prinz Eugen und Mitteleuropa," *Vergangenheit und Gegenwart*, XXVI (1936), 209-14.

¹⁵ As well as the supra-dynastic and the dynastic, the universalistic, the central European, and the Austrian! Srbik dealt recurrently with the Eugene-theme in his writings and public addresses, and he did a great deal to stimulate the interest and researches of others in it. See especially his *Deutsche Einheit: Idee und Wirklichkeit vom Heiligen Reich bis Königgrätz*, I (Munich, 1935) and his article, "Prinz Eugen und Friedrich der Grosse," *Wissen und Wehr*, XV (1934).

¹⁶ Kurt von Priesdorff, *Prinz Eugen* (Hamburg, 1940), p. 5.

The exclusive emphasis which some of Srbik's confreres and disciples placed on Eugene's devotion to *Deutschtum* and the *Reich* finally became too much for him. He began to examine more critically his own thesis to see what there was in it, and the result is an essay, recently published, entitled: "Vom politischen Denken des Prinzen Eugen von Savoyen."¹⁷ It is a rather curious essay. The structure supporting the main argument is astonishingly weak, and the main contention is not sustained. Yet the essay is, for all that, extremely impressive, and brings the discussion to a new stage. The problems of a Eugene biography have never been put so clearly before, and if Srbik himself is compelled somewhat ruefully to admit that he has been only partially successful in piercing "the almost impenetrable wall" which separates Eugene, and particularly the "political Eugene," from view, it is not for lack of erudition; indeed, his knowledge of the literature, and especially of the most recent literature, is almost overpowering. In addition he has made a fresh search on a very extensive scale for new manuscript materials, and he has found some new Eugene documents. Since his hopes of unearthing papers which would reveal Eugene's political thought in all its fullness have not been realized, however, he has had to rely on scraps of evidence. He has assembled those scraps relating to Eugene's attitude toward *Reich* and *Volk* more comprehensively and systematically than anyone before him, and he has examined them in terms of the central problems set by his own school of *gesamtdeutsch* historians. The primary conclusion which he has reached is that those historians who celebrated him as a *völkisch* as well as an Austrian hero are fully vindicated.¹⁸

To reach his conclusion Srbik has addressed himself to the following questions: (1) Can Eugene's devotion to the *Reich* (presuming he had it) be plausibly explained? (2) To what extent did he exert his influence to make the protection and extension of the *Reich's* frontiers a primary aim of Habsburg policy? (3) To what extent did his feeling for the *Reich* and the German nation manifest itself in efforts to strengthen the *Reich's* internal structure?

Srbik is most successful in his treatment of the first question. He shows how close had been the ties historically of the house of Savoy with the *Reich*, how customary it had been for Eugene's close relatives to serve the emperor, and he reminds us again that when Eugene took service with the emperor he

¹⁷ It is the only previously unpublished piece in *Aus Österreichs Vergangenheit: von Prinz Eugen zu Franz Joseph* (Salzburg, 1949), a collection of some of Srbik's historical articles.

¹⁸ "Wenn er Österreich diente, so diente er bewusst und unbewusst, mittelbar und unmittelbar auch dem Reich und er diente dem deutschen Volk in den Massen, die seine Zeit erlaubte" (*ibid.*, p. 41). The chief revision in his appraisal of Eugene's political outlook is that he no longer attributes to him "universalistic" views (*ibid.*, pp. 29-30, 37).

moved at once into a circle of friends and kinsfolk. But while he gives a satisfactory explanation of why the transformation of the French-born Savoyard prince into a devoted servant of the emperor was no very difficult matter, Srbik is still far from demonstrating that the Holy Roman Empire as such meant very much to Eugene or that the prospect of furthering the interests of the German nation had an especial appeal to him.

As to his third question, Srbik has had to admit that, after careful study, he could not detect in Eugene "an active energy for strengthening the structure of the *Reich*" (p. 34).

So his argument rests mainly on Eugene's alleged concern over a period of many years with the protection and extension of the boundaries of *Reich* and *Volck*, and particularly in northern Italy, in the west, and in southeastern Europe; but even in the cases of northern Italy and the southeast his evidence is too flimsy to warrant detailed re-examination.¹⁹ There remain two assertions which have frequently been made before and which (even though they are unsupported by new evidence) deserve to be examined with care, because they are actually the main supports upon which the *völkisch*-Eugene thesis rests. They are, first, that Eugene exhibited great zeal to secure and extend the *Reich's* western barrier, and particularly in the futile negotiations with the French in 1709; and, secondly, that his *völkisch* feeling was demonstrated by the fact that he became the leader of the German party at court, and as the result of consciously steering a German course put his public career at stake in the critical year 1719.

¹⁹ To show that Eugene was interested in northern Italy for the sake of the *Reich*, Srbik relies on two documents: The first is a letter written by Eugene in 1707 expressing agreement with somebody else's proposal that copies ought to be obtained of papers in the Milan archives showing the legal rights of the emperor in the various Milanese territories. A routine document such as this provides convincing evidence only to those who are already convinced, and Srbik neglects to mention, although it is highly relevant, that Eugene certainly regarded Lombardy as within the natural sphere of a consolidated and properly rounded-out Habsburg Monarchy, and therefore his alleged concern about strengthening the emperor's claims there cannot be presumed to reflect interest in the *Reich* as such at all, unless he explicitly said so (which he did not). The second document upon which Srbik relies in connection with northern Italy is a memorandum written by Leitniz in 1716 setting forth the historic rights of the emperor in Tuscany. Srbik thinks that this memorandum would scarcely have been written except at the behest of Prince Eugene, and he boldly presents it as an expression of Eugene's views; but he omits pointing out, although the fact is much firmer, that when it was a question a few years later of defending these imperial rights in Tuscany, Prince Eugene was foremost in insisting that, for the sake of peace, they must be abandoned. (Mecenseffy, p. 12.) Srbik briefly reviews Eugene's well-known interest in colonizing Germans in the southeastern part of the monarchy, and he now observes, very truly, that someone might argue that Eugene did not advocate this colonization for the sake of the *Reich*, but for the sake of the Habsburg Monarchy. In answering this argument, Srbik cites nothing whatever from Eugene, but gives us a quotation from the Vienna *Reichshofkanzlei* proving that somebody, at least (though not necessarily Eugene), found such colonization particularly pleasing because of its implications for the Holy Roman Empire!

II

While Eugene's role during the negotiations between the Allies and French in the first half of the year 1709 has been cited very frequently as providing prime evidence of his concern for promoting the interests of the *Reich* and the German nation, there has been no consensus among those who have praised the part which he played as to precisely what he did to merit their acclaim. On the one hand, he has been presented as the spokesman for realism and moderation;²⁰ if his views had prevailed, so it has been argued, peace might have been obtained in 1709, and the emperor would have secured better terms than he got in 1713. In particular Strasbourg and much of Alsace might have been regained for the *Reich*. On the other hand, Eugene has been praised, and most recently by Srbik (p. 22), not because he urged moderation, but because he tried to get for the emperor not only Strasbourg and Alsace, but Metz, Toul, Verdun, and the Free County of Burgundy as well.

Clearly, if one is to make a judgment about these divergent assertions and their relevance to the *völkisch*-Eugene thesis, it is necessary to review the evidence.

At the beginning of the year 1709, it will be remembered, all signs seemed to indicate that the plight of the French was so desperate that the Allies could impose their will upon them. Between February 19 and March 20 the privy conference in Vienna held nine meetings for the purpose of discussing terms which would be acceptable to the emperor, and out of these meetings had come general decisions about policy. Prince Eugene participated in these discussions until March 13 when he left for the Netherlands. Although he was subsequently joined there by Count Sinzendorf, Eugene was the chief negotiator for the emperor in the conferences which ensued at the Hague with Count Torcy, the French foreign minister, and which culminated in French rejection of the Allied terms.

For the details of the discussions within the privy conference we are indebted to the researches of the late Werner Reese, who studied the minutes and was able to come to a more firmly grounded estimate of Eugene's share in policy-making at this period than existed before.²¹ While Reese carefully avoided the appearance of depreciating the influence of Eugene, it is nevertheless Count Wratisslaw, the Bohemian *Hofkanzler*, who emerges in his book

²⁰ This was the view of Arneth, and has been repeated by many later writers.

²¹ Reese, *op. cit.* In the *Feldzüge*, 2d series, II, 287-99, are published only the conclusions of the February and March meetings, which do not indicate the part played in the discussion by the various participants.

as the dominant figure in the privy conference, and it is Wratislaw more than Eugene who is pictured as having a carefully thought out conception of policy. Wratislaw's aim was not at all that of giving precedence to the *völkisch* interest, but of building up the power of the Austrian state by a consolidation of territory including Bavaria and most of Italy, and that, as for the rest, looked southeast rather than west. With these views Eugene was in fundamental agreement, not only at this time, but to the end of his life.

In 1709 he fell in line readily enough with the policy which subordinated Habsburg interests in the *Reich* to those in Italy, Sicily, and Spain. His instructions specified that a peace without Naples and Sicily would under no conditions be acceptable to the emperor; he had shared in the making of these instructions, and he carried them out vigorously.²² On the other hand, so far as the western frontier of the empire was concerned, he was authorized to ask for the moon and to settle for what he could get. He himself thought it important that the Rhine frontier be strengthened, and he believed the bargaining position to be such that this frontier could be considerably strengthened at French expense, but he had no doctrinaire views on what could, or must, be obtained.²³ The stormy scenes with Torcy, caused by Eugene's demands for French surrender of territory along the *Reich* frontier, do not appear to have derived so much from his zeal for the *Reich* as from his overoptimistic appraisal of the bargaining position.²⁴ In the end, however, Torcy was too stubborn: Eugene had to settle for Strasbourg and the possibility of part of Alsace, and he was criticized at Vienna by Wratislaw himself, not because he had fought too hard for strengthening the *Reich's* boundary in the west but because he had made too many concessions!²⁵

After the French had rejected the terms, Eugene was at pains *not* to assume the blame for a negotiation which had failed, and he then let it be

²² Eugene explained to Heinsius, the Dutch Grand Pensionary, that, rather than make peace without Naples and Sicily, the emperor would continue the war "*bis auf den letzten Mann*." This is to be contrasted with the way in which, in the same conversation, speaking "*bloss generaliter*," he mentioned the emperor's wishes concerning Strasbourg, Alsace, and other places along the Saar and Moselle; these claims, it was made clear, would not be defended "*bis auf den letzten Mann*," but were objects for negotiation and bargaining. *Feldzüge*, 2d series, II, Supplement, 101-102.

²³ At the privy conference session on February 27, Eugene's attitude on the western frontier was reported to be as follows: "*Princeps censet Rhenum pro finibus statuendum. Hüningen, Fort Louis et multa rasiert cum Freyburg, ein garnison in Strassburg. Beyren und Cöln eorum restitutio non in praelimivaribus concedenda, sed cari vendenda Gallie pro obtinenda uno gusto barriere am Rhein, etiam jam excipenda Alsatia[n] [et] Argentoratum.*" Quoted by Reese, p. 177.

²⁴ After his first rough encounter with Torcy on these issues, Eugene reported to Vienna that both he and Marlborough believed that when "*der Torcy solchergestalten unseerseite einen rechten Ernst sehen würde, dass derselbe, nachdem er so viel andere Passus gethan, auch diesen, was das Römische Reich angeht, thun werde.*" *Feldzüge*, 2d series, II, Supplement, 108.

²⁵ Reese, pp. 247-49; Roderick Geikie and Isabel A. Montgomery, *The Dutch Barrier 1705-1719* (Cambridge, 1930), p. 130.

known that he thought the terms offered the French had been far too harsh.²⁶ The only evidence predating the breakdown of the negotiations, however, indicating that he then thought the terms too harsh is a very inconclusive passage or two in Torcy's dispatches saying that Eugene was inclined to be "reasonable" before the negotiations began, and that in the course of the negotiations he tried to avoid petty disputes, while "*étant d'ailleurs très-ferme sur les articles essentiels.*"²⁷

The evidence, in short, does not bear out Srbik's contention that Eugene displayed exceptional zeal in seeking to foster the interests of the *Reich* in 1709. Nor does it support the contention that he showed particular realism and moderation. In fact, it is quite astonishing that his conduct in 1709 should be so often singled out for especial praise, for there was a real chance for a favorable peace in 1709, and Eugene shares responsibility for throwing the chance away.

III

The years which had intervened since 1709 had given Eugene a new master, Charles VI; but although Charles like his predecessors entrusted Eugene with the most important diplomatic and military duties, a coolness between the emperor and the generalissimo nevertheless set in. In the years 1718-1719 Eugene had to fight for his political life.

It was Eugene's relative, Victor Amadeus of Savoy, who had brought matters to a crisis. He had wanted to arrange a marriage between his son and one of the daughters of the late emperor, Joseph I, and when the scheme fell through Victor Amadeus held Eugene largely responsible for his defeat and decided on revenge. His ambassador in Vienna, the marquis St. Thomas, became the central figure in the ensuing intrigue against Eugene, and two agents, Tedeschi and Nimptsch, were put to work to produce evidence of Eugene's disloyalty to the emperor, while the emperor, who knew what was on foot, had indicated that he would be interested to learn what they could find. The scheme, however, was betrayed to Eugene, who went straight to the emperor, and caused him to have Tedeschi and Nimptsch arrested and tried by a special court. They were convicted, and Eugene emerged from the fray stronger and more unassailable than ever.

As previously noted, Srbik attributes Eugene's troubles at this time to the fact that he tried to steer a German course and thereby came into con-

²⁶ Arneth accepted these claims at their face value. I have not gone into the specific French objections, particularly with respect to the famous Article XXXVII, as not being germane to this discussion.

²⁷ *Mémoires de Monsieur de Torcy pour servir à l'histoire des négociations depuis le traité de Ryswyck jusqu'à la paix d'Utrecht* (3 vols., London, 1757), II, 53, 110.

flict with the dominant coterie at court;²⁸ but the evidence suggests that the reasons for Eugene's difficulties were much more complicated than Srbik infers, and indeed it may be questioned if he was trying to steer a German course at all except in a very narrowly defined sense.

There are two fundamental accounts of this crisis in Eugene's political career. The first is Arneth's which is based to a large extent on the reports which Saint-Saphorin, the British emissary in Vienna, wrote to London. The second, by Baraudon, is written from the Vienna reports in the Paris archives.²⁹ Since Saint-Saphorin worked in close accord with his French colleague, numerous excerpts from his reports are in the Paris archives, so that Baraudon's account derives much more than one on the face of it would expect likewise from Saint-Saphorin. Saint-Saphorin remains, then, the best single source for this crisis in Prince Eugene's political career, and his reports, as well as the materials at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Paris, have been re-examined from the point of view of the problem under discussion.³⁰

Although Saint-Saphorin gives a running account of the situation throughout these two years 1718-19, his angle of vision changes sharply from one year to the next. In 1718 he came little into direct contact with Eugene and appraised him mainly in terms of information which he received from trusted informants; but during 1719 he entered into intimate political rapport with the prince and gained a first-hand impression of his views and of his character. In his reports the reader sees Eugene first through the cold and somewhat unsympathetic eyes of associates and rivals, and then directly and close at hand.

One fact seems clear: In 1718 Eugene's popularity among the governing groups in Austria was very low indeed. From the emperor down, he was regarded as a man who had passed the peak of usefulness. He was particularly disliked by the so-called Spanish party, the faction headed by the imperial favorite, Althan, which owed its influence at court to Charles's nostalgic remembrance of the days when he had tried to assert himself as king of Spain, and to the strong predilection which he retained for Spain, for Spaniards, and for people who were predisposed toward Spain and Spaniards. Annoyed by Eugene's massive reputation, and frustrated by the

²⁸ See Srbik's article in *Wissen und Wehr*, cited above (n. 15), p. 178, and *Aus Österreichs Vergangenheit*, pp. 13, 24.

²⁹ Alfred Baraudon, *La maison de Savoie et la Triple Alliance, 1713-1722* (Paris, 1896).

³⁰ In spite of the reliance which Arneth placed on Saint-Saphorin's reports he nevertheless made only cursory and highly selective use of them. He evidently took very sketchy notes of his own in London, for he later had an Austrian consular official send him some more extracts. Even so, Arneth's direct quotations from Saint-Saphorin are very meager and are confined to the year 1719; Arneth apparently made no use at all of Saint-Saphorin's reports for 1718, which put the story in a quite different perspective.

power to obstruct which the cluster of top positions which he occupied gave him, the Spanish coterie became increasingly impatient. It is impossible to say with any degree of precision how much of the tension was due to personal rivalries and petty jealousies, how much to differences on public policy. But there *were* differences on policy. In general the Spanish coterie favored an orientation toward the western Mediterranean and an active commercial challenge to the maritime powers, whereas Eugene set particular store on the maintenance of the familiar alliance with Britain and the Netherlands, and on a southeastern orientation of policy. These differences ought not to be overemphasized, however, in estimating the reasons for Eugene's unpopularity in 1718.³¹ He was no doctrinaire, and he had immense experience in accommodating himself to the idiosyncrasies of different imperial masters. Indeed, in 1718, he carried accommodation to such a point that it was misjudged as weakness, even by those who were not disposed to be either actively friendly or unfriendly.³²

The impression of weakness was increased by the influence which the Countess Battyany was commonly supposed to exert over him. Certainly Saint-Saphorin was convinced that her reputation was deservedly bad. He gives credence to the fact that she took bribes,³³ that she kept Eugene from making journeys which he ought to make in carrying out his responsibilities, because she was afraid that he would find a mistress elsewhere,³⁴ and

³¹ Pierre Muret in his perceptive treatment of Great-Power relations at this period not only ignores the existence of *völkisch* influences on Eugene's view or policy, but argues that fundamentally Eugene and Charles VI favored a very similar orientation for Austria. "*Par ses perspectives lointaines, la politique du prince Eugène orientait l'Autriche vers l'Adriatique, la mer Égée et la mer Noire*," Muret writes. "*Elle n'était pas, ainsi, d'une inspiration si différente de celle des Italiens qui poussaient l'empereur vers la Sicile, Naples et le littoral toscan*." *La Prépondérance anglaise 1715-1763* (Paris, 1949), p. 58.

³² Apropos of a discussion with Eugene of the choice of generals for the imperial forces in Italy, Saint-Saphorin wrote to Stanhope, January 14, 1719: "*Le Prince Eugène, qui en qualité de Président de guerre, devoit proposer à l'Empereur les Generaux que l'on doit employer, et dire positivement les raisons qui sont en faveur du plus capable et du plus propre, par des ménagemens pour les Préjugés de son maître ne fait que de donner une Liste des Generaux qui sont en rang, sans aucun sentiment positif, et en laisse le choix à l'Empereur ou, pour mieux dire, aux Espagnols qui sont icy, lesquels ne regardent que leur passions et non le Bien des affaires. J'ay remarqué souvent, que quelques préjugés qu'ait l'Empereur, il cède aux representations de son Ministère, lorsque ceux à qui une chose est commise luy parlent franchement et sérieusement*." Public Record Office, State Papers, Foreign, 80/36. Baraudon, p. 252, concluded from his examination of the Savoy marriage question in the first months of 1718 that Eugene actually "*eût souhaité que la négociation de son cousin réussit, mais désirait ne pas avoir à faire connaître son avis*."

³³ Saint-Saphorin to Stanhope, Oct. 4, 1719, P.R.O., State Papers, Foreign, 80/39. Also Eugene's secretary, Brockhausen, was believed to be amenable to bribery, though his price was high as Saint-Saphorin on February 11, 1719, reported to Stanhope: "*Je croy qu'à l'égard de Mr. de Brokhausen il ne lui faudroit pas moins de mille ducats d'or pour le bien mettre au fait. C'est aux Pais-bas, et lors que il y sera avec le Pce. Eugène où on peut les luy donner, afin que la personne qui y sera employée de la part du Roy puisse avoir sur luy l'ascendant nécessaire*." P.R.O., State Papers, Foreign, 80/38.

³⁴ Saint-Saphorin to Stanhope, Jan. 25, 1719, *ibid.*, 80/38.

to the fact that she persuaded Eugene against his better judgment to make concessions to the imperial favorites who, in recompense, "procured for her everything that she wanted." The result was that "one no longer saw Eugene act with vigor."³⁵

For reasons which are somewhat obscure³⁶ Eugene was most vulnerable in the department which above all was his most special domain—the *Hofkriegsrat*. Saint-Saphorin emphasized that his firm stand in favor of ending the war with the Turks and concluding the peace of Passarowitz had much to do with his unpopularity in the *Hofkriegsrat* at this time, for many of the army officers and departmental officials wanted the war to continue.³⁷ In order to plague the prince, his opponents circumvented his wishes with respect to military appointments and made life miserable for some of his best friends among the generals. But that was not the whole story. There was also the fact that Eugene had ceased to work very hard, and even when he was being subjected to the heaviest criticism did not bother to exert himself unduly.³⁸

Eugene was a very proud man, acutely mindful of his great services to the Habsburg state; and his reaction under political attack was to consider the line which was consistent with his honor and reputation. To his friends he talked about the requirements of the situation in terms of his *gloire*, and he did not suggest that he would be in the least disposed to sacrifice his *gloire* for a particular governmental policy, *völkisch* or otherwise. About one thing he was absolutely clear. His *gloire* did not permit that he be dislodged from a single one of his offices. If he had to give up one, he would give them all up; and from June to October, 1719, it was indeed touch and go almost from day to day as to whether or not he would retire to his estates and to the consolation of his books.³⁹ Meanwhile he and Saint-Saphorin drew

³⁵ Saint-Saphorin to Stanhope, Jan. 14, 1719, *ibid.*, 80/36. Even after Eugene had fully gained his confidence, Saint-Saphorin conscientiously stayed out of Countess Battyany's way, because any suspicion of association with her would damage his credit in Vienna. Saint-Saphorin to Stanhope, Oct. 11, 1719, *ibid.*, 80/39.

³⁶ Certainly Bibl gives only a part of the explanation when he attributes Eugene's unpopularity in the war department and in the army to his "*reformatorischen Massnahmen*." Viktor Bibl, *Prinz Eugen: ein Heldenleben* (Leipzig and Vienna, 1941), p. 223.

³⁷ Saint-Saphorin to Stanhope, June 29, 1718, and Sept. 12, 1719, P.R.O., State Papers, Foreign, 80/36 and 80/39.

³⁸ "Il seroit d'autre part à souhaiter que le Prince Eugène eût un peu plus d'activité, car enfin il ne va aux affaires que tout au plus 3 ou 5 heures par jour. Et outre qu'il est regardé comme le premier Ministre, il est Président du Conseil de Guerre et Gouverneur des Pais-bas; et pour remplir de si grands Postes dans un Pais où tout est si difficile il faut y donner plus de tems, d'application—qu'il n'y en apporte, comme il est mal servi par ses subalternes, beaucoup de choses se négligent, le tout luy est imputé. On luy impute aussi l'intéressement de ses subalternes, quoy qu'il soit certainement le plus en garde qu'il peut contre eux." Saint-Saphorin to Stanhope, Dec. 16, 1719, *ibid.*, 80/39.

³⁹ "Il [Eugene] entra confidentiellement en detail avec moy sur les sujets de plaintes qu'il avoit. L'éloquence n'est pas son talent le plus remarquable, mais le ressentiment luy en donna alors

closer together. Saint-Saphorin had come to the conclusion that, if Eugene were driven to resign, the other ministers of the so-called "German party" would then be picked off one by one, and the Spanish faction would be left in command of the field. This, he became convinced, would be a most grievous blow to England. "I doubt if there is a man among those not actually in the service of the King," he wrote, "who has principles conforming more to the interests of His Majesty."⁴⁰

As previously noted, the intrigues of the court of Savoy provided Eugene with an issue upon which he felt he could and must go to the emperor and demand a showdown; and he emerged the winner. In the crisis Saint-Saphorin committed himself so completely in support of Eugene that his own position would have become untenable if Eugene had lost out. Partly as a result of his promptings, partly as the result of an appeal for support from Sinzendorf, the British government sent General Cadogan to Vienna with the express purpose of indicating the value which it placed on Eugene's continuance in office.⁴¹

There can be no doubt that, on Saint-Saphorin's view, Prince Eugene stood for as pro-British a course as one could expect from a Continental statesman. The "German course" which allegedly was responsible for his troubles is, however, not so easy to delineate. It was, to be sure, customary at the time to speak of the "German party" at court; Saint-Saphorin uses the term, and historians have picked it up and used it, too, but without giving particular consideration to what it meant. The term was applied to a group of high officials, prominent among whom, in addition to Eugene, were Sinzendorf, Gundacker Starhemberg, and Schönborn, who had in common that most of them were from the German and Austrian nobility and that they did not belong, as insiders, to the Althan clique, although Sinzendorf, for example, was more or less in the confidence of both factions.⁴² Saint-Saphorin considered them generally honest and sound of principle, whereby he inferred that they favored continued co-operation with the

la plus énergique que j'aye eue de ma vie, dont la conclusion étoit, qu'il convenoit entièrement à sa gloire de se retirer, et de ne pas souffrir icy les affronts et les déboires auxquels il étoit journellement exposé. Avec 10/m f[lorins] de rente, dit-il, je puis finir mes jours tranquillement, et sans embarras, et je ay une assez grande Provision de bons Livres pour ne pas m'ennuyer." Saint-Saphorin to [Stanhope], Sept. 12, 1719, *ibid.*, 80/39. Also Saint-Saphorin to Stanhope, Feb. 22, June 3, 7, and 14, 1719, *ibid.*, 80/38.

⁴⁰ Saint-Saphorin to [Stanhope], Sept. 12, 1719, *loc. cit.*

⁴¹ Stanhope to Saint-Saphorin, Nov. 4, 1719, P.R.O., State Papers, Foreign, 80/39: "*C'est principalement pour le service du Prince et de ses collègues que le Roy va envoyer My Ld Cadogan à Vienne. Sa Majté se feroit gloire de pouvoir contribuer à soutenir leur crédit, en diminuant l'influence si dangereuse que le Favori a sur les affaires.*"

⁴² By 1725 Sinzendorf was considered as one of the Spanish camp (Mecenseffy, p. 2, and Braubach, in *Hist. Zeitschr.*, CLXI, 47-48); but Saint-Saphorin certainly considered him a principal among the "German party." See also Hantsch, *Schönborn*, p. 284.

Maritime Powers; but beyond that he did not explore the political views which they might be said to hold in common. He was more conscious of their differences and of the difficulty of achieving any sort of cohesion among them. That the "German party" had an explicit "German policy" does not appear to have entered his head.

In fact, on the outstanding German issue at this period, the religious question, the "German party" did not have a common line but was sharply divided. Whereas Schönborn and his cohorts advocated that the emperor use his power in Austria to increase his imperial authority in Germany and to foster the cause of Catholicism in Germany, Eugene, Gundacker Starhemberg, and Sinzendorf opposed this policy because it would further alienate the Protestants, and antagonize Prussia, Hanover, and the Maritime Powers. Their German policy at this time was to use the empire as a modest adjunct to the emperor's power in Austria. They were far from thinking of Austrian policy as being primarily oriented toward Germany, and opposed risky adventures in Germany.⁴³

But while Eugene favored a generally weak *Reich* policy, he became enthusiastic about a strong and active Bavarian policy, and this is particularly illustrated by the support which he gave over a period of years to a marriage between the houses of Habsburg and Wittelsbach which might lead to the incorporation of Bavaria in Austria. True, when the project of a marriage between a Bavarian prince and a daughter of Joseph I was first discussed, Eugene was not enthusiastic. At least, the envoy whom the elector of Bavaria sent to Vienna in 1714 to promote the match got the impression that Prince Eugene was one of its leading opponents.⁴⁴ Be this as it may, Eugene eventually became a supporter of the Bavarian marriage. In 1718, when the elector wrote to him and asked for his support, Eugene returned a friendly answer,⁴⁵ but in spite of the ill will which the Savoyards gave him for allegedly sabotaging *their* efforts, the extent to which he seriously tried to influence the emperor at this time is not clear.⁴⁶

⁴³ See Martin Naumann, *Österreich, England und das Reich 1719-1732* (Berlin, 1936), pp. 17-18, 35; also Hantsch, p. 182.

⁴⁴ K. Th. von Heigel, "Kurfürst Josef Klemens von Köln und das Project einer Abtretung Bayerns an Österreich, 1712-1715," in *Quellen und Abhandlungen zur neueren Geschichte Bayerns* (Munich, 1884), p. 229.

⁴⁵ See K. Th. von Heigel, "Briefwechsel zwischen Kurfürst Max Emanuel von Bayern, Kurprinz Karl Albert von Bayern und Prinz Eugen von Savoyen," *Quellen und Abhandlungen, Neue Folge* (Munich, 1890).

⁴⁶ On February 11, 1719, Saint-Saphorin reported: "*Et quoy que ce mariage soit véritablement une affaire d'Etat, et autant qu'aucune autre dont il puisse s'agir, cependant l'Empereur la regarde comme une Domestique; et sachant que presque tous les Ministres Allemands y sont contraires, il ne leur en parle point; et comme tout se passe à cet égard uniquement entre luy et ses Favoris, les Ministres n'ont aucune occasion de faire les représentations nécessaires.*" P.R.O., State Papers, Foreign, 80/38.

As years went by, Prince Eugene became more than ever convinced that the acquisition of Bavaria ought to be a primary object of Austrian policy. Near the end of his life he returned to this theme in the long dispatch which is the closest thing to his political testament which survives,⁴⁷ and argued that in order to promote the security of the monarchy the emperor should arrange the marriage of his daughter, Maria Theresa, to the elector of Bavaria, because this marriage was the "only means of attaching the Electoral House permanently to Austria and of creating for the future secure outer defenses for the hereditary lands." In a crisis Hungary and Bohemia were always likely to revolt, and the emperor could only depend upon the German-speaking parts of the monarchy. A most critical situation would arise if France, as she was always seeking to do, should succeed in allying herself with Prussia, Saxony, and Bavaria, because the emperor's German hereditary lands were without natural defenses and open on all sides.

Having said this, however, it is necessary to stress the limits of Eugene's *völkisch* interests as expressed in this memorandum. There is no hint that he considered the Habsburg Monarchy an instrument to serve the German nation, and the idea was foreign to his political outlook. As for the extent to which the Habsburg state might some day aggrandize itself beyond Bavaria in Germany, it did not enter into his political calculations, because the possibility was not actual. Indeed, the emphasis in the memorandum of 1735 was not upon the possibilities of establishing "the closest connection with Germany and the German nation,"⁴⁸ but upon averting the disasters which other German states, in alliance with France, were potentially capable of preparing for Austria.

Even the argument for the incorporation of Bavaria was based only incidentally on *völkisch* considerations; of primary importance, in Eugene's opinion, were the military and geographic reasons. Bavaria, he pointed out, was particularly important because, by allying herself with France, she could always move in on Tyrol, thereby separating the emperor's Italian territory from his hereditary lands. Union with Bavaria would free Tyrol from this threat. If Germans had lived in north Italy and Italians in Bavaria, the argument which Eugene used to justify the Bavarian marriage would still have applied, and with almost undiminished force.

And so, taking the evidence altogether, there is very little to support the thesis of a *völkisch* Eugene. The concerted attempt to establish Eugene as a German national hero has resulted not so much in giving depth and rich-

⁴⁷ Published in the *Feldzüge*, 2d series, XI, Supplement, 152-64.

⁴⁸ Schüssler, *Deutsche Einheit und gesamtdeutsche Geschichtsbetrachtung*, p. 34.

* * * *Notes and Suggestions* * * *

A Study in the Origins of Interstate Rendition: The Big Beaver Creek Murders

WILLIAM R. LESLIE

ON March 9, 1791, near the confluence of Big Beaver Creek and the Ohio River in western Pennsylvania four Delaware Indians were murdered by a band of Virginians. Political currents thereby set in motion inspired the Pennsylvania Society for the Abolition of Slavery to demand on May 13, 1791, that persons accused of kidnapping a Negro in Pennsylvania be extradited from Virginia. The ultimate result was a congressional bill approved by the President on February 12, 1793, entitled "*An Act* respecting fugitives from justice, and persons escaping from the services of their masters." Thus the Second Congress of the United States under the Constitution very obviously packaged together fugitive criminals and fugitive slaves. Oddly enough, however, from the historical point of view, studies purporting to explain the origins of the statute stress never both but always either fugitive criminals or fugitive slaves. In the classical treatise on interstate rendition, for example, John Bassett Moore found that the abolition of slavery made it unnecessary to discuss any but the criminal aspects of the act.¹ Historians, on the other hand, have been almost entirely concerned with its aspects relating to fugitive slaves.² Consequently, materials have been overlooked and interpretations have in turn lacked the balanced perspective which larger bodies of facts can always supply. Since the act remains substantially unchanged today with respect to fugitive criminals and since its provisions respecting fugitive slaves are of considerable historical importance, its two aspects deserve concomitant development. The story of the murders on Big Beaver Creek is a proper beginning.

¹ John Bassett Moore, *A Treatise on Extradition and Interstate Rendition* (2 vols., Boston, 1891), II, 845-48. See also St. George Tucker, ed., *Blackstone's Commentaries* (4 vols., Philadelphia, 1803), I, Appendix, Note D, p. 366, whose very brief history of the fugitive slave act virtually ignores fugitive criminals and stresses the idea that its necessity lay in the numberless inconveniences arising from the diversity of laws, that is, from the conflict of laws, pertaining to slavery.

² Dwight Lowell Dumond, *Antislavery Origins of the Civil War in the United States* (Ann Arbor, 1939), pp. 62 f.; Roy F. Nichols, "Federalism versus Democracy: The Significance of the Civil War in the History of United States Federalism," in Roscoe Pound, et al., *Federalism as a Democratic Process* (New Brunswick, 1942), pp. 64 ff.; Alfred H. Kelley and Winfred A. Harbison, *The American Constitution: Its Origin and Development* (New York, 1948), pp. 359 f.

On the first of March, 1791, came a report to Colonel David Sheppard, lieutenant of Ohio County, Virginia, that a band of Delaware Indians had the week before killed four Virginians and captured and carried away two more. The colonel quickly organized a party of men twenty-six strong and sent them off in hot pursuit of the Delawares.³ In command of the party was Captain Samuel Brady, a well-known Indian fighter and something of a frontier hero. Assisting him were Captain Francis McGuire and Baldwin Parsons.⁴ Although their hot pursuit because of recent rains followed a cold trail and possibly even the wrong one, it led the men north and east out of Ohio County, Virginia, and into and through Washington County, Pennsylvania, where the party was increased from twenty-six to thirty.⁵

After leaving Washington County, the party rapidly pushed on north into what is now Beaver County, Pennsylvania, but which was then a very rough country, unorganized and known as "Depreciation Lands."⁶ On March 9, as the men approached the mouth of Big Beaver Creek where it flows into the Ohio River, they suddenly came upon four Indians whom they identified immediately as Delawares. Without further ado they pounced upon and killed the unsuspecting foursome made defenseless by surprise. No one troubled to ascertain whether or not these Indians were the ones who had killed the four Virginians in Ohio County. That one of the Indians was a woman was not indeed discovered until it was too late to spare her life. Out to kill Delawares, any four Delawares, these men acted on the basis of tribal responsibility and administered justice by reprisal.⁷

The killings took place in full view of William Wilson's blockhouse and trading post situated just across the river. According to their depositions, both Wilson himself and a young farmer, John Hillman, who lived nearby, saw the whole thing.⁸ From these witnesses news of the killings spread rapidly and soon reached the ears of such powerful Indian chieftains as Corn Planter, New Arrow, Half Town, and Big Tree, who, at the suggestion of

³ Colonel David Sheppard to Thomas Mifflin, Governor of Pennsylvania, Ohio County, Virginia, Apr. 21, 1791, *Calendar of Virginia State Papers and Other Manuscripts* (11 vols., Richmond, 1875-93), V, 289-90. Same to Beverley Randolph, Governor of Virginia, May 9, 1791, *ibid.*, V, 301-302.

⁴ See the curious letter from Corn Planter, New Arrow, Half Town, and Big Tree to George Washington, Pittsburgh, Mar. 17, 1791, in which a "Balden, persons" is mentioned as being one of the party. *Ibid.*, V, 315-16.

⁵ *Ibid.*, V, 291-93, 402-403.

⁶ Solon J. and Elizabeth Hawthorn Buck, *The Planting of Civilization in Western Pennsylvania* (Pittsburgh, 1939), pp. 562-63.

⁷ *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, V, 289-316. Over two years after the killings took place at the mouth of Big Beaver Creek, Captain Samuel Brady returned voluntarily and stood trial for murder of the four Delawares. He was acquitted by a jury on May 20, 1793. Joseph A. Bausman, *History of Beaver County Pennsylvania* (2 vols., New York, 1904), II, 725 n., 726 n.

⁸ *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, V, 289-316.

their friends in Pittsburgh, wrote to President Washington about the "murder."⁹

Washington referred Corn Planter's letter to his Secretary of War, Henry Knox, who wrote to gouty, asthmatic General Arthur St. Clair that the Indians' representations to Washington could have the "most pernicious consequences." Knox ordered St. Clair to investigate and if he found the Indians' statements to be true to denounce the killings to Corn Planter and the other Indians as reprehensible and to assure them that justice would be done.¹⁰ On the same day (March 28, 1791), Knox wrote to Thomas Mifflin, governor of Pennsylvania, that he feared the murders on Big Beaver Creek would provoke a general Indian war, continuing as follows:

To avoid such Deplorable consequences, every exertion will be immediately made within the power of the General Government . . . [but] the punishment of the Murderers will not belong to the General Government. The crime having been committed within the jurisdiction of the State of Pennsylvania, is to be tried by its Laws. No doubt can arise that your Excellency will view the transaction in its proper light and that you will demand the accused from the State of Virginia, according to the Constitution of the United States, or take such other measures on the occasion as you may judge proper.¹¹

Mifflin received Knox's letter the next day and immediately issued a proclamation offering a reward of one thousand dollars for the capture of any of the perpetrators of the murders on Big Beaver Creek.¹² He waited to demand the accused of Virginia until Wilson and Hillman's depositions reached Philadelphia. Upon their arrival copies were made immediately and enclosed in a letter (dated April 23) to Beverley Randolph, governor of Virginia, in which the extradition of Samuel Brady and Francis McGuire was demanded.¹³ On the same day that Randolph received the letter (May

⁹ Beverley Randolph to Thomas Mifflin, Richmond, May 19, 1791, *ibid.*, V, 305-306. The Virginians in Ohio County asserted that "Wilson & Co." sold arms and ammunition to all Indians which made the "Pittsburgh clique" despicable in the eyes of the people in the West.

¹⁰ Henry Knox, Secretary of War, to Arthur St. Clair, Major-General, Mar. 28, 1791, *American State Papers: Documents, Legislative and Executive, of the Congress of the United States* (38 vols., Washington, 1832-61), *Indian Affairs*, I, 174. Knox wrote to St. Clair again on March 29, and again on April 7, stating that he had written to Mifflin to demand the accused of Virginia for trial and that St. Clair was to suggest to the magistrates in the Pittsburgh area to take depositions immediately and forward them to Mifflin. *Ibid.*, I, 174 f.

¹¹ Knox to Mifflin, Philadelphia, Mar. 28, 1791, *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, V, 317-18.

¹² *Pennsylvania Archives, Ninth Series* (10 vols., Philadelphia, 1931-35), I, 57.

¹³ *Ibid.*, I, 89; *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, V, 298. Knox suggested to St. Clair that he ask the "magistrates" to take depositions immediately and forward them to Mifflin. *American State Papers: Indian Affairs*, I, 174 f. This accounts for the depositions of William Wilson and John Hillman. *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, V, 291-93. The depositions were sent to Mifflin in a letter written by James Brison, prothonotary of Alleghany County, April 9, 1791. In this letter, Brison lauds Wilson as a man of property and of very good character and Hillman as a "decent sober young man, the son of a farmer." Brison to Mifflin, Pittsburgh, Apr. 9, 1791, *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, V, 286-87; *Pennsylvania Archives, Ninth Series*, I, 89.

3), he issued a proclamation offering a reward of three hundred dollars to any person delivering either Brady or McGuire to Pennsylvania's governor. The proclamation also commanded all justices of the peace, constables, and sheriffs and exhorted all good Virginians to try and catch the two fugitives from Pennsylvania justice.¹⁴

Up to this point there was not even a ripple of discord between Pennsylvania and Virginia, but on May 9 Colonel Sheppard wrote to Governor Randolph that the killings on Big Beaver Creek were merely reprisals and that the reputation of Wilson and his associates was so bad as to discredit completely their depositions. Since this interpretation of the affair was substantiated by the messenger who carried the letter to Randolph, he discussed this additional information in a letter to Mifflin and indicated that he was none too happy over his haste in accepting the Pennsylvania governor's version of the Big Beaver Creek killings.¹⁵ A sharp break thus appeared in the hitherto cordial and co-operative relations between the two governors. Here was the entering wedge of interstate wrangling over the proper way to effect the fugitive criminal clause of the new Constitution.

About this time, however, another series of events was reaching a climax which was destined to become thoroughly entangled with the Big Beaver Creek murders. In the 1770's a Negro named John was brought by his master from Maryland to western Virginia, or so his master thought and intended. When the Pennsylvania-Virginia boundary line was drawn, however, John found himself to be a free man in Pennsylvania instead of a slave in Virginia—much to his master's chagrin.¹⁶ Undismayed by Pennsylvanian vagaries, John's master hired him out to a resident of Virginia in order better to retain his property in John and also to realize something on his investment. No sooner was John settled in his new environment than an anonymous group (which the Virginians called the Negro Club and said was the furtive arm of the powerful Pennsylvania Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery)

¹⁴ *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, V, 298–99.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, V, 301–302, 306.

¹⁶ The agreement between the commissioners of Virginia and Pennsylvania with respect to the boundaries of Westmoreland and Washington counties was dated August 31, 1779, but it was not confirmed by the Pennsylvania legislature until April 1, 1784. Although Pennsylvania organized Washington County on March 28, 1784, the legislature recognized the unsettled and uncertain status of slaves in the county when it enacted a special bill on April 13, 1782, which extended the deadline for registering slaves as required by the Act of 1780 to January 1, 1783. The many problems relative to slavery in Washington County, however, did not solve themselves with the expiration of the extended time for registering slaves. Difficult statutory and constitutional questions which could not possibly be solved immediately continued to plague the slaves and the slaveowners for many years. Frank M. Eastman, *Courts and Lawyers of Pennsylvania: A History, 1623–1923* (3 vols., New York, 1922), II, 367–76; *Pennsylvania Archives, Third Series* (31 vols., Philadelphia, 1894–99), III, 485–504; John Purdon, ed., *Digest of the Laws of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1818), pp. 480 f.; *Pennsylvania v. Blackmore* (1796), 1 Addison (Pa.) 284; *Respublica v. Blackmore* (1797), 2 Yeates (Pa.) 234.

was able to persuade him to return to Pennsylvania. His escape discovered, John's Virginia lessee advertised for his return. Acting upon the advertisement, Francis McGuire, Baldwin Parsons, and Absalom Wells captured the poor Negro and carried him back to old Virginia. This last return John made on or about May 10, 1788.¹⁷

On November 10, 1788, McGuire, Parsons, and Wells were indicted in Washington County, Pennsylvania, under the so-called kidnapping statute of March 29, 1788.¹⁸ Wells was taken into custody but returns on writs of *capias* issued by the prothonotary of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania on May 25, 1790, showed McGuire and Parsons to be still at large.¹⁹ On May 13, 1791, the Pennsylvania Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery,²⁰ having noted the alacrity with which Virginia had ten days before proclaimed a reward to catch the murderers of Big Beaver Creek and having also noted that McGuire (and perhaps also Parsons) was one of the murderers, memorialized Mifflin on the subject of kidnappers. The memorial prayed that the governor demand from Virginia the fugitive kidnappers pursuant to the fugitive criminal clause of the Constitution and that the Negro John also be returned to Pennsylvania although no basis, constitutional or otherwise, for this request was stated.²¹

¹⁷ *Pennsylvania Archives, Fourth Series: Papers of the Governors* (12 vols., Harrisburg, 1900-1902), IV, 219-20; *American State Papers: Miscellaneous*, I, 391; *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, V, 396-98. McGuire, Parsons, and Wells were agents of John's Virginia lessee by virtue of their acting upon the authorization of the advertisement for John's recapture and return. This was also, probably, the law of Pennsylvania at the time John was forcibly returned to Virginia. At least it was so stated a few years later in *Pennsylvania v. Kerr, et al.* (1797), 1 Addison (Pa.) 324.

¹⁸ Criminal liability was incurred under the Pennsylvania statute of March 29, 1788, "if any person or persons shall by force or violence, take and carry or cause to be taken and carried, or shall by fraud seduce, or cause to be seduced any negro or mulatto, from any part of this state, to any other place or places whatsoever, with a design and intention of selling and disposing, or of causing to be as a slave." Purdon, *Digest of the Laws of Pennsylvania*, p. 482. See also Section XI of the Pennsylvania statute of March 1, 1780, entitled "An Act for the Gradual Abolition of Slavery," which provided that the master had the same "right and aid to demand, claim and take away his slave or servant, as he might have had in case this act had not been made"; and other statutes providing for rewards for capturing runaways and for magistrates themselves to assist in the recovery of runaways. *Ibid.*, pp. 478 f., *passim*. An attempt virtually to repeal by interpretation those Pennsylvania laws cited—which protected the slaveowner's property and assisted him in the recovery of his runaways—by insisting on a comprehensive exposition of the Act of March 29, 1788, reminded one judge "of the attempt under the Bolognian law mentioned by Puffendorf, which enacted, 'that whoever drew blood in the streets should be punished with the utmost severity,' that a surgeon who opened the vein of a person that fell down in the street with a fit, had incurred the penalty of the law;—But after long debate, it was held not to extend to the surgeon!" *Respublica v. Richards* (1795), 1 Yeates (Pa.) 483.

¹⁹ *American State Papers: Miscellaneous*, I, 43.

²⁰ The official name of the society as stated in its memorial to Mifflin was "The Pennsylvania Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery, the Relief of Free Negroes Unlawfully Held in Bondage, and for Improving the Conditions of the African Race." It was organized by charter in 1789. *Ibid.*, I, 39. For some interesting comments with respect to the activities and point of view of the society, see *Respublica v. Richards* (1795), 1 Yeates (Pa.) 480 f.

²¹ *American State Papers: Miscellaneous*, I, 39.

Complying with the Pennsylvania Society's request, Mifflin demanded the fugitives from Virginia.²² Instead of acting swiftly as in the case of the Big Beaver Creek murders, however, Randolph first consulted his council. Those gentlemen decided that Pennsylvania's request should be referred to Virginia's attorney general, James Innes. This decision was made, they said, because they had some doubts as to the method of pursuing fugitives—which is very curious indeed when one recalls the quick action and procedure instituted in Virginia for the capture of the Big Beaver Creek fugitives.²³ In any case, this was the second step in the development of interstate intransigence in the matter of carrying into full force and effect the fugitive criminal clause of the Constitution.

Under the circumstances one would scarcely expect the attorney general of Virginia to favor officially a delivery of the kidnappers to Pennsylvania but Innes' opinion seem to have been *especially* designed to provide a legal bar to Mifflin's demand. The opinion contained four points. First: the Pennsylvania indictments complain that the Negro was taken violently, not feloniously, which in Virginia was merely a trespass as between the parties or a breach of the peace as between the offenders and the commonwealth. With respect to the latter, the offenders could appear by attorney and, if acquitted, there was no reason for the demand; if found guilty, and if personal presence were necessary for punishment, there was plenty of time then to make the demand. There seems to be also in this part of the argument the intimation that such acts as were complained of would not come within the constitutional terms "Treason, Felony, or other Crime." Second: adequate proof of residence within Virginia had not preceded the demand and consequently the demand might just as well have been made of Georgia as Virginia. Third: the act complained of must be such as the "state making the demand possesses an exclusive jurisdiction over. For, if either the federal court, or the courts of the State into which the offenders may take refuge are authorized to punish the offenders, there is no danger of an escape from justice, and no reason for a demand. The delivery and removal are only to be made for the sake of a jurisdiction that is proper." Fourth: there had to be a positive law for acquiring control over the person, delivering him up, and removing him from a state. Since Virginia had no such law either in her constitution or in her statutes, this authority, if in existence, had to be in the United States Constitution, where delivery is required and removal authorized. But, the opinion insisted in conclusion, the manner in which

²² Mifflin to Randolph, June 4, 1791, *Pennsylvania Archives: Ninth Series*, I, 124; *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, V, 320-22.

²³ Randolph to Mifflin, June 20, 1791, *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, V, 329.

either of these was to be effected was not prescribed. Therefore, the requirement in the national constitution could not be properly met.²⁴

Upon receiving Innes' opinion, Randolph informed Mifflin of its contents, saying that it precluded him from taking *any* measures for apprehending and delivering up the persons demanded. He added that it was to be lamented that no means had been provided for implementing a clause in the Constitution so important as the one presently at issue.²⁵ This was, therefore, Virginia's official refusal to deliver up the fugitives. Mifflin's reaction was to write at once to Washington, laying the whole matter before the chief executive.²⁶ Washington, in turn, referred it to his attorney general, Edmund Randolph, who also wrote an opinion, a rather lengthy one, dated July 20, 1791.

Randolph held that Mifflin had been deficient in handling the demand on Virginia. In summarizing this view, he wrote:

From the premise I must conclude that it would have been more precise in the Governor of Pennsylvania to transmit to the Governor of Virginia an authenticated copy of the law declaring the offence;²⁷ that it was essential that he should transmit sufficient evidence of McGuire and others having fled from justice of the former; and having been found in the latter; that without that evidence, the Executive of Virginia ought not to have delivered them up; that, with it, they ought not to refuse.²⁸

Randolph also cautioned Washington against interfering in the dispute until every hope of the states settling it voluntarily had passed. He said it was incumbent upon Mifflin to convince Beverley Randolph that he should act. He suggested that Washington's entrance into the dispute at that time would "establish a precedent for assuming the agency in every embryo dispute between the states; whereas your mediation would be better reserved until the interchange of their sentiments and pretensions shall fail in an accommodation."²⁹

²⁴ *American State Papers: Miscellaneous*, I, 41.

²⁵ Randolph to Mifflin, July 1, 1791, *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, V, 340-41.

²⁶ Mifflin to Washington, July 18, 1791, *Pennsylvania Archives, Ninth Series*, I, 160; *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, V, 343-44; *American State Papers: Miscellaneous*, I, 39. Mifflin wrote to Randolph also on July 18, telling him that he had written to Washington and stating that he did not "mean to involve the States in any further controversy on the present occasion." *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, V, 345; *Pennsylvania Archives, Ninth Series*, I, 160-61.

²⁷ Apparently Edmund Randolph did not know that Mifflin on July 18 had sent to Beverley Randolph a copy of the law declaring the offense. Mifflin to Beverley Randolph, *Pennsylvania Archives, Ninth Series*, I, 160-61; *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, V, 344-45.

²⁸ *American State Papers: Miscellaneous*, I, 42.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, I, 43. Edmund Randolph's position with regard to the dispute between Pennsylvania and Virginia was approximately the same as it had been in 1784 when he was attorney general of Virginia and South Carolina had demanded the delivery of one George Hancock from Virginia to stand trial in South Carolina for beating up one Jonas Beard, a justice of the

A copy of Edmund Randolph's opinion was sent to Mifflin who, pursuant thereto, immediately wrote (August 2, 1791) to Beverley Randolph in an attempt to convince him that he should comply with Pennsylvania's request to deliver up the fugitives.³⁰ Mifflin also addressed the Pennsylvania legislature on the whole affair (August 24, 1791), where he summarized the events which led up to the dispute and emphasized the correctness of Pennsylvania's constitutional position.³¹

By airing the dispute before his legislature, Mifflin only stirred up Virginia's legislators—who accepted the Constitution as the basis for argument—to make retaliatory complaints against Pennsylvania to their governor. Speaking for their constituents in western Virginia, William Mimachan and Benjamin Briggs asserted that it was really Pennsylvania that had violated the Constitution when she permitted the Negro Club to steal slaves from her sister states. They said that the Negro Club was, moreover, under Pennsylvania law, allowed to indent slaves after seducing them from law-abiding Virginians and thus pay the costs of raids against slaveholders. And besides, Pennsylvania law gave freedom to slaves residing for six months or more within the state "in direct opposition as we conceive to the federal constitution."³² John Waller and Horatio Hall also sent a joint letter to their governor in which they complained bitterly that the practices permitted by Pennsylvania law were an open violation of the "Feodal" constitution. They concluded: "We must therefore request you in behalf of our constituents to make a demand of the State of Pennsylvania, for the slaves so forcibly taken and detained."³³

As this question became increasingly a public quarrel, the governor and council of Virginia, perhaps naturally enough, decided on January 3, 1792, to issue a proclamation canceling the proclamation of May 3, 1791, which, it will be recalled, offered a reward of three hundred dollars to anyone who delivered the Big Beaver Creek murderers to Pennsylvania justice.³⁴ In Pennsylvania, Mifflin spoke again to the legislature declaiming against the

peace and a member of the South Carolina legislature. Moore, *Treatise on Extradition*, II, 826 f.; *Letters and Other Writings of James Madison* (4 vols., Philadelphia, 1865), I, 66-77; Moncure Daniel Conway, *Omitted Chapters of History Disclosed in the Life and Papers of Edmund Randolph* (New York, 1888), pp. 52-54.

³⁰ *Pennsylvania Archives, Ninth Series*, I, 170, 171.

³¹ *Pennsylvania Archives, Fourth Series*, IV, 178 f.

³² William Mimachan and Benjamin Briggs to Beverley Randolph, Nov. 20, 1791, *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, V, 396-98.

³³ John Waller and Horatio Hall to Beverley Randolph, Nov. 30, 1791, *ibid.*, V, 402-403. Waller and Hall appear to have been particularly indignant because one Samuel Bailey, a Virginian, had been required by Pennsylvania magistrates to be bound in a bond of £2,000 to keep the peace with his own slaves when he went after them after they had been seduced by the Negro Club.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, V, 421-22.

constitutional defense of Virginia. He maintained that the Pennsylvania courts were entitled to determine the guilt of the murderers of Big Beaver Creek and the kidnappers of the Negro John. He insisted it was immaterial whether or not the Negro John was originally a slave because the laws of Pennsylvania "though they will not permit violence, or injustice, supply an adequate remedy for every wrong." On the constitutional side of the question he said:

If strangers, who having wilfully committed an offence against the municipal law of Pennsylvania, retire to a neighboring state, may be denominated fugitives from justice; then every member of the section of the Federal constitution, which authorizes the demand as a preliminary to the trial of the offender, is amply satisfied on the present occasion; and neither policy, justice, nor candor, will admit a construction of that constitution, which, at the time of the ratification, shall place the citizens of the Union in a state of nature, and declare the antecedent period to be now free from every Federal compact, or obligation.³⁵

It is apparent that by this time the stalemate between Pennsylvania and Virginia could yield no voluntary constitutional implementation of the fugitive criminal clause, to say nothing of the fugitive slave clause. Co-operation, at first vigorous, then stumbling, had finally stopped completely. By this time there were two primary issues. The first is the more curious. Innes, speaking for Virginia, had raised an enigmatical jurisdictional problem. He seemed to imply that Virginia's courts were the proper tribunals to try Virginia's citizens for acts committed in and defined as crimes by Pennsylvania. Was Virginia, in Innes' thinking, the *forum ligeantiae rei*? Certainly Brady, McGuire, Parsons, and Wells all owed allegiance to Virginia. Unfortunately, too little of Innes' writings remain to adduce more evidence on this point but he did write in this instance, it will be recalled, that the act complained of must be such as the "State making the demand possesses an exclusive jurisdiction over. For, if either the federal court, or the courts of the state into which the offenders may take refuge are authorized to punish the offenders, there is no danger of an escape from justice, and no reason for the demand. The delivery and removal are only to be made for the sake of a jurisdiction that is proper."

Mifflin on this point wrote to Washington: "It is certain that the laws of the state in which the act is committed must furnish the rule to determine its criminality, and not the laws of the state in which the fugitive from justice happens to be discovered."³⁶ It is apparent that Mifflin slid off Innes' point (since Innes did not contend for any jurisdiction but for Virginia

³⁵ *Pennsylvania Archives, Fourth Series*, IV, 220.

³⁶ Mifflin to Washington, July 18, 1791, *American State Papers: Miscellaneous*, I, 39.

only) and perhaps sought thereby to dull it by a *reductio ad absurdum*. But Edmund Randolph, for the United States, met Innes head on: "It is notorious that the crime is cognizable in Pennsylvania; for crimes are peculiarly of a local nature. But if it were conceived, that Virginia might chastise offenses against Pennsylvania, it would not follow that the latter could not demand a malefactor from the former."³⁷

Innes, however, was unimpressed. He refused to budge. Note the nuances of stubbornness in his diction and phrasing of the following two statements made on January 3, and on March 12, 1792, respectively:

Neither the Strictures of Governor Mifflin nor the reasonings of the Attorney-Gen'l of the United States have induced [me] to recede from the Opinion [I] gave to the Executive.³⁸

Mutatis mutandis, the opinion contained in my letter, bearing date the 20th of June, 1791, respecting the Demand made by Governor Mifflin on this State for the delivery of Brady, McGuire, and Parsons, the sentiments I then expressed, I have seen no cause to correct, notwithstanding ye eminence of certain personages who are in Hostility to them.³⁹

The second of the two primary issues between Pennsylvania and Virginia was also first raised by Innes when he insisted that there had to be a positive law for acquiring control over a person, delivering him up, and removing him from a state. His argument was that every free man in Virginia was entitled to the unmolested enjoyment of his liberty, unless it was taken away by the Constitution or the laws of the United States, or by the constitution or laws of Virginia. He found that the delivery and removal of the Big Beaver Creek murderers and the Negro kidnappers could be effected only under the authority of the United States Constitution. "By that," he said, "the delivery is required and the removal authorized. But the manner in which either shall be effected is not prescribed."⁴⁰

The question thus raised was really whether or not Congress should be asked to enact a "positive law" implementing the fugitive criminal clause of the Constitution. Through the two governors, Randolph and Mifflin, this question was passed on from Innes to Washington. Edmund Randolph, in turn, although not in favor of congressional action conceded that "perhaps such a step might content all scruples."⁴¹ It was under these circumstances that Washington, on October 27, 1791, laid the whole controversy before

³⁷ *Ibid.*, I, 42.

³⁸ Innes to Lieutenant-Governor Wood, Jan. 3, 1792, *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, V, 421.

³⁹ Innes to Governor Henry Lee, Mar. 12, 1792, *ibid.*, V, 464.

⁴⁰ *American State Papers: Miscellaneous*, I, 41.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, I, 42.

Congress together with the correspondence between the governors of the two states and the opinion of Edmund Randolph.⁴² Thereafter, a bill framed in the Senate and accepted by the House with only a few minor changes was approved by the President on February 12, 1793.⁴³

The title of the bill was: "*An Act* respecting Fugitives from Justice, and persons escaping from the Service of their Masters." It had therefore two stated objectives: (1) the return of fugitive criminals; (2) the return of fugitives from labor. It had four clauses: two devoted to fugitive criminals; two devoted to fugitives from labor.⁴⁴ There are many accounts of the legislative history of this act in Congress in which the scantiest materials have been worked and reworked,⁴⁵ adding little to the history of the statute. One account has it that southerners demanded the act because fugitive slaves were being protected against their masters in the north;⁴⁶ another that this was not the reason for the act, but instead that it was designed to prevent the kidnapping of free Negroes.⁴⁷ None, however, has told the story beginning with the Big Beaver Creek murders which explains the curious way in which murderers became entangled with kidnappers and thus why the act of February 12, 1793, came to embrace two objectives. In this connection, some historians have been inclined to assert bases for the act which cannot be sustained. It has been alleged, for example, that the act was patterned after a congressional statute of July 20, 1790, entitled, "For the government and regulation of seamen in the merchant service." This is a most interesting idea but investigation showed it to be inadequately documented.⁴⁸

⁴² James D. Richardson, ed., *A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents, 1789-1902* (10 vols., New York, 1903), I, 111.

⁴³ *Senate Journal*, 2 Cong. 2 sess., pp. 460-82; *House Journal*, 2 Cong. 2 sess., pp. 675, 676; *Annals of Congress*, 2d Cong., 1791-93, Appendix, p. 1414.

⁴⁴ 1 *Statutes at Large*, pp. 302-304; *Annals of Congress*, 2d Cong., Appendix, pp. 1414-15; that part of the act dealing with fugitive criminals is reproduced in Moore, *A Treatise on Extradition*, II, 846-47.

⁴⁵ Richard Hildreth, *Despotism in America* (Boston, 1854), pp. 266 f.; Mary Stoughton Locke, *Anti-slavery in America . . . 1619-1808* (Boston, 1901), pp. 131 f.; Marion Gleason McDougall, *Fugitive Slaves, 1619-1865* (Boston, 1891), pp. 16 f.; Moore, *Treatise on Extradition*, II, 845 f.; Henry Wilson, *History of the Rise and Fall of the Slave Power in America* (4th ed., Boston, 1875-77), I, 69 f. See also Allen Johnson, "Constitutionality of the Fugitive Slave Acts," *Yale Law Journal*, XXXI, 161-82. The proposal for the combined fugitive criminal and fugitive slave act was first made in the House. McDougall, pp. 17 f. That the proposal was dropped by the House and was later taken up by the Senate suggests that Congress thought it more fitting for the upper chamber to draft bills pertaining to interstate relations since the upper chamber represented states as states. The bill was debated frequently and therefore perhaps sharply in the Senate between November 22, 1792, and February 8, 1793. *Senate Journal*, 2 Cong. 2 sess., pp. 460-82, *passim*. The Senate finished its draft of the bill and sent it to the House on January 18, 1793. *House Journal*, 2 Cong. 2 sess., p. 675.

⁴⁶ C. W. A. David, "The Fugitive Slave Law of 1793 and its Antecedents," *Journal of Negro History*, IX (January, 1924), 18-25. No authority is cited for this position.

⁴⁷ Homer Carey Hockett, *The Constitutional History of the United States, 1826-1876* (New York, 1939), pp. 189-90. It is curious that Mr. Hockett uses as authority for his position the article cited in the previous footnote.

⁴⁸ Hildreth, pp. 266 f.

More important from the constitutional standpoint were arguments of later abolitionists that the framers of the Constitution intended no implementation by Congress of the fugitive slave clause because the clause itself was sufficiently clear for the states to carry out its proper intent. Support for this position rested on the claim that Attorney General Randolph's opinion did not favor congressional implementation of the fugitive criminal clause (which is true) and therefore by analogy the fugitive slave act of 1793 was an improper exercise of legislative authority.⁴⁹ The truth is that Randolph, while he did not favor it, thought a congressional act authorizing private persons to enter states to seize fugitive criminals would be a possible solution to the difficulty, namely, the lack of a "positive law" on the subject.⁵⁰

Incidentally, Randolph's idea that Congress might authorize private persons to enter states to seize fugitive criminals may have been incorporated into that part of the act pertaining to fugitives from labor which empowered the slave's master, or his agent or attorney, to seize or arrest "such fugitive from labor" as had escaped into another state or territory. This was sharply different from the provision respecting fugitive criminals because there the executive of the state or territory into which a fugitive from justice fled was, upon proper certification, "to cause him or her to be arrested and secured," and to give notice thereof to the executive authority of the state making the demand.⁵¹

Finally, was the act of February 12, 1793, consistent with the intentions of the framers with respect to both fugitive slaves and fugitive criminals?⁵²

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 224-55. Edmund Randolph did not favor congressional implementation of the fugitive criminal clause because he thought it *inexpedient* for Washington to interfere in the Virginia-Pennsylvania controversy. *American State Papers: Miscellaneous*, I, 41-42.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, I, 42.

⁵¹ *Statutes at Large*, pp. 302-304; *Annals of Congress*, 2d Cong., Appendix, 1414-15.

⁵² Apropos of the intentions of the framers before the Philadelphia convention met is the following: "I hope it will not be conceived from these observations, that it is my wish to hold the unhappy people, who are the subjects of this letter, in slavery. I can only say that there is not a man living who wishes more sincerely than I do to see a plan adopted for the abolition of it; but there is only one proper and effectual mode by which it can be accomplished, and that is by legislative authority; and this, as far as my suffrage will go, shall never be wanting. But when slaves who are happy and contented with their present masters, are tampered with and seduced to leave them; when masters are taken unawares by these practices; when a conduct of this sort begets discontent on one side and resentment on the other, and when it happens to fall on a man, whose purse will not measure with that of the Society [Society of Quakers in Philadelphia], and he loses [*sic*] property for want of means to defend it; it is oppression in the latter case, and not humanity in any; because it introduces more evils than it can cure." George Washington to Robert Morris, Apr. 12, 1786, John C. FitzPatrick, ed., *The Writings of George Washington from the Original Manuscript Sources, 1745-1799* (37 vols., Washington, 1938), XXVIII, 407-408. The following is also noteworthy to assess intention after the Constitution was framed and from the point of view of a New Englander who, signing himself merely "A Citizen," preferred to bask in anonymity: "... please observe one clause in the New Constitution, which was made solely to prevent the injustice that this society [Providence Abolition Society] and their adherents, from continuing the same unkind treatment to their neighbors and the citizens of the States at large, have been guilty of for many years; I mean that shameful practice

The records of the Constitutional Convention, while few enough on this point, show that the subject of interstate fugitives was taken up on August 28, 1787. At that time, Pierce Butler and Charles Pinckney "moved to require fugitive slaves and servants to be delivered up like criminals,"⁵³ because, from the slaveholders' standpoint, it was neither unusual⁵⁴ nor illogical⁵⁵ to consider fugitives from labor as approximating the status of fugitives from crime. Objections were raised, however, by James Wilson and especially by Roger Sherman who could see no more "propriety in the public seizing and surrendering a slave or servant, than a horse." Butler then withdrew his motion on condition that "some particular provision might be made" for fugitive slaves. Thus, apparently, an understanding was reached agreeable to both factions, because immediately thereafter the fugitive criminal clause was agreed to *nem. con.* while the fugitive slave clause was approved with like unanimity the very next day.⁵⁶

The supreme law of the land now, therefore, laid a public duty upon state executive authority to deliver up fugitive criminals but had left state authority unencumbered with specific instructions for discharging its constitutional obligations relative to fugitive slaves. Congress preserved this distinction when it enacted the statute of February 12, 1793. There are indeed few instances of Congress more faithfully abiding by the decisions of the framers of the Constitution. In doing so, however, Congress also inevitably reproduced for posterity the comparison inherent in the Constitution of a slave with a horse—of men with beasts. In view of the subsequently increasingly separate histories of fugitives from justice and fugitives from labor, beginning with the Big Beaver Creek murders and ending with civil

of encouraging slaves to leave their masters and mistresses. The words are these: No person held to service or labour in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall in consequence of any law or regulation therein be discharged from such service or labour, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labour may be due. This is one of the necessary protections that the New Constitution affords to the inhabitants of one State, against the laws that may be passed in this or any other State, from the influence of the abolition society or their adherents, who seem to be disposed (to use their own words) to rob their fellow-citizens of all their property in slaves." *Providence Gazette and Country Journal*, XXVI, No. 1313, Saturday, Feb. 28, 1789.

⁵³ Max Farrand, ed., *The Records of the Federal Convention of 1787* (4 vols., New Haven, 1937), II, 443.

⁵⁴ Compare the provisions respecting fugitive criminals and fugitive servants in Section 8, of the New England Confederation. Francis N. Thorpe, ed., *Federal and State Constitutions, Charters and Other Organic Laws, 1492-1908* (7 vols., Washington, 1909), I, 77 f.

⁵⁵ H. M. Henry, *The Police Control of the Slave in South Carolina* (Emory, Va., 1914), pp. 122-23. See also John Spencer Bassett, *Slavery and Servitude in the Colony of North Carolina*, Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science (Baltimore, 1896), p. 36; William O. Blake, *History of Slavery and the Slave Trade, Ancient and Modern* (Columbus, 1858), p. 377.

⁵⁶ Farrand, II, 443, 451.

German Economic Relations with Southeastern Europe, 1870-1914*

HENRY CORD MEYER

A NUMBER of books and articles discussing the relationship of imperial Germany with Austria-Hungary and southeastern Europe between the years 1870 and 1914 employ such terms as "Berlin-to-Bagdad," "*Drang nach Osten*," or "*Mitteuropa*." Often these works tacitly assume, or state directly, that German policy in that era sought to fulfill a *Mitteuropa* dream such as appeared to be realized during the First World War.¹ This article seeks to examine the validity of such an interpretation by appraising the amount and character of German economic activity in Middle Europe before 1914.² It concludes that the wartime *Mitteuropa* policies and ideas of such writers as Friedrich Naumann, writing in 1914-15, were, economically speaking, rooted in the necessities of the war itself rather than in any long-range or logical prewar planning to that end.

Many writers have expressed the conviction that the wartime *Mitteuropa* was firmly rooted in the assumptions of the Zollverein and in the ideas of such theorists as List and Bruck.³ Some authors have interpreted

*This article is part of a larger research project on the *Mitteuropa* movement in Austria-Hungary and Germany during the First World War. I gratefully acknowledge aid from the Social Science Research Council, 1945-46, and from Claremont College, the Rockefeller Foundation, and the Pacific Coast Committee for the Humanities (A.C.L.S.) who made possible a summer of research in Europe in 1948. [After careful consideration, the historians on the staff of the Committee on Public Information in World War I accepted Naumann's volume on *Mitteuropa* as an unofficial exposition of prewar German policy. This scholarly article traverses that view. The editor of the *AHR*, who accepted it in 1917-18, takes a personal satisfaction in publishing this reappraisal. G.S.F.]

¹ Note, for instance: "This conception [*Mitteuropa*] inspired the Austro-Prussian alliance of 1879, the eastern journey of William II in 1897, the Bagdad Railway concession of 1899, the annexation of Bosnia in 1908, and Turkish intervention in the European conflict of 1914." *Larousse du XX^e siècle* (Paris, 1931), IV, 1908. Among other works see F. Lee Bennis, *European History since 1870* (3d ed., New York, 1950), pp. 75-78; Willy Becker, *Fürst Bülow und England, 1897-1909* (Greifswald, 1929), pp. 1-2, 51; John Bakeless, *The Economic Causes of Modern Wars* (New York, 1921), pp. 158 ff.; Joseph S. Roucek, ed., *Central-Eastern Europe* (New York, 1946), p. 5. Much good economic detail is presented in the unpublished thesis of M. L. Flaningham, "Some Economic Aspects of German Eastward Expansion, 1900-1914," University of Illinois, 1940, but the work rests upon assumptions differing from those underlying this research.

² The expression "Middle Europe" as here used refers to the Continental area of Germany, Austria-Hungary, and the Balkans as of 1914. For German economic activity south of the Bosphorus see W. O. Henderson, "German Economic Penetration in the Middle East, 1870-1914," *Economic History Review*, XVIII (1948), 54-64.

³ Note Friedrich Naumann, *Mitteuropa* (Berlin, 1915); Heinrich von Srbik, *Mitteuropa* . . . (Weimar, 1938); Erwin Wiskemann, *Mitteuropa* . . . (Berlin, 1933); Friedrich Lenz, *Friedrich List* . . . (Berlin, 1936); Ernst Jäckh, *Friedrich List als Orient Prophet* (Berlin, 1909);

the political and economic programs of Bismarck and William II as a confirmation and continuation southeastward of these earlier trends.⁴ While space does not permit a critical examination here of these views, it is enough to recall the significant change in Bismarck's aggressions and diplomacy when the objectives of 1871 had been gained. Subsequently Germany's economy developed in directions and proportions that relegated the limited, Continental objectives of List and Bruck to obsolescence. Bismarck's program for mid-European political stability was not formulated to pre-empt the area for German economic expansion.

During the seventies, as Berlin and Vienna turned to protectionism they also veered away from each other. The slump of 1873-74 dictated protection to the vulnerable young Austrian industrial economy; a combination of influences produced the German tariff of 1879. These measures caused various reactions in Austria. Representatives of four major Austrian business associations met in Prague in November, 1879, to debate how best the two protectionist monarchies might get along with each other. Only a few Austrian enterprises faced serious German competition at that time (iron and steel, machine manufacture, and other metal fabrication); producers in all other fields favored varying degrees of economic rapprochement with the Reich.⁵ Other Europeans, free traders and protectionists alike, considered projects of mid-European economic integration as furthering their respective causes during the late nineteenth century. These discussions were launched by a French free trade advocate, G. de Molinari, who in 1879 suggested an economically unified *Europe centrale* comprising France, Holland, Belgium, Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Switzerland.⁶ This customs union was advocated as a step toward world peace and prosperity by gradual abolition of tariff barriers. Agrarian congresses in Berlin (1880) and Budapest (1885) debated the issue in a similar sense. (German agrarians were soon to become very sensitive to competition.) One of the economists enthusiastically acclaimed at the Budapest meeting was Lujo Brentano. This German free trader had just published an analysis indicating a strong trend in the world toward a few huge economic regions, each dominated by a major

Richard Charvat, *Minister Freiherr von Bruck: Der Vorkämpfer Mitteleuropas* (Leipzig, 1916); and references ranging from a chapter to a sentence in a host of other works.

⁴ I deal with these interpretations in my forthcoming study of the *Mitteleuropa* movement. French and Slavic writers predominate in this *Drang-nach-Osten* school, which I hope also to discuss in a subsequent article.

⁵ Paul Dehn, *Deutschland und Orient in ihren wirtschaftspolitischen Beziehungen* (2 vols., Munich and Leipzig, 1884), I, 40-49.

⁶ "Union douanière de l'Europe centrale," *Journal des économistes*, 4th Ser., V (1879), 309-18.

power. Accordingly he had stated that Germany's only hope for securing ample markets and sources of raw materials lay in a customs union of the two monarchies and the Balkans.⁷ Austrian commercial and industrial circles demonstrated a growing interest in some kind of economic *Mittleuropa*. In 1880 a group of Bohemian industrialists circulated a memorandum advocating a common German-Austrian tariff policy toward western Europe with differential tariff protection for Austria. Viennese economists and press echoed these suggestions.⁸ In 1885 the Troppau chamber of commerce circulated a questionnaire among other chambers in Austrian and German cities seeking opinions on the desirability of such a union. Most replies from Austria favored the project. Answers from Germany, though phrased in friendly platitudes, showed little constructive interest.⁹ As a result of the Bismarckian formula for political unity and the relatively free conditions of economic growth, Germans were turning gradually but distinctly away from mid-European interests toward the far richer political and commercial prospects of *Weltpolitik*. Brentano was, after all, not a spokesman for his times.

By sharp contrast, most Austrian-German businessmen and politicians were increasingly concerned after 1867 by their loss of control in Hungary and the awareness also that in Austria their domination was insecure in the face of the rising Slavic tide. Accordingly their economic efforts were divided between expanding Balkan-Levantine commerce, satisfying the Continental demand for luxury goods, and shoring up their economic bastion against the encroachment of Slav and Magyar. Closer ties with Germany would have given the Austrian-Germans measurable strength in their economic contest with the Czechs and in the enervating decennial *Ausgleich* negotiations with Budapest. Such economists as Phillipovich, Bazant, and Peez, and the politicians Plener and Pernerstorfer formulated their ideas with these factors clearly in mind.¹⁰ Reich-Germans had no such compelling reasons to seek out Austria-Hungary.

When the German chancellor Caprivi came to power in 1890, he faced an economic depression at home and prospects of rising tariffs in several nations constituting important German markets. His was the axiom: "We

⁷ "Über die zukünftige Politik des Deutschen Reiches," *Schmollers Jahrbuch*, IX (1885), 1-29; Lujo Brentano, *Mein Leben* . . . (Jena, 1931), pp. 123-24.

⁸ Albert Schaeffle, *Die Grundsätze der Steuerpolitik* (Tübingen, 1880); Dehn, pp. 46-49.

⁹ Alfred Zimmermann, *Die Handelspolitik des Deutschen Reiches, 1871-1900* (Berlin, 1901), pp. 151-52.

¹⁰ J. v. Bazant, *Die Handelspolitik Österreich-Ungarns, 1872-92* (Leipzig, 1894); A. v. Peez, *Zur neuesten Handelspolitik* (Vienna, 1895) and *Die Aufgaben der Deutschen in Österreich* (Vienna, 1906); Ernst Plener, *Erinnerungen* . . . (Stuttgart, 1921); Hermann Münch, *Böhmische Tragödie* . . . (Brunswick, 1949), *passim*.

must export either goods or men."¹¹ The subsequent "Caprivi Treaties" sought to establish more stable conditions for German exports. The first pact was concluded in 1891 between members of the Triple Alliance; later treaties included Switzerland and Belgium. Further agreements were concluded on similar principles of reciprocity with Russia, Serbia, Bulgaria, and Rumania. In some Reich-German circles this mid-European commercial treaty "system" was hailed as the beginning of a new era, but from the outset it was attacked by the agrarians. The powerful *Bund der Landwirte* was founded in 1893 specifically to conduct a relentless campaign against the treaties.¹² It is doubtful if Caprivi was thinking toward a mid-European customs union. Though seen in its first stage as economic solidification of the Triple Alliance, the mid-European aspect of the treaties lost strength as Russia was included and as German trade continued to expand throughout the world. Instead of leading to an economic *Mitteleuropa*, the "Caprivi System" was abandoned by 1906.

Reich-German interest in mid-European economic plans diminished as world trade grew.¹³ During the prewar decade the major expression of such remaining interest manifested itself in the *Mitteleuropa* economic societies. The first of these was established in Berlin in 1904 by Julius Wolf, an Austrian-German businessman. Since projects for mid-European customs unification had been sterile, the societies tried to internationalize forms of economic contact by persuading nations to adopt similar methods and laws of trade, transport, and communications. By 1914 member societies existed in Germany, Austria, Hungary, Switzerland, Holland, and Belgium. Practical results of their efforts to that time were limited to achieving some simplification of banking procedures and customs formalities between Berlin and Vienna.¹⁴ The societies had no effect upon German foreign policy, though the frustrated Pan-Germans were apprehensive lest Berlin come under the influence of the theoretical economists and give way to some form of economic internationalism.¹⁵

Aware as we are of a dominant German interest in Middle Europe since 1914, it has been difficult to realize that quite recently Reich-Germans did

¹¹ Reichstag address, Dec. 10, 1891; E. Francke, "Zollpolitische Einheitsbestrebungen in Mitteleuropa während des letzten Jahrzehnts," *Schriften des Vereins für Sozialpolitik*, XCI, 1, (1900), 187-272.

¹² Pauline Anderson, *The Background of Anti-English Feeling in Germany, 1890-1902* (Washington, 1939), pp. 132-55.

¹³ See Karl Kresz, *Die Bestrebungen nach einer mitteleuropäischen Zollunion* (Heidelberg, 1907).

¹⁴ The activities of the societies are covered in detail in the seventeen volumes of the *Verhandlungen des mitteleuropäischen Wirtschaftsvereins* (Berlin, 1905-17).

¹⁵ Heinrich Class, *Zwanzig Jahre Alldeutscher Arbeit und Kämpfe* (Leipzig, 1910), p. 224.

not consider central and southeastern Europe a primary field for their economic expansion. Regardless of the wild dreams of Paul Dehn in the eighties,¹⁶ Pan-German pamphlets of the nineties,¹⁷ or the momentary sentimentality of Friedrich Naumann,¹⁸ or even widespread popular German misconception of "*unser Bagdad*,"¹⁹ German economic expansion after 1890 was increasingly and primarily in terms of an inter-related world-wide pattern and was vitally dependent upon the sea. This fact will emerge from an analysis of (1) German investment policy, (2) the growth and diversification of German trade, (3) the movement of German trade to the Near East.

During the age of imperialism German investment capital was not completely a fluid agent responding alone to optimum conditions of safety and return. Considering her vigorous internal growth after 1870, Germany pursued a remarkably energetic policy of foreign lending; there were indeed "two needs for every Mark."²⁰ More than Paris or London, Berlin often influenced the trend of capital export both in type and in destination.²¹ The kaiser and the foreign office were in private and unofficial, yet direct, contact with major banking and commercial executives; consultations were often held on the political significance of loans and investment.²² Accordingly lenders favored those regions enjoying official favor. "The German government found tasks for German capital to perform; that was the most important way in which it influenced the course of German investment."²³

In 1914 more than twice as much German capital was placed in enemy nations as in areas later occupied by German troops.²⁴ Until 1895 capital had flowed largely into Middle Europe, the Near East, Russia, and somewhat into the Americas. Later, after continual defaults and losses in Danubian and Mediterranean nations, investment was focused more heavily overseas.

¹⁶ Dehn, *Deutschland und Orient*, *passim*. By 1900 Dehn had become a staunch defender of Prussian agrarian interests against the very canals he had advocated twenty years before!

¹⁷ Von einem Alldeutschen, *Grossdeutschland und Mitteleuropa um das Jahr 1950* (Berlin, 1895). Two decades later Albert Ritter, author of the pamphlet *Berlin-Bagdad: Neue Ziele mitteleuropäischer Politik*, was expelled from the Pan-German League for his unorthodox thinking. See Heinrich Class, *Wider den Strom . . .* (Leipzig, 1932), pp. 249-50.

¹⁸ Naumann's *Deutschland und Österreich* (Berlin, 1900) was succeeded by his *Neudeutsche Wirtschaftspolitik* (Berlin-Schöneberg, 1906).

¹⁹ German arm-chair economists were as uninformed here as most arm-chair strategists usually are.

²⁰ The best general studies are Herbert L. Feis, *Europe the World's Banker, 1870-1914* (New Haven, 1930), and F. Lenz, "Wesen und Struktur des deutschen Kapitaleports vor 1914," *Weltwirtschaftliches Archiv*, XVIII (1922), 42-54.

²¹ W. H. Laves, "German Governmental Influence on Foreign Investments, 1871-1914," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1927.

²² Friedrich Thimme, "Auswärtige Politik und Hochfinanz—aus den Papieren Paul H. von Schwabachs," *Europäische Gespräche*, VII (1939), 288-320.

²³ Feis, p. 169.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 74.

Turkey alone continued to offer attractive opportunities nearer home. In most areas investment was much less in governmental obligations than in enterprises under German control.²⁵

Middle Europe was by no means neglected after 1895, but it was neither the principal sphere of German investment nor was Berlin dominant there.²⁶ Almost half the German capital in the Balkans was placed in Rumania. In Bucharest, primarily, the Germans had sought to establish a strong economic position with definite political implications; but after 1900 little new capital was added, and by 1914 the venture was clearly not very successful.²⁷ German investment in Bulgaria was small up to 1900; thereafter it ceased almost entirely until just before 1914, when Berlin and Vienna placed a large loan in Sofia.²⁸ Berlin was heavily invested in Austro-Hungarian railroads and in all spheres of Habsburg banking and industry. The Reich was by far the most important foreign investment influence in the monarchy, and much of Vienna's half a billion *Kronen* invested in the Balkans and Turkey were placed through Austrian banks, which in turn were interrelated with Reich-German banks. Yet it appears unwarranted to assume that Berlin and Vienna were marching in economic lock-step before 1914.²⁹ At the outbreak of the war Germany had twenty-four billion marks invested abroad; about one fifth was placed in Middle Europe, another tenth, in Turkey. These were indeed significant areas for the Reich, but their importance did not overshadow the total German, world-wide investment pattern.

Despite mounting international tension, German capital movement still responded to prospects of most favorable *economic* return. Where official pressure was a factor, it showed a marked preference for areas overseas—and Turkey, also, was “overseas,” being almost completely subject to maritime contact and sea power.

German participation in world trade was fostered by an efficient export industry, a highly centralized banking system, and a far-flung network of communications; agrarian protection was no impediment.³⁰ In that era of relatively free economic exchange the areas which were Germany's principal

²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 68–80.

²⁶ Total British investment in the area (in millions Reichsmark) was 430; French investment, 3,800; and German, 3,700. Figures are converted from Feis, pp. 23, 51, 74.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 268–72.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 272–83.

²⁹ Again, I cannot share the view that German and Austrian wartime interest in an economic *Mitteleuropa* constituted a direct continuation of prewar policies.

³⁰ Gustav Stolper, *German Economy, 1870–1940* (New York, 1940); F. W. Bruck, *Social and Economic History of Germany from William II to Hitler, 1888–1938* (Oxford, 1938).

markets were not necessarily the sources of her raw materials. The economy of imperial Germany was fundamentally different from that of the Nazis. Trading with prewar Berlin did not require adjustment of a small nation's entire economic structure to a monopolistic German system. Although Russia and Austria-Hungary were important sources of raw materials, the greater proportion of these came from overseas. During the prewar decade German dependence on areas outside the Continent even increased; thus was reflected the "failure" of Caprivi's system.³¹ The major markets of the Second Reich were, by contrast, Britain, Russia, the United States, and other Continental nations.

Both before and after the First World War, alarmists and analysts alike, in Germany and abroad, often interpreted statistics of Reich trade with Middle Europe and Turkey more dramatically than seems warranted. Granted the fact of obvious growth, the increase is often magnified out of all proportion (and then given undue political significance) by listing trade figures with individual nations while ignoring the total growth of German commerce. Such analyses also sometimes ignore the relative positions of others nations in competition with Germany.

It would seem the more valid method to test the significance of commercial factors in terms of percentages of total trade. Such a view does not disregard the fact that individuals or groups representing only a tiny fraction of a nation's total trade or investment have exerted political pressure of great significance, particularly in an era of sharp and increasing trade rivalry.³² Because Britain was facing some of her sharpest competition in the Balkans and Near East, the view could gain favor that here were areas of primary concern to Germany. The much more important fact that Berlin and London were each the other's best market went virtually unrecognized, at least in terms of political repercussions.

Seen in this larger frame of reference, Germany's trade with Austria-Hungary was of less importance to her in 1913 than in 1892.³³ Although

³¹ F. F. Legueu, *La politique commerciale de l'Allemagne depuis 1914* (pub. dissertation, University of Paris, 1923), pp. 13-15; A. Sartorius von Waltershausen, *Deutsche Wirtschaftsgeschichte, 1815-1914* (Jena, 1920), p. 394.

³² It will be recalled what tremendous influence the Lynch Brothers exerted in the Bagdad Railway question and how they were motivated by the threat of competition to their navigation company on the Tigris and Euphrates rivers. In 1914 a German economist warned businessmen that in eyeing Turkey alone they were developing a serious economic myopia. Gustav Herlt, "Die Türkei in der Weltwirtschaft," *Weltwirtschaftliches Archiv*, IV (1914), 81-105.

³³ The following conclusions have been derived from an exhaustive (and exhausting) examination of trade statistics between 1890 and 1914 in these sources: *Statistisches Jahrbuch für das Deutsche Reich*; K. K. Handelsministerium, Statistisches Department, *Statistik des Auswärtigen Handels*; *Statistical Abstract for the United Kingdom . . .*; and *Statistique générale de la France. Annuaire statistique*.

the monarchy imported slightly more from the Reich in 1913 than in 1892, her exports thither had decreased from 49 per cent to 38 per cent of her total sales.³⁴ Despite an increase that seemed spectacular to Rumanians, Berlin's trade with Bucharest between 1891 and 1913 fluctuated between 1 per cent and 2 per cent of her total commerce. Seen from Bucharest, Rumania's percentage of exports to Germany declined sharply in the period and imports from Berlin rose slightly.³⁵ Britain declined even more as a consumer of Rumanian products, while Belgium, Italy, France, and Holland rose sharply.³⁶ At first glance Germany appears to make spectacular advances in Bulgaria. Her imports from Sofia rose from 3.7 million marks in 1896 to 10.6 million in 1911; exports thither leaped in the same period from 5.3 million to 24 million. This rate of growth was double and triple that of Germany's total trade. Taken as percentages of the total, however, German imports from Bulgaria fluctuate between .1 per cent and .2 per cent, while the exports show a steady rise from .1 per cent to .3 per cent. From London's view the situation was dismal; British participation in Bulgarian imports dropped from 23.1 per cent to 16.3 per cent of Sofia's total. About half the loss, however, went to Turkish, French, Rumanian, and Belgian increases.³⁷ Granted that here is evidence of sharp German growth, the situation still does not warrant the opinion that Bulgaria was caught "within the orbit of the Greater Central European economic unit."³⁸ German trade with Serbia doubled between 1891 and 1913 but never constituted more than .2 per cent of Berlin's total in any one year. Various nations were her major suppliers and consumers.³⁹ German trade with Greece rose from .1 per cent to .2 per cent of her total between 1891 and 1913, but Athens always remained securely within the British orbit. In summary, the mid-European nations in 1910 supplied 10 per cent of German imports and took 14 per cent of the exports.⁴⁰ While there was growing awareness of German influence in the

³⁴ These figures reflect how the Habsburg Monarchy was becoming more industrialized. By 1914 she had, in fact, ceased to be a net exporter of agrarian products. The Balkans and Near East were, of course, Austria's most vital markets.

³⁵ See, C. G. Antonescu, *Die rumänische Handelspolitik von 1875 bis 1910* (Leipzig, 1915), table V, p. 267.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, table VI, p. 268.

³⁷ P. Konstantinoff, *Der Aussenhandel Bulgariens* (Zurich and Leipzig, 1914), tables VIII, X.

³⁸ This statement from Flaningham, p. 84, lumps the German and Austro-Hungarian statistics into one and assumes a united drive. Yet, just before the war, at least one economist was arguing that Germany and Austria-Hungary ought to combine their commercial policies in southeastern Europe and Turkey and cease being such sharp competitors. See Geza Lukacs, *Die handelspolitische Interessengemeinschaft zwischen dem Deutschen Reiche und Österreich-Ungarn* (Göttingen, 1913), p. 44.

³⁹ Otto Kessler, *Serbiens wirtschaftliche Verhältnisse und deren Entwicklung* (Berlin, 1910), p. 19. K. Stojanovitch, *The Commerce of Serbia: A Historical Sketch* (Rome, 1919).

⁴⁰ Werner Sombart, *Die deutsche Volkswirtschaft* . . . (7th ed., Berlin, 1927), pp. 526-27.

Balkans, there is no indication that any significant change was occurring in Germany's total trade pattern. That occurred perforce only after the war-time blockade was in effect.⁴¹

In Turkey, German economic interest grew rapidly after 1890 and became a major factor of German foreign economic policy. Commerce did not reflect this growth as vividly as did investment. Between 1891 and 1913 trade doubled, showing a slightly better performance than total Reich commerce. Still, by 1914 Turkey was by no means in German pockets, despite a serious British trade loss of 50 per cent. In that year Britain had 21 per cent, Austria 16 per cent, France 12 per cent, and Germany 8 per cent of Turkey's trade.⁴² Certainly Turkey and the Near East were extremely important areas for German imperialist expansion. But in spite of German popular enthusiasm for the Bagdad Railway, or international repercussions of the project, there is no evidence prior to 1914 that Berlin was seeking to integrate Turkey with the Reich via some mid-European economic or political scheme.⁴³ The way German commerce moved between southeastern Europe and the Near East and the Reich illustrates how dependent Germany was upon maritime shipping and how unimportant was the overland route.

Seaways are usually superior to land routes as avenues of commerce. Barring a state of war or blockade, the seaway is free from expensive construction costs, maintenance, taxation, and the varying rates and administrative policies that burden an international railroad. Ships have remained the principal carriers of bulky, low-cost goods. Where rail and ship have competed directly, the Iron Horse has usually commanded only the patronage of goods and passengers for whom speed is a significant factor.⁴⁴

From earliest times the Danube has been available as a trade artery and has had varied use. In 1888 it was supplemented by completion of a through rail line from Constantinople to northwestern Europe. It might appear that "Germany's road to the Near East lay literally as well as figuratively across the Balkan Peninsula."⁴⁵ or that "over the land-bridge of her ally . . . [Germany] was pushing towards the Near East," and that the Bagdad Railway "was to offer an exit for our land-locked Reich along the path of least

⁴¹ Between 1909 and 1913, when Germans became increasingly worried about "encirclement," total German imports rose 26 per cent, those from Middle Europe, only 11 per cent; total exports increased 53 per cent, those to Middle Europe, 51 per cent.

⁴² Herlt in *Weltwirtschaftliches Archiv*, IV, 85.

⁴³ This view was popularized in the works of André Chéradame, Ernest Denis, René Henry, Louis Léger, and other authors writing after the turn of the century.

⁴⁴ Kurt Hassert, *Allgemeine Verkehrsgeographie* (Leipzig, 1931), II, 30-33.

⁴⁵ Edward M. Earle, *Turkey, the Great Powers, and the Bagdad Railway* (New York, 1923), p. 130 (quoting Count Reventlow).

resistance";⁴⁶ but traffic responded to economic conditions, not to wishful thinking. Unfortunately for modern economic conditions, the Danube flowed in the wrong direction. Low-cost, bulky agricultural goods faced the expensive up-stream journey with its navigational hazards, excessive Hungarian charges at the Iron Gate, and transshipment in Germany. For industrial goods the down-stream journey required double transshipment and was time-consuming. Further complications arose from varying water conditions, winter ice, and the monopolistic practices of the Austrian Danube Navigation Company.⁴⁷ Thus German freight loaded on the Danube was insignificant compared to traffic on the Rhine, Elbe, Oder, or even the Weser.⁴⁸ The Danube *was* important for the segmented trade between Vienna and Budapest, Budapest and Belgrade, and in Rumania below the Iron Gate. General Groener, who was given the task in late 1915 of organizing Rumanian grain shipments to Germany, commented that only under blockade could these routes be significant for German trade.⁴⁹

What was later to be popularly known as the "Berlin-to-Bagdad" Railway was begun in the early seventies as a series of construction projects financed by the colorful Baron Hirsch. When at last in 1888 the several Balkan governments had completed the mountainous sections of their lines to link up the level (and profitable) segments built by Hirsch, the railroad was inordinately expensive, poorly constructed, and charged higher rates than any other road in Europe.⁵⁰ High hopes greeted completion of the line, but more elemental economic factors soon asserted themselves. In 1889 the Deutsche Levante Linie was founded for the specific purpose of furthering German commerce with the Near East—by sea. The following year this firm, the German railroads, and several express agencies (*Spediturgesellschaften*), organized a co-ordinated service, quoting through rates between any point in Germany and the Near East. South German products espe-

⁴⁶ Becker, *Fürst Bülów und England*, p. 1.

⁴⁷ Josef Stoiser, *Wirtschafts- und Verkehrsgeographie der europäischen Staaten* (Vienna and Leipzig, 1912), pp. 72-73; Wilhelm Offergeld, *Grundlagen und Ursachen der industriellen Entwicklung Ungarns* (Jena, 1914), pp. 120-21; Henry Hajnal, *The Danube* (The Hague, 1920). The Austrian firm forced the Bavarian-Württemberg Steam Navigation Co. (shares held by the Bavarian government) to sell out. In 1913 another venture, the Bayrischer Lloyd, was assured of success by the outbreak of war.

⁴⁸ G. E. Graf, "Der Donauweg. Geographische Bedenken zu politischen Illusionen," *Neue Zeit*, XXXIV, 1 (1916), 609-21.

⁴⁹ Draft autobiography, Papers of General Wilhelm von Groener, National Archives, Washington, D. C., p. 195. Between 1898 and 1902 some Rumanian petroleum products were shipped to Germany by the Danube, but rising Hungarian dues caused a shift to rail and soon to tankers. See Flaningham, p. 120.

⁵⁰ Theodor Bent, "Baron Hirsch's Railway," *Fortnightly Review*, XLIV (1888), 229-39; Moritz Stroell, "Die Handelspolitik der Balkanstaaten . . .," *Schriften des Vereins für Sozialpolitik*, LI, iii (1892), 63-64.

cially responded to this new *Levantetarif*.⁵¹ A major railway journal commented favorably upon "this unification of rail and sea communications which [gave] promise of achieving what [had] hitherto been so unsuccessfully attempted overland or via the Danube, namely, the creation of new German markets in the Levant."⁵² A decade later the *Orientbahn* still carried little more than express, mail, and passengers; the staples of trade moved by sea.⁵³ By 1905 two more shipping firms had entered the field. At the outbreak of the war the Deutsche Levante Linie alone had a fleet of sixty ships and was carrying goods valued at nearly half a billion marks annually.⁵⁴ Thus was the commerce of the Second Reich with the Balkans and Near East clearly a maritime affair and completely vulnerable to blockade.

When the war throttled the flow of raw materials into Germany, there were no alternatives but to use the rail and river routes of Middle Europe as the best possible ones. General Groener found the facilities woefully backward and expended enormous efforts to make them serviceable.⁵⁵ Heinrich Herkner, editor of a massive wartime economic symposium discussing mid-European potentialities for Germany, in 1916 saw Germany's only alternative in integration and reorganization of the mid-European transport network; but he recognized this as an expensive and difficult task which only the exigencies of a lengthy war could justify.⁵⁶

One other facet of the problem should be considered: Did German economists and policy makers anticipate the possibility of blockade? Did they seek some measure of mid-European economic integration in response? Again the answer is largely negative. A few economists and political commentators touched the problem. Most significant of these was Gustav Schmoller, whose quarterly review had presented several of the economic projects for mid-European union in the nineties. He agreed with those who saw the world being reduced to a few gigantic economic areas, each dominated by a great power. In 1900 he wrote: "Our existence will be jeopardized as soon as we are no longer able to keep open our avenues of supply, as soon as we can no longer influence with instruments of power

⁵¹ C. Grotewold, *Die deutsche Schifffahrt in Wirtschaft und Recht* (Stuttgart, 1914), pp. 95-96. Even Austrian goods were attracted to this arrangement. See H. Weber, *Der Verkehrskampf Hamburg-Triest* (Heidelberg, 1930).

⁵² *Archiv für Eisenbahnwesen*, XIII (1892), 652-53.

⁵³ For comparative rates see Paul Dehn, *Weltwirtschaftliche Neubildungen* (Berlin, 1904), pp. 303-305.

⁵⁴ Grotewold, p. 96.

⁵⁵ Groener, Draft autobiography, MS. pp. 448-49.

⁵⁶ "Die Zukunft des deutschen Aussenhandels," *Schmollers Jahrbuch*, XL (1916), 567-68.

those nations from which we draw our foodstuffs and raw materials."⁵⁷ But his answer was not mid-European self-sufficiency. Instead, he advocated a stronger navy, expansion of the German colonial empire, and intensification of home agricultural production. In these efforts he was used by Tirpitz and the influential German Navy League, whose extraordinary agitation between 1895 and 1914 underlined Germany's destiny as a sea power. A decade later Schmoller's journal reviewed critically a work dealing with the possible effects of blockade and war upon Germany. It commented that similar British studies were far more competent and that the problem was not being considered adequately in the Reich.⁵⁸ Arthur Dix, who was to be one of the first geopoliticians, in 1911 warned that the Reich might not be successful in the gamble for global stakes and suggested she develop her land routes to the Near East to insure availability of supplies in case of war.⁵⁹ These names virtually exhaust the list of those who wrote on this problem.⁶⁰ The preferred answer was sea power, not *Mitteleuropa*.

In the area of policy-making a different but similarly negative result is evident. Some thought was given in the prewar decade to possibilities of economic mobilization. A few military men were willing to consider the question. On occasion General von Bernhardt sounded that note.⁶¹ General von Moltke in 1909 suggested that some food and raw materials be stock-piled, but the project was rejected as being too expensive.⁶² Most military men simply refused to consider the problem of blockade as pertinent to their conception of Continental war.⁶³ German naval circles restricted their view of blockade, or were confined in it, to fleet problems.⁶⁴ Once the war was

⁵⁷ Clearly, Schmoller misunderstood how much "influencing" Germany was doing in such countries as the United States, Russia, or Britain! Quoted in L. Bosc, *Zollunionen und Zollunionen* . . . (Berlin, 1907), pp. 253-54. Note Schmoller's *Handels- und Machtpolitik; Reden und Aufsätze* . . . (Stuttgart, 1900).

⁵⁸ Review of Henry Voelcker's *Die deutsche Wirtschaft im Kriegsfall* (Leipzig, 1909) in *Schmollers Jahrbuch*, XXXIV (1910), 383-85.

⁵⁹ "Geographische Abrundungstendenzen in der Weltpolitik," *Geographische Zeitschrift*, XVII (1911), 1-18. Note my study, "Mitteleuropa in German Political Geography," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, XXXVI (1946), 178-94.

⁶⁰ Friedrich Meinecke refers to an article of 1898 in *Die deutsche Katastrophe* (Wiesbaden, 1947), p. 14. Note also the concluding comments in Alexander von Peetz and Paul Dehn, *Englands Vorherrschaft: Aus der Zeit der Kontinentalsperre* (Leipzig, 1912).

⁶¹ *Denkwürdigkeiten aus meinem Leben* (Berlin, 1927), p. 385. The general reports a conversation in 1907 with Tschirschky, then German Secretary of State, in which the two agreed that the Reich needed more "elbow-room" in Middle Europe. They discussed the need for "friendly" agreements with Denmark and Switzerland, an alliance and commercial agreement with Holland, and partition of Belgium between Holland and France with the Congo for Germany. Tschirschky thought it all very sensible, but unlikely except in event of a victorious war; he was out of office by August, 1907. *Ibid.*, p. 324.

⁶² Max Bauer, *Der grosse Krieg in Feld und Heimat* (Tübingen, 1921), p. 99 n.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, pp. 39-41, 91-92; Groener, Draft autobiography, *passim*.

⁶⁴ Despite the kaiser's pampering of the German navy, it was never permitted to develop a strong, independent conception of its function. Instead it remained strategically a secondary

under way men of such diverse walks of life as Naumann, Ballin, and Delbrück all commented how much could have been done economically for Germany, had only her military and civilian policy-makers correctly anticipated events.⁶⁵

If the ideas of a single person can ever be taken as the epitome of an age, then those of Friedrich Naumann in respect to this discussion nicely illustrate the juxtaposition of the German attitude toward Middle Europe before and after 1914. Prior to the war his writings on political economy were enjoyed by a wide and generally well-informed circle of readers. As a result of his travels in Middle Europe he was more aware of the problems of the Habsburg Monarchy than most of his contemporaries. He knew of desires in Vienna and Bohemia for some closer economic tie with Germany, and for a brief time he favored the idea. Still, his major concern was for Germany's position as a world power, and here he urged continued expansion of overseas trade, development of tropical colonies, and a powerful navy. Naumann had read List, Paul de Lagarde, and Karl Jentsch before the war, and this was his reaction to them in 1905:

Everyone knows that such a course [German expansion into southeastern Europe] could not be pursued without serious political developments. These complications would have such unpredictable results that no German statesman would take the responsibility of turning the imagination of the German people in this direction. . . . Do we really have the ability to colonize Slavic lands as successfully as our forefathers did centuries ago? When one hears the Prussian *Landtag* debates on the Polish question or reads of the conflict over language laws in Austria-Hungary, one doubts if our nature and methods qualify us to direct our foreign and agricultural policies so as to bring new life into southeastern Europe. One comes to the conclusion that we Germans, in spite of our growing population, have nothing new to find in Slavic lands and that the existing European frontiers must be maintained.⁶⁶

A decade later, under the impact of the blockade, Naumann penned these words: "*Mitteleuropa* is the fruit of war. We [mid-European peoples] have sat together in the prison of our war economy; we have fought together; let us henceforth live together."⁶⁷

force, subject to planning in terms of land forces. Groener reflects this situation well in his Draft autobiography.

⁶⁵ Friedrich Naumann, *Die deutsche Sache, die deutsche Seele: Zwei Vorträge* . . . (Berlin, 1917), pp. 16-18; Bernhard von Bülow, *Memoirs* (London, 1932), III, 173; Clemens von Delbrück, *Die wirtschaftliche Mobilmachung in Deutschland 1914* (Munich, 1924). See also, Germany, Reichsarchiv, *Der Weltkrieg, 1914 bis 1918. I. Kriegsrüstung und Kriegswirtschaft* (Berlin, 1930), 336-416.

⁶⁶ *Die Politik der Gegenwart* (Berlin, 1905), pp. 16-17.

⁶⁷ Friedrich Naumann, *Mitteleuropa* (Berlin, 1915), p. 263.

Thus Naumann, whose utterances on *Mitteleuropa* in 1915 have been so freely accepted as an interpretation of past policy, was really seeking to orient Germany toward the future—a future radically altered by the effects of an unanticipated military and economic situation.

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* * * * *Reviews of Books* * * * *

General History

IDEAS AND MEN: THE STORY OF WESTERN THOUGHT. By *Crane Brinton*. (New York: Prentice-Hall. 1950. Pp. ix, 587. \$6.00.)

Mr. Brinton offers this contribution to general education as an essay in "intellectual history," which is for him "something more and less than a record of the achievements of the great minds in the fields of noncumulative knowledge." Intellectual history tries to find "the relations between the ideas of the philosophers, the intellectuals, the thinkers, and the actual way of living of the millions who carry the tasks of civilization." It thus oscillates between the history of philosophy and social history. It is not the former, for it has no interest in the precise analysis of thought, and not the latter, for it is concerned with opinions and attitudes, not actions. Mr. Brinton clearly owes much in his conception to James Harvey Robinson, but he is trying to deal with wider groups than Robinson's "intellectual classes." He resembles Robinson also in knowing his own mind: "An intellectual history is inevitably in part a series of private judgments made by the man who writes it."

Ideas and Men is in fact a critical discussion of the opinions held in our Western tradition on "the Big Questions": cosmological—under which head Mr. Brinton lumps all general philosophical ideas—and ethical. Since it consists almost entirely of interpretation, and takes for granted and hence omits almost all facts, it presupposes a knowledge of the main outlines of the history of thought. And like all such intelligent interpretation, its value is greatest, certainly less misleading, if the reader already knows something about what is being judged. The volume is offered as a "guidebook," a companion to reading in the sources; without them, it could easily become "Ideas and Mr. Brinton." There is an excellent and very forthright critical book list of some twenty pages; the text is just what a provocative teacher would supplement these readings with. The emphasis is heavily on "noncumulative knowledge." While the impact of cumulative or scientific ideas is made clear, at least down to the nineteenth century, the only scientific theories dealt with since Newton are, aside from Darwin's, those of Pavlov, Freud, and Pareto. Indeed, so heavily is the volume weighted on the side of appraisal and judgment, so much knowledge does it assume not only of general history but even of the course of intellectual history, that although its explanations are simple, clear, and often rather painfully elementary, it is difficult to imagine its use as a beginners' textbook—save, perhaps, for Harvard students.

Mr. Brinton's judgments are based on familiarity with the most recent scholarship—though, surprisingly enough, he still accepts the hoary myth of Galileo

and the Leaning Tower. They are about what would be expected of a present-day academic liberal—sprightly rather than unconventional, and informed by the ability of the born teacher to bring out modern parallels. The author is committed to stating the beliefs of the average man in various cultures, but he has an American distrust of Teutonic efforts at periodization and *Zeitgeist*, and he constantly emphasizes the “multanimity” of all Western thought. Thus he prefers to examine the Jewish, Hellenistic, and Roman “elements” in later classical culture, and to treat humanism, Protestantism, and rationalism as “constituent parts” of the transition from the medieval view of life to the eighteenth-century view, rather than as movements or periods. That style so beloved of Continental scholars, the baroque, does not figure here: the seventeenth century is the last stage in a transition to eighteenth-century rationalism, which, “though modified in the last two centuries, is still at bottom *our* view of life, especially in the United States.” The nineteenth century appears as the further development of Enlightenment ideas; romanticism figures but briefly, and in it as in all post-Enlightenment thought the emphasis is strongly on the elements of continuity with that first formulation of the modern point of view.

The pattern of values underlying this appraisal of course colors the whole of Mr. Brinton’s treatment of religion. He makes it clear that he is attempting “to study Christianity from the outside, from a position that denies the *existence* of the supernatural”—that is, from a non-Christian point of view, for “the core of Christian faith, the belief in the existence of the supernatural . . . *involves rejection of naturalistic and historical explanation*” (Brinton’s italics). Perhaps his most original chapter is his treatment of Protestantism and its spectrum from this point of view. He shows little interest in further Christian developments after the establishment of the Heavenly City of the Enlightenment. But following a conventional analysis of Communism and nationalism as “surrogates” for Christian faith, he concludes: “These newer faiths do not have the richness and depth of awareness of what human beings are really like that the older religions have; they are therefore not as able as the older religions to cope with the problem of human relations in a time of troubles. . . . Somehow, democracy, if it is not to return wholeheartedly to Christianity, must take on the cure of souls.” “The Enlightenment may well be due for even more bitter attacks than those it received from the romantics of Wordsworth’s day. Yet one finds it very hard to imagine the average American—or indeed the average European—in quite the mood of sensitive, high-minded, world-embracing despair that has come over the vanguard of Western intellectuals.”

Like James Harvey Robinson, Mr. Brinton confesses, “You may write me down as born in the eighteenth century.” And like Robinson also, the central problem around which he organizes all his post-Enlightenment material, in his last four chapters, is the extent to which reason may still be considered a motivating force in human life. The twentieth century is treated under the head

of "The Anti-Intellectual Attack," by which he means the questioning not of the value but of the strength of intelligence. And his basic position is that "the anti-intellectual . . . is in a sense the true heir of the Enlightenment, is at bottom a believer in the power of thought to make man's life here on earth a better one." The issue is between liberal democracy with its faith in education and the analyses of Pavlov, Freud, Nietzsche, the semanticists, the logical positivists—"they were not, in their practice, moral cynics or nihilists. They simply took values as not to be thought about profitably, a point of view annoying to those brought up in prevailing Western traditions, which have tended to hold that some judgments about morals and aesthetics are truer, or at least make more sense, than others." The greatest of all the critics of the liberal faith, it appears, is Pareto. And the answer is a "pessimistic, realistic democracy without belief in the supernatural," as "very cogently" argued by A. M. Schlesinger, Jr., in his *The Vital Center*. "Such a democracy would demand more of its citizens than any human culture has ever demanded. Were its demands met, it might well be the most successful of cultures."

The volume makes no pretense at analyzing what the major thinkers really thought. "Many of the judgments on professional philosophers made in this book are from the point of view of the professional philosopher hopelessly wrong-headed." Yet most of the identifiably factual errors are to be found in the brief statements of the positions of such thinkers. It would surely be better to avoid such statements entirely—as is done with Spinoza, who "reached quite as far into the intense inane as ever Plato did"—than to attribute views the precise opposite of those a man actually held. Plato is any man's game. But it is hardly illuminating to say that for Aristotle, "Form, which is really mind or spirit at work in this world, transforms matter into something that has life and purpose." And it is just a boner to state that Aristotle's God "started the universe off on its puzzling career." Kant, for instance, would be quite surprised to learn that "understanding (*Verstand*) could give us only contingent, changing, uncertain judgments," and, having spent his life attacking moral intuition views, to hear that "*practical reason* tells us infallibly through our moral intuition what is right and wrong in a given situation." Mr. Brinton is provocative but hardly at his best when dealing with philosophical thought. Fortunately he is much more at home in the political theory he properly emphasizes in the philosophers.

But Mr. Brinton so modestly labels his opinions as merely his own, and so engagingly invites the reader to make up his own mind, that one can indeed argue but hardly quarrel with most of his judgments. He of course succeeds no better than anyone else in really reaching the mind of the "ordinary man," certainly for the centuries preceding the invention of printing. And after the eighteenth century he concentrates so exclusively on the political problem of "anti-intellectualism" that one gets a little the impression of a study rather narrowly

directed toward the contemporary crisis—or is it the crisis of the nineteen twenties, since which few ideas have been added on either side?

Yet who could quarrel seriously with Mr. Brinton's central thesis, that "the most plausible explanation of the comparative failure of the ideals of democracy and progress lies in the overestimation their holders made of the reasonableness, the powers of analytical thought, of the average man today; that therefore all interested in man's fate should study with great care the way men actually behave, the relation between their ideals and their acts, their words and their deeds; finally, that this relation is not the simple, direct, causal relation most of us were brought up to believe it is"? And who would care to deny seriously: "There is a very strong current indeed in the Western tradition that refuses to accept the thesis, which has cropped up every now and then in Western history from the sophists to the logical positivists, that there is no use reasoning about men's morals and tastes, about their *wants*. In spite of popular sayings like 'there's no disputing about tastes' and assertions like 'might makes right,' Western men reject the belief that values are the mere random outcome of conflicting human desires. This rejection is in itself a major fact." Though born in the eighteenth century, one can still be, at least in an American university, as Mr. Brinton confesses, "not too uncomfortable—not at any rate schizophrenic in the mid-twentieth."

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JOHN HERMAN RANDALL, JR.

AN ESSAY FOR OUR TIMES. By *H. Stuart Hughes*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1950. Pp. 196. \$2.75.)

MR. HUGHES thinks that most of us in the Western world and especially the "average literate American" are still living in the nineteenth century, and he seeks to bring us up to date and adjust us to the revolutionary ideas of the present century. The distillation of these ideas, as presented in the first part of the *Essay*, irreverently reminds me of the procedure of Gilbert and Sullivan by which you "take of remarkable people in history all that is fusible, melt 'em all down in a pipkin or crucible, set 'em to simmer and take off the scum, and the Heavy Dragoon is the residuum." Into Mr. Hughes's crucible go Freud, Erich Fromm, Lenin, Georges Sorel, Henry Adams, Spengler, Toynbee, Proust, Joyce, Thomas Mann, Gide, Kafka, and Sartre. And the residuum that comes out is no laughing matter. "The primary role of the irrational and unconscious" has now gained "general recognition." Marxism "fits the realities of our time." Survival of traditional Western civilization is "highly dubious," and Toynbee's occasional optimism about a religious revival is "fantasy." Our age is "neurotic," and its morality, having lost the earlier sanctions of religion and reason, is now simply "relative."

In the light, or rather the gloom, of this contemporary thought, the descrip-

tion of the current international scene, in the later parts of the *Essay*, is appropriately somber. The world outside the United States, we find, is headed toward a socialist society and some sort of dictatorship. In Russia, where democracy never had a chance, Lenin's communist dictatorship was "inevitable," and its adoption in Asia "represents nearly pure gain." Moreover, what Lenin is to the East, Sorel has been to the West. For here the latter's "political myth" has stimulated "the manipulation of the mob" in behalf of fascism. No dictatorship of our time, whether fascist or communist, "has been overthrown by purely domestic opposition." And in what is left of "free" Europe, there is now only a "tottering" center between fascism and communism. We might have braced up this center if during the war years we had supported the Socialists. We should not support Conservatives or expect much from Christian Democrats.

Nor, presumably, should we expect too much from the United States. There is an "archaic quality," a "Byzantine-like" conservatism, in American life and institutions. Though we are not likely to embrace either fascism or communism, our assumption of conservative leadership in the world renders us "a kind of elite nation" and requires us to develop an "elite" of our own, which, I should suppose, means aristocracy. A faint glimmer of optimism is discernible about the issue of the current world conflict between us and Soviet Russia; it may be brought to a close, as were the Wars of Religion, by apportioning "spheres of influence on a pragmatic short-term basis and in a spirit of skepticism and mutual disapproval."

This synopsis of major themes in Mr. Hughes's *Essay* is inadequate and may be misleading. The *Essay* is provocative. It is also closely reasoned and very readable, and while one can easily take exception to particular statements and inferences in it, one is sure to be impressed by its critical spirit and flashes of insight. It is an important primary source for the history of our times in that it epitomizes the disillusionment of a large and thoughtful segment of the generation that has grown up after the First World War to fight the Second.

My chief criticism is that Mr. Hughes is too contemporary-minded, too intent upon recent change, too neglectful of historical continuity. The result is myopic. Even our distraught age has a much older and greater heritage than what derives from Marx and Freud. A broader view of it might give us cause for a bit of hope as well as for a jeremiad.

Afton, New York

CARLTON J. H. HAYES

UNDERSTANDING HISTORY: A PRIMER OF HISTORICAL METHOD.

By *Louis Gottschalk*, University of Chicago. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1950. Pp. xix, 290, vi. \$2.50.)

THE writing of history is old, but understanding history, in the terms of the author of this book, is relatively new. "Historiography has been defined as 'taking

little bits out of a great many books which no one has ever read and putting them together into one book which no one will read' " (p. 24). Though this is an exaggeration as far as the professional historian is concerned it may well be applied to the average beginner. History students, graduate and undergraduate, write term papers, seminar reports, and dissertations, without properly understanding history. Here is a book which can and should guide historical research and the writing of history in proper channels.

Historical method has had many exponents within the last seventy-five years. Only a few of these are really outstanding. Ernst Bernheim's *Lehrbuch der historischen Methode*, though generally recognized as the classic work in the field of historical method, has been of little help to the average neophyte of history writing, unless he could read German. G. G. Berry's translation into English of Ch. V. Langlois and Ch. Seignobos' *Introduction to the Study of History* proved of great value to the American student of history for many years. Five years ago Gilbert J. Garraghan's *A Guide to Historical Method* appeared, a work which has been referred to as "the most comprehensive treatise on historical method . . . attempted in the English language." To this list of august contributors we now may add Professor Louis Gottschalk's *Understanding History*.

Students and teachers of method in history writing are already indebted to Professor Gottschalk for his former contributions in this field. This debt is now increased. *Understanding History* will serve as a convenient manual to teachers of laboratory courses in history and guide the student who seeks to become a researcher and a writer. Though written "primarily for the student of history in colleges and universities" the author, nevertheless, kept in mind the general reader who desired "to acquire standards of judging historical writing."

The book is divided into three parts. The first two chapters examine the objectives of historians and evaluate historical writing and the relation of historical method to life and learning. The second part, the major part of the book (six chapters), pertains more specifically to methodology and demonstrates the various steps in history research. The last part, on theory of history, deals with numerous problems confronting the writer and the general reader of history books.

The author's three-dimensional concept of history is fundamentally sound, and should prove of great value to the modern historian, and to readers who have had to put up with much "dry-as-dust" history. History, the author states, "partakes of the nature of science, art, and philosophy. As a method, it follows strict rules for ascertaining verifiable fact; as exposition and narrative, it calls for imagination, literary taste, and critical standards; as interpretation of life, it demands the philosopher's insight and judgments."

Under the caption "The Obligation of the Book Reviewer" the author sets up five questions which a serious book reviewer should ask himself. Applied to this book, all five questions—relating to factual details, "frame of reference," style, originality of approach, and ability to satisfy a normal curiosity—must be answered in the affirmative.

The appendix, "Rules for the Guidance of Authors and Translators," prepared by Raymond A. Preston, is a commendable addition to the book.

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WAR AND HUMAN PROGRESS: AN ESSAY ON THE RISE OF INDUSTRIAL CIVILIZATION. By *John U. Nef*. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1950. Pp. ix, 464. \$6.50.)

THIS is in many respects perhaps the most important book that has been published recently. Its intellectual integrity, its humane pathos, its analytical force are exceptional. The title gives only an inadequate indication of its contents: it is at the same time an economic, technological, and cultural history of the rise of industrial civilization. This history is focused on the interconnection between war and industrial and technological progress—a single-mindedness of purpose which breaks through the well-established framework of traditional historiography and opens new insights into the period. This reviewer is not competent to judge the details of Nef's economic and technological analysis and will therefore confine himself to the main thesis of the book and to certain aspects of its development. The limitation of this review is not meant to convey the impression that Nef discusses on the level of generalities, for the value of the book lies to a great extent in the detailed historical analysis, in the wealth of material from economic, social, and military history which supports the argument.

The book is divided into three parts: the "New Warfare and the Genesis of Industrialism" (ca. 1494 to 1640); "Limited Warfare and Humane Civilization" (ca. 1640 to 1740); "Industrialism and Total War" (ca. 1740 to 1950). Nef describes the military strategy and objectives characteristic for each period and analyzes their connection with the prevailing stage of the industrial and intellectual development. The tripartite division of the book indicates the principal argument: during the period ending around 1494, the progress of technology and science had led to the basic discoveries and inventions which made a widespread use of firearms possible. Together with the economic progress in material wealth, this created the basis for the large and violent wars of the sixteenth and of the first half of the seventeenth century. They were followed by a period of restraints on warfare, during which European civilization developed its most humane and promising traits. The Enlightenment and the French Revolution marked the turning point and the beginning of the third period: the same impetus that shattered absolutism, liberated the "common man," and extended the societal wealth to hitherto outcast groups of the population also unleashed the forces which generated total war and a new barbarism. No longer guided by the humane and transcendental values of Christian civilization, technological rationality led to the subordination of man to the ever-growing industrial apparatus, to mass manipulation and mechanization, and to the violent escape from economic, psychological, and emotional suffocation caused by this development.

The principal questions which Nef proposes to answer are: (1) What was the nature of the restraints which, during part of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, limited the rapidly increasing potential of industrial society for total war and destruction? (2) Why did these restraints become increasingly less effective during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries?

The restraints on war during the earlier period of industrial society were first, of course, its limited natural and human resources, which enforced restrictions in the scope and intensity of warfare. However, this was not the only factor, because (as Nef demonstrates by several examples from military history) limitations on the violence and objectives of warfare were also imposed by the military and political leaders even if not required by the prevailing scarcity. Nef finds these restraints in the "improvements of manners, customs, and laws," in the "growth in the influence of rational thought upon politics" (pp. 250-51); a strong drive for the pursuit of delight and beauty rather than efficiency and abundance; and the Christian faith in the transcending value of man.

It is easy to point up the weakness of this argument. The cultural, artistic, and religious tendencies enumerated by Nef have always been compatible with the practice of utmost violence against enemies, outcasts or outsiders; the low development of techniques and resources rather than a more humane social attitude may have been responsible for the greater effectiveness of cultural and religious restraints during certain historical periods. Throughout Nef's book there is a trend to glorify past stages of Western civilization and to minimize the extent to which the underlying population, the weak and the heretic, has always remained untouched by the beneficial and alleviating aspects of Christian culture. However, Nef's interpretation proves valid in so far as it enables him to demonstrate the dialectic of progress: how the very same process which created the preconditions for a civilization without scarcity and repression came to refine and perpetuate—eventually by total war—scarcity and repression.

This demonstration provides the answer to the second question raised above: Why did the restraints of Western civilization become increasingly less effective during its later period? The problem is that of the relation between industrial-technological progress and war and destruction. Nef revises Sombart's thesis that modern war played a prominent part in the rise of modern capitalism and capitalist prosperity. Although it is true that war promoted large-scale industry and machinery, it is equally true that it retarded the progress of industrial prosperity, and that the latter made its greatest strides in regions which were saved the ravages of unlimited warfare (for example, Elizabethan England; the United States). On the other hand, industrial-technological progress, in the societal framework within which it has developed especially since the second half of the nineteenth century, engenders in itself total war and the destruction of its own goal: abundance and a better life. Directed toward ever more quantitative production of commodities under the incentive of profit and toward ever greater efficiency, industrial society began to lose sight of all other goals and to transform

man as well as nature into efficient and exploitable material. Nef discusses the principal aspects of this transformation. First the extension of military service to all able-bodied citizens, and the simultaneous glorification of the soldier. In the period preceding the French Revolution, military service was mainly confined to the "dregs" of society, to mercenaries and brutally conscripted subjects. Paradoxically, the proclamation of liberty and equality of all men by the French Revolution was first realized in the creation of the large citizen armies of the Revolution: "war proved the sphere to which it was easiest to admit all men on something approaching equal terms." The "most immediate tangible result" of Danton's and Robespierre's intercession on behalf of the common man was "to put him into the army" (pp. 310, 311). Beginning with the Napoleonic wars of conquest, the liberated citizen was taught to see the most honorable fulfillment of his purpose in war service—a glorification which became the more absurd the more modern wars required machines and technical skills rather than human activity. Later, the ability to destroy enemy manpower, resources, and cities by remote control eliminated to a great extent the horror of personal killing and weakened the former inhibitions against unlimited warfare. Secondly, training and education for total war were vastly facilitated by "changes in the organs of publicity and in the purposes they were coming to serve" (p. 386). From a means for disseminating authentic information and enlightenment, they were turned into an instrument for advertising and indoctrinating in the interests of the ruling groups. Striving to win and retain an ever larger audience, they engaged in the increasingly successful "search of a common denominator of inanity" which tends to obliterate all distinction between true and false, right and wrong, good and evil. Promoted by the techniques of mass production and communication, this led to a state in which the "common man" is no longer capable of deciding what is his own rational interest. Thirdly, mass production of commodities manipulated by particular national and group interests, and the subordination of all values to the pragmatic norms of efficiency and success, absorbed the utopian elements of creative imagination which had kept alive the promise of happiness, delight, and satisfaction, and made "mere activity" the "justification for existence." Men "contented themselves with the fact that, at any rate, they were marching," and in doing so, they "moved in step with the machines that have come to govern the industrialized economy" (pp. 389 f.). "As growing youths were confronted rudely with the consequences of carrying the personality of Little Lord Fauntleroy into practical life, there was increasing disposition to regard every kind of fancy as an evidence of immaturity, of lack of the crude roughness or the matter-of-fact outlook which were mistaken for maturity" (p. 392). Trained to suspect their dreams and fancies, people became submissive to their victimization and resignation. But they also became "ripe for the uneasy fear, the anger, and hatred which boredom and uninteresting labor breed and which lead to war" (p. 401).

Nef puts the blame too much on the shift of emphasis from quality to quan-

tity, from craftsmanship to the mass production of material wealth. Is not the latter a precondition for the universal realization of the values of delight, beauty, and truth which he praises so highly? But Nef believes that the forces that make for total war, although inherent in the specific development of modern industrial society, can be dominated by the collective will and rational effort of man. For the attainment of this goal, he has little faith in any of the national or international power groups. Not in the politicians and the institutions they represent: "Just as the modern purveyors of news and entertainment make a caricature of the common human being and provide fare for this caricature, so modern states represent only caricatures of the public and the public opinion they are supposed to embody in their politics" (p. 414). Not in organized labor, whose leadership has long since become an integral part of the system of manipulation and profitable performance. Nef questions the very right of the present forms of civilization to defend their existence by means of war: "The only justification for war is the defense of a culture worth defending, and the states of the modern world have less and less to defend beyond their material comforts, in spite of the claims of some to represent fresh concepts of civilization" (p. 412). (This statement is deprived of its full force by Nef's overemphasis on transcendental values. "Material comforts" may well be worth defending unless they are repressive and unjust in themselves, and are sustained by the poverty and misery of whole populations.) He sees the only hope in the "growth of a common community of understanding," not confined to the "Western peoples," but including the "best in the human being, wherever that best may be found, whether it be in Chicago, in Paris, in Mexico, in Moscow, on the steppes, or in some far off African village" (pp. 414, 415). Nef has no concrete suggestion as to how such a community could be established. He relies, as so often throughout his analysis, on a turn of the human mind from the predominance of "the special, the immediate, the practical, the national" to the higher values of the good, the true, and the beautiful. Again, it need hardly be pointed out how evasive this answer is. But if none of the organized powers, institutions, and policies of our time provides a solution, then the uncompromising demonstration of their failure and their guilt itself contributes to a future solution.

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HERBERT MARCUSE

GLEICHGEWICHT ODER HEGEMONIE: BETRACHTUNGEN ÜBER EIN GRUNDPROBLEM DER NEUEREN STAATENGESCHICHTE. By Ludwig Dehio. (Krefeld: Scherpe Verlag. 1948. DM. 8.40.)

"*Wie es denn gekommen ist,*" rather than "*wie es eigentlich gewesen ist,*" is an inevitable postwar question. It is almost equally inevitable that the answer will be accepted more as a document of contemporary intellectual history than as history in the strict sense of the word.

Ludwig Dehio, the archivist at Marburg and editor of the revived *Historische*

Zeitschrift, has re-examined the attempts which have been made during the last five hundred years to establish the hegemony of one nation on the continent of Europe. He ascribes the failures of the Habsburg emperors, Louis XIV, Napoleon, and the Germany of William II and Hitler mainly to the strength and policies of the peripheral states, England and later the United States in the west and Russia in the east. Each episode brought a decrease in the power and vitality of the core of Europe with the result that the center of Western civilization is at present completely exhausted, has lost its freedom of action, and its various parts can do no more than choose sides in the coming struggle between the eastern landpower of Soviet Russia and the western seapower, the United States.

Gleichgewicht oder Hegemonie is based on vast and profound knowledge and is full of challenging generalizations and analogies—the parallel of Venice and England, of Tilsit in 1807 and the German-Soviet pact of 1939, of the decline of Spain, France, and now Germany, to mention only a few. Despite the author's effort, however, to enlarge upon Ranke's political approach, power politics remain the central theme, with intellectual, social, and economic forces related only incidentally. Moreover, the book leaves the reader with a feeling that in this global struggle for power individuals are helplessly in the grip of historic forces which must inevitably run their predestined course.

This type of determinism has long been a favorite in Germany, whether in victory or defeat. By ignoring the often decisive influence of individuals, it incidentally absolves them of responsibility. As the author suggests himself, at best it may throw some light on what was, but it befogs what should be. It is to be hoped that this approach to history will not fill the intellectual vacuum of post-war Europe.

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THE STRUGGLE FOR PALESTINE. By J. C. Hurewitz. (New York: W. W. Norton and Company. 1950. Pp. 404. \$6.00.)

SOME problems, political and human among them, have no solution unless one or more factors are changed. Administration of the Palestine mandate to provide a "national home" for the Jews, to protect civil and religious rights of the Arab inhabitants, and to prepare for self-government posed an insoluble problem, particularly after Nazi persecution increased Jewish pressure for immigration. By 1937 the Peel Commission concluded that the mandate was unworkable. Add to this situation the effects of British imperial policies, desires of the Arab states, Nazi propaganda and intrigue, a world war and ensuing great-power tensions, American domestic politics and inconsistency on Palestine, and the complexity of the struggle for Palestine becomes bewildering.

Dr. Hurewitz deals competently with these elements for the years 1936 to 1948, leaving the Arab-Israeli war to a brief epilogue. An introduction recapitulates the mandate's early history. This is the least satisfactory chapter, leaving many

questions unanswered and touching only lightly the original bases of Arab and Zionist arguments. After summarizing the status of Palestine's Arab and Jewish communities in 1936, the author analyzes in detail the progressive breakdown of the mandate and the changing local and world factors that led in 1948 to solution by partition. He delineates the vacillation of British policy, Arab political disorganization, the growth of Arab and Jewish extremism and terrorism, the Zionist domination of the Jewish Agency, and the United Nations' action concerning "an Arab-Zionist contest within an Anglo-American controversy about to be drawn into the Soviet-American 'cold war.'"

Dr. Hurewitz deals most fully with Arab and Jewish politics, their respective factions and shifts in position, and their relations with the British. Since Palestine itself is his focus, the ramifications in Near East and world politics come off second best. Nazi propaganda among Arabs and relations with the mufti of Jerusalem, British imperial strategy, Zionist maneuvers before the United Nations partition vote, for example, are not completely explored. But these are not the center of his story.

The book is outstanding for its unemotional and carefully documented approach. (Thirty pages of footnotes, unfortunately congealed at the end, include Hebrew and Arabic sources, often from periodicals and documents.) Here is an antidote to the usual partisan accounts that generate more heat than light. This is a fact-crammed autopsy on the corpse of the mandate. Dr. Hurewitz is sparing in his judgments, not usually concerned with right or wrong, but with the realism, opportunism, and intelligence of interested parties. He does state that the Arabs had some "incontrovertible arguments"; he condemns the British post-war "resolute execution of an irresolute interim policy"; and he argues that Britain and America might in 1945 have imposed a solution. One would be grateful for further considered judgments and a final summary.

The chief defect of the book springs from this antiseptic approach. The struggle for Palestine is real enough, but the actors are lifeless. In his concern with factions, governments, statements, and partition plans, Dr. Hurewitz slights the human equation. The men who created Israel, or resisted it, or sought compromise, are not flesh and blood. Thus some of the reality is lost. The mass of Palestinian inhabitants appears only vaguely. Events sometimes shrink to nothing. The Jewish massacre of Arabs at Dayr Yasin, for instance, still vivid in the Arab memory, is passed over in a half-sentence.

Despite such drawbacks, the book is unique and valuable. Its 25-page bibliography is uncritical but may be supplemented by the author's bibliographical article in the *Middle East Journal* (January, 1949). Several clear maps are included. The Social Science Research Council deserves thanks for assistance on a sound study.

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Ancient and Medieval History

ÄGYPTEN UND VORDERASIEN IM ALTERTUM. By *Alexander Scharff* and *Anton Moortgat*. [Weltgeschichte in Einzeldarstellungen.] (Munich: Verlag F. Bruckmann. 1950. Pp. 535. Ln. DM. 18.)

SINCE the last complete presentation of the history of Egypt and the Ancient East in German was published in 1933 and new researches and excavations constantly present new materials, the authors have undertaken to bring to the German public an up-to-date account of our knowledge of the history of this period.

This volume is one of the type which we would call a textbook, appearing in a series of such works adapted for use in courses comparable to our upperclass history courses. Unlike our works of this type, the volume contains no illustrations except two simple maps showing the Nile Valley and western Asia. There are, however, some rather detailed chronological charts, a brief one for Egypt but a rather lengthy one for western Asia.

This book is really two books in one volume. The first 190 pages deal with Egypt and were written by Scharff. The treatment is conventional. The author attempts to incorporate recent material but gives little more than a dynastic, political outline with brief reference to cultural and economic material. Each chapter and section has a brief bibliography at the head of it, but, in many cases, the reasons for listing the works included are not at all clear. The treatment of Egyptian history, fairly full on the earliest period, ends with the conquests of Alexander.

The remaining 280 pages are devoted to western Asia and are the work of Moortgat. The contrast in style, treatment, and emphasis in the two parts is very striking. Moortgat gives no bibliography except in the full bibliographical listing at the end of the volume. His treatment is concerned primarily with cultural history and the text abounds in quotations from literary materials. The style is more rapid, somewhat more sparkling, and the treatment is much more concerned with the problems of historical synthesis. The nature of the material is partly responsible for the difference in emphasis but this is chiefly due, as is evident, to the difference in point of view of the two authors.

The bibliography at the end of the book is a rather complete one, comprising both general works and books and research papers on phases of the history of Egypt and the Near East. Much of the recent work of the past twenty years is listed here, but, frequently, there is little indication that some of it has been used in preparing the text. It must have been extremely difficult, as one of the authors remarks, to keep up with scholarly work in the rest of the world which appeared during the war period. Some of the work of the Oriental Institute, the University of Pennsylvania, of Edgerton, Reisner, and Winlock is listed in the bibliography—some of it is strangely lacking. A not too systematic checking gives one the

impression that recent work by English scholars is utilized more thoroughly than are the fruits of American scholarship. To one who knew Olmstead, it is ironical that his standard charge against European scholars—that they neglected American research—receives here some substantiation since a reasonably careful search revealed no mention of his last, and perhaps his greatest, work.

This is a useful volume. In fact, the synthesis attempted by Moortgat is unusually interesting and, in some parts, very well done.

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TEXTES D'HISTOIRE MÉDIÉVALE, V^e-XI^e SIÈCLE. By *Robert Latouche*, Doyen de la Faculté des Lettres de Grenoble. [Université de Grenoble, Publications de la Faculté des Lettres, II.] (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1951. Pp. 274. 600 fr.)

THIS brilliant book is the seasoned product of one of France's outstanding contemporary medievalists and should go a long way toward dispelling several of the absurd legends that still cling about the Middle Ages in some scholarly circles. Any American scholar who has not done much with *medievalia* since his college days can brush against some of the live wires of history in this little book to his own great advantage.

The book contains fifty-eight selections taken from forty-four independent historical sources, printed with the best Latin text and an accompanying French translation. Each century from the fifth to the tenth claims at least five selections with eighteen allotted to the eleventh century. Only ten of the forty-four historical sources are available in English and one, Regino of Prüm, called by Thompson "the most substantial work of the second half of the ninth century," is available neither in English nor French except for short excerpts.

Latouche is clearly more representative of the best historical work of the Middle Ages than most of the so-called "source books" in English although perhaps not so diversified. He has only three sources in common with Scott, Hyma, and Noyes (Jordanes, Gregory of Tours, and Einhard). His only common source with Henderson, *Historical Documents of the Middle Ages*, is Liutprand's report as ambassador of Otto I to Constantinople. There is no duplication with Webster's *Historical Selections* nor with the recent anthology, *The Portable Medieval Reader* by Ross and McLaughlin, a misnomer for it contains almost nothing before the twelfth century.

The penetrating and scholarly introduction is an admirable summary and explanation of the changes and types of medieval historical literature. In it Latouche gives five ideas basic to his selections: (1) Beginning with the fifth century there is a new perspective, for history is no longer centered in Rome; and with Orosius there is a new ideology. (2) The expression of nationalism in medieval historiography deserves more attention. A Gothic, an Anglo-Saxon, a Lombard

patriotism finds expression in Jordanes, in Bede, in Paul the Deacon, and in the eighth century Nennius wrote his history of the Bretons. Latouche wishes some qualified Frenchman could have written the *History of the Franks* instead of a Gallo-Roman such as Gregory of Tours but cites the prologue of the Salic Law to show that the Franks were animated by a national feeling.

(3) Historical genres change radically. Biography becomes hagiography for good reasons. The word "virtue" goes through a semantic revolution to become equivalent with "miracle," and the lives of the saints become largely collections of miracles. Latouche selects six of these early lives which have permanent value for their psychology or for their interesting and curious details. A portion of the *Liber Pontificalis* is inserted as an example of the many biographies of bishops. The eighth century witnessed the rise of a new genre, the annals. These became widespread throughout medieval Europe and were often precise and remarkably well informed. Latouche shows that the annalists and chroniclers were not always preoccupied with local happenings and show a knowledge of events far afield from their locale although few were as nomadic as Radulphus Glaber. The history of Charlemagne and the last Carolingians could not be written without the *Annales Regni Francorum*, the Annals of Saint Bertin, and in the tenth century those of Flodoard. Richer, monk of Rheims in the tenth century, made good use of Flodoard and other material to write a fascinating history of his own times. Richer was translated in full into French by Professor Latouche and published (1932-1937) in the extremely useful *Collection de textes pour l'étude et l'enseignement de l'histoire* which, after the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, provides the largest number of basic texts for this present volume.

(4) The tenth century saw the extension of historical literature into Germany of which the *Res Gestae Saxonicae* by Widukind, the first royal historian of Germany, and the *Chronicon* of Thietmar of Mersebourg are examples. The German kings, imitating their Carolingian predecessors, had their official historians. Liutprand was that for Otto I and Wipo for Conrad II. With the medieval Germans, history was in no sense a disinterested work but a force utilized by partisans. Latouche shows how the historian Bruno entered the conflict between Gregory VII and Henry IV.

(5) When compared with the historical literature of Roman times, that of the ninth to the eleventh centuries shows a surprising diffusion, as can be seen by a glance into the first volume of Molinier (whose thorough revision Latouche advocates). Not only are there many different types and classes of historical literature but the geographical area widens to include, along with all of Europe itself, North Africa, the Holy Land, Poland, Iceland, Greenland, and a very real Netherworld. Latouche includes examples to show this. Good history was also written by laymen, as illustrated by Nithard and Fulk Rechin, count of Anjou.

Each selection is prefaced by a scintillating introduction placing the piece in its historical setting and giving pertinent bibliography. This is a historian's book

and will be of great service in graduate schools to those instructors who want to expose their students to the best medieval historical literature. The book could be of greater use if the selections were longer.

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MANUEL DE DIPLOMATIQUE, FRANÇAISE ET PONTIFICALE. Volume I, DIPLOMATIQUE GÉNÉRALE. Volume II, L'ACTE PRIVÉ. By *A. de Boüard*, Professeur à l'École des Chartes (Paris: Editions Auguste Picard. 1929-51. Pp. 397, 317, 54 plates with 49 p. manual, 34 plates. \$12.00.)

THIS important work, building upon and admirably supplementing Girý's classic of 1894 which was much in need of revision, although well known among specialists has not received adequate attention in this country. With the last portion (XVIII-XXXIV) of the second volume of plates scheduled to appear in 1951, it is time to give this distinguished study a wider recognition among American students of European history.

The author, a well-known pupil of Maurice Prou, to whom this work is dedicated, combines a broad and intimate experience of documents with a ripe maturity of scholarship that enables him to make classifications and significant generalizations, all amply buttressed with ready and pertinent illustrations from manuscript sources. The introduction (pp. 11-57) is perhaps the clearest and most brilliant short account in print of the history of diplomatics and should be required reading for all graduate students in history. It contains a sparkling, bibliographical essay tracing the study of diplomatics from the early Middle Ages through the Renaissance, the work of the Benedictines and Jesuits, the great German archivists of the nineteenth century, ending with an illuminating description of modern methods and problems. The section entitled "Notions fondamentales et définitions" makes clear the scientific basis for the analysis of charters and explains the vocabulary current among diplomatists. This portion can be read with profit by students of English and American history as well.

The primary written sources of history are separated into two classes: narrative sources such as annals, chronicles, biographies, memoirs; and diplomatic sources such as charters, acts, contracts, accounts, judicial writings, registers, cartularies. The former are usually found in libraries; the latter in archives. A further distinction is made in diplomatic sources between "public acts" (Vol. I) and "private acts" (Vol. II), the former emanating from public authorities, especially popes, emperors, and bishops; the latter, usually the more interesting, arising when the authors are private individuals or when acts of public persons or institutions belong by their nature to private law.

This study is a detailed analysis of all types of these diplomatic sources of history, ranging from before the Carolingians to the Renaissance and beyond,

even including in its albums examples of private acts as late as Napoleon. It describes conditions under which charters and acts were drawn up in various centuries, and gives descriptions of chancelleries and the practices and techniques of medieval notaries. There are detailed analyses of types of ink, of paper and parchment, of the formats of documents, and an important study of corrections which have been made upon official and private documents by their medieval authors or by later hands. The methods of cancellations are shown, and anyone who ever has to read an original charter or act will be grateful to Professor de Boüard for his careful analysis of the legal language and terminology employed. Some of the most interesting pages analyze signatures, both autograph and signs manual, accompanied by a wealth of examples and anecdotes from the sources, all combining to make many of the diplomatic documents he discusses intensely animate. His study of seals is thorough and important. Every step in the production of a charter is illustrated not only by copious annotation in the body of the volume but also by well-selected and clearly printed examples in the two large volumes of plates, with accompanying manuals of printed transcriptions.

One of the primary problems facing the diplomatist is that of proving the authenticity of legal documents. Professor de Boüard believes that one can be a historian without knowing diplomatics but no one can be a diplomatist unless he is first a historian, because a knowledge of history is essential for understanding the conditions which made the document or the forgery necessary and for detecting false documents. He estimates that fifty per cent of the extant diplomas of the Merovingian period are false and that fifteen per cent of those from the reigns of the first four Carolingians are likewise false. Some of these forgeries have been detected only in recent years and with modern methods, but most of them were detected by diplomatists centuries ago. In times when so much depended upon written privileges, when vast benefices and estates could be claimed with false genealogies, the diplomatist was in no sense an antiquarian but a highly necessary member of society. The medieval church especially had to protect itself from false charters and privileges at a time when its written sanction was in great demand. The twelfth century was apparently the golden age of forgery, when the forms of the acts were not generally fixed.

Lorenzo Valla has perhaps had too high a place in the general scholarly mind as an early uncoverer of the falsity of certain ecclesiastical documents. Professor de Boüard shows that the Middle Ages worked out for themselves the scientific bases for examining and testing documents. He cites numerous incidents taken from the fifth to the thirteenth centuries where legal papers were officially examined by "experts" who uncovered their false character. Gregory of Tours describes how a donation charter attributed to Childebert II was shown to have a forged signature. In 1074, when the monks of Saint Serge and Saint Aubin of Angers went to law over a piece of property, five abbots chosen as judges called in two diplomatists who examined the charters and discovered falsities. Finally

Innocent III, great from so many angles, became one of the pioneers of scientific diplomacy by establishing the bases for analyzing suspected documents. In his denunciation of forgeries (*De Crimine falsi*) he formulated detailed and precise rules for examining the subject matter, the writing, the style, the manner of attaching seals and for scrutinizing signatures. A wealth of additional examples from the eleventh to the fourteenth centuries shows a clear understanding of the science of diplomacy not only in France but in Germany, Italy, and England.

Some of the material in these volumes would be easier to use if, after Giry, it had been put in the form of charts, lists, and statistics rather than in a strictly narrative form. But this is a minor criticism of a sound and usable work representing the latest conclusions in its field, a book which should do much toward humanizing the field of diplomacy for nonspecialists.

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DIE POLITISCHE STELLUNG DER VÖLKER IM FRANKENREICH. By *Erich Zöllner*. [Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung, Band XIII.] (Vienna: Universum Verlagsgesellschaft. 1950. Pp. 276. S.34.)

THIS relatively small book, simple in design and appearance, could easily be overlooked by readers accustomed to more pretentious works. It deserves no such fate, for in modest but illuminating fashion it adds to our knowledge of the early Middle Ages. This is done not by the discovery of new facts or the use of documents formerly neglected but by thoughtful analysis of the abundant literature long available to scholars and an examination of the position, nature, and contributions of each of the folk-groups that played a part in the history of Europe after the age of the *Völkerwanderung*. This age long seemed more especially the province of European historians, but recently Dopsch, Pirenne, and, in more popular but equally distinguished fashion, Christopher Dawson have made us all understand how full of meaning it is for Western civilization as a whole. Zöllner's work supplements their contributions, brings together much factual material to support or challenge their hypotheses, and with its full documentation may easily serve as a bibliographical handbook for the literature of the age it examines.

In a preliminary section, for there is no indication of chapters, a review of the works of major writers is given and here the author scrutinizes and evaluates the contributions of scholars like Giesebrecht with his emphasis on political developments of the *Volk*, of von Sybel, for whom evidence of an embryonic *Nationgefühl* explained the collapse of the Carolingian monarchy, of Ficker, who, unlike Zöllner himself, could admit no opposition between Roman and German but found the tension among the German groups. Even after a century of scholarly controversy the battle of conflicting opinions still rages, but the emphasis has

shifted from interest mainly on the collapse of the Carolingian Empire to an explanation of the development of the states that replaced it. A second section is semantic in character. Here close attention is given to the meanings of words and concepts used in the sources and believed to indicate "national" feeling or group consciousness among the various peoples of early medieval times. Students of nationalism might read these pages with profit.

The greater part of the book is reserved for an analysis in separate sections of the position, characteristics, and importance of thirteen folk-groups. Certainly nothing new nor epoch-making is found here, but much pertinent information is arranged in convenient and useful fashion. The Franks and the Romans are accorded most attention and the author's many penetrating observations concerning them and their relations with each other are worth study and consideration. The other groups examined are the Burgundians, the Goths, the Lombards, the Alemanni, the Bavarians, the Thuringians, the Frisians, the Saxons, the Bretons, the Basques, and the Slavs.

The Frankish Empire had no cultural, geographic, or national unity and was in a sense doomed. Zöllner gives considerable attention to the problems arising with the development of the various Frankish states, from the Merovingians to the ninth century, faced with persisting self-interests of the sectional groups they contained. A concluding chapter shows how a new order replaced the old, how even the names of smaller folk-units disappeared with the tendency, found even in Alcuin and Einhard, to adopt terms of larger connotation—German, French, Italian, although not of course with their modern overtones. Zöllner realizes, for example, that no "national" unification of Italy had been attained by the ninth century, but irresistible forces were already there making what was to be Italian rather than Roman or Lombard.

Northwestern University

GRAY C. BOYCE

LE SOUVENIR ET LA LÉGENDE DE CHARLEMAGNE DANS L'EMPIRE GERMANIQUE MÉDIÉVAL. By *Robert Folz*, Maître de Conférences à la Faculté des Lettres de Dijon. [Publications de l'Université de Dijon, VII.] (Paris: Société d'Édition Les Belles Lettres. 1950. Pp. xxiv, 624.)

THIS is an important book, dealing exhaustively with a theme of which the vital interest was already apparent in the earlier, partial treatment by such scholars as Gaston Paris, Kleinclausz, Calmette, Hoffmann, Lehmann, and Schramm. It is a high achievement at once of labor and of method to have worked thoroughly through the mass of material involved, to have presented with such competence issues and conclusions in so many controversial matters, and so to have traced with clarity the development of the various motifs which were woven into the complex figure of Charlemagne as he survived in the literature, liturgy, and historiography of the medieval German empire.

Complex the portrait is indeed, for Charlemagne, king of the Franks, emperor

of Rome, conqueror of pagan Saxon, Hun, Goth, and Saracen, the armed ally and pious benefactor of the church, apostle of the Christian faith, the giver of laws, the patron of letters, and fountainhead of royal dynasties, became in the memory of succeeding generations not only the ideal fulfiller of these many roles but the founder and very symbol of rights and powers which the conflicting protagonists in the political drama of medieval Europe were to claim for themselves. It had been his achievement to impose a measure of unity and order from the Channel to the Mediterranean and from the Elbe to the Atlantic, and so to present to the contemporary consciousness over and above lesser, more local, problems, the great questions of state, empire, and church. Thus it was to him, as to one who had given an at least temporarily effective answer to these questions, that later rulers and theorists were to turn for authority and justification of their rival policies and claims. M. Folz's book becomes therefore in the main a history of the interpretation in word and act of what I might call the Carolingian precedent, rival interpretations stemming from rival ambitions and powers, interpretations adapting themselves to changing historical circumstance, the figure of Charlemagne remaining ever present in the great controversies of the empire, like some mountain mass conditioning the climate of a whole region, deepening its mark with the passage of time.

One asks at once why Charlemagne, "*de France douce . . . dreiz emperere*," the ruthless conqueror of Saxon Witukind and Bavarian Tassilo, made so deep a mark on Germany. There was not, there could not be, any early cycle of poems in German on the Carolingian theme, nor was Charlemagne ever incorporated in the heroic legends of primitive Germany. Yet already in 884 the *Gesta Karoli Magni* of Notker brings together the themes of an expanding tradition of Charlemagne—the historical tradition rooted in Einhard and the *Frankish Annals*, the popular tradition transmitted to Notker in the tales of his warrior informants and probably embellished by the Balbulus himself, the clerical tradition active in its work of idealization since the lifetime of Charlemagne—themes which in this form were to pass into Germany and there grow in multiple ways into the specifically German tradition of Charlemagne. M. Folz unfolds his rich story in five books, epoch by epoch, treating the smaller chronological divisions in chapters within the books, and there separating the complex theme into the several strands of historical tradition, ecclesiastical legend, popular legend, local legend, and so on, setting them in parallel where they assume of themselves their relative importance, and bringing them all together again in the neat and expressive synthesis of his conclusion.

²⁸ In the German historical tradition, Charlemagne lived above all as the successor to Constantine in a renovated Roman Empire to which the Ottonians succeeded in 962 and as the embodiment of the imperial idea, an idea conceived as a veritable mission by the German sovereigns in pursuit of which, as M. Folz suggests in one of his longer views, they neglected the pressing need to build

the German state. The image of Charlemagne which was preserved therefore in German historical writings—upon which, in spite of contamination with legend, the *Vita* of Einhard and the *Annales* set an indelible impress—was one enlarged and distorted by the crystallization about it of the controversies as to the juridical basis, the transmission, the nature of imperial authority. In describing the tenor and the course of these controversies, M. Folz shows how Charlemagne survived as a motive force in imperial politics. Toward the end of the period, during and after the reign of Charles IV, when all semblance of reality was evaporating from the imperial idea, he could and did become, just as naturally, the representative of national monarchy, that political growth under which the fact and concept of empire was being smothered.

The "*souvenir*" of Charlemagne thus preserved in the historical tradition is distinguished by M. Folz in his title and in his treatment from "*la légende*," in which he distinguishes further the ecclesiastical legend, the popular legend, and local legend. For all these themes he traces their growth through the years, showing the different and changing emphases, the spreading of Charlemagne's popularity or usefulness until, at the end of the fifteenth century, his memory is cherished by all sorts and conditions of men throughout Germany. Starting from the development given by monastic and academic writings of the early ninth century to the religious qualities of the historical Charlemagne, the ecclesiastical legend progressed in Germany in the original and rapid development which led to the emperor's canonization in 1165. To this tradition was added the French clerical tradition, imported in the *Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle* and the *Journey to the East*, which, incorporated into the *Vita Karoli Magni* of Aix, maintained the saintly portrait of Charlemagne in German memory until the end of the Middle Ages. Popular legends grew onto the themes of his crusading wars, some of them developing, as at Ratisbon, into a local tradition of which elements seem to have passed into the still insufficiently studied French traditions of Ogier and Auberi le Bourguignon. The popular taste was gratified too by Parson Conrad's rendering into German of the *Chanson de Roland*. Reworked a century later in the *Karl der Grosse* of the Stricker, expanded by later redactors, the theme of his *Ruolandes Liet* is vastly expanded at the beginning of the fourteenth century in the *Karl Meinet*, in which compilation the cross-currents of ecclesiastical, popular, and local legend meet. Other legends grew on the factual foundations of Charlemagne's sojourn in certain localities, of his passage through certain regions, of his ecclesiastical foundations or benefactions. M. Folz deals meticulously with all these: Swabia, Alsace, and the Alpine passes; Liège, Zurich, Ingelheim, and, later, Prague; Aix above all where he dwells with deserved emphasis on the concretization of the legend in the tomb, the throne, the reliquary, and, finally, the imperial insignia held in little less veneration than the holy relics themselves. It is Charlemagne the lawgiver who stamps his lively image on the Frisian tradition; on the Saxons and Swabians too, among whom

in the thirteenth century the local customaries were known as "*Karlen Buoch*." As in northeastern France and in the Low Countries, which set the fashion and in part furnished the means, the imperial and provincial families—the dukes of Brabant, for instance, and Rudolf of Habsburg—were at pains to trace their descent from Charlemagne and presented to their contemporaries and posterity in laboriously compiled genealogies the flattering image of their ancestor.

These manifestations of the dynamic growth of the Carolingian legend are exposed in the histories, the poetic compilations, and in the multitudinous documents and artistic relics fortifying or representing local traditions. It is not possible in so brief a review to give an adequate idea of the density of treatment which M. Folz accords to these. He is concerned throughout his book not only to describe the development of the legend in its content but also to follow its spread from nuclear points at which the initial interest concentrated. So he begins to trace the diffusion of the *Karl der Grosse* by noting the distribution of the forty-odd manuscripts in which the poem is preserved. He is up-to-date in his scholarship and usually cautious and within the evidence in his views. For example, he rightly suspends judgment on the *Turpin Chronicle*, refusing to accept the theories propounded hitherto on insufficient evidence, awaiting the more conclusive results to be expected from the investigations of P. David and A. Hämel. He is equally well informed and properly reserved in his treatment of the *Descriptio*, but, rather incautiously, he accepts, on page 241, Mireaux's theory of an Anglo-Angevin form of the *Chanson de Roland*, written about 1157, of which the Oxford MS. would be a representative and the *Ruolandes Liet* a derivative. He has provided in an excellent index a guide to the many historical and literary problems with which he deals, and has paid the same scrupulous care to his proofreading and references.

All the documents studied, as M. Folz reminds us, unfailingly reveal the political ideas of their date. The student of history will find the documents where he expects to find them, in their politico-historical setting. The student of literature will profit by finding those that interest him set in the same perspective from which they cannot be removed without being put out of focus. To his own perspective, defined in the title of his book, M. Folz has remained true in spite of the difficulties. He has not strayed into writing a history of the imperial concept in the Middle Ages, though, for example in Book V, chaps. 2 and 3, Charlemagne remains rather dimly in the background. M. Folz is aware of the difficulty, aware of the danger of making Charlemagne omnipresent. How, for instance, he asks himself, can we determine the precise extent to which Charlemagne presided over the theory and practice of Frederick I's imperial policy? He does not, however, ask, though the question at times does not seem far from his mind, what truly popular element the German memory and imagination contributed to all this clerical activity, what spontaneous affection and veneration grew in German hearts and minds for the figure thus presented to them, for the concepts thus

implanted in their minds. The question must be asked, even though it can be only imperfectly answered; otherwise I could not, for my part, in any degree mitigate the judgment arising from my reading of the book, that the image of Charlemagne treasured through the Middle Ages in the German memory was, in its general aspect, an artificially created symbol of high imperial ambition and, in its detailed traits, the symbol of other ambitions to which it served as the vehicle of more or less generous-minded propaganda. M. Folz has given us from east of the Rhine a view of Charlemagne bestriding the medieval empire like a colossus. The success and value of his accomplishment show the need of further studies giving us views from Italy in the south, from Britain and Scandinavia in the north, and above all a view from the west, from Carolingian and Capetian France, from Paris and Saint-Denis.

University of California, Berkeley

RONALD N. WALPOLE

ALCUIN, FRIEND OF CHARLEMAGNE: HIS WORLD AND HIS WORK.

By *Eleanor Shipley Duckett*. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1951. Pp. xii, 337. \$5.00.)

PROFESSOR Duckett continues her remarkable series of books which, beginning at the sixth century, have led her readers through the most obscure period of early European history until now we find ourselves, if not yet out of the darkness, at any rate nearing the dawn.

Just as her *Anglo-Saxon Saints and Scholars* led on naturally from *The Gateway to the Middle Ages*, so here we find in the first chapter the link which binds Northumbria of the seventh century to Frankland of the eighth and ninth centuries. Alcuin, who never forgot the training he received at York nor the great traditions of Northumbrian Christianity which he inherited there, carried the influence of Lindisfarne, Jarrow, and Monkwearmouth to the Continent and so helped to preserve them from the total extinction with which they were threatened when the Scandinavian invasions of the ninth century brought about almost complete darkness in the north; but even though the great monastic libraries of northern England were almost completely destroyed, Alcuin's enthusiasm for the writings of Bede had helped to spread the fame of the Northumbrian doctor on the continent of Europe and had thus helped to preserve his writings, so that copies of his works dating from the ninth and tenth centuries are common enough in Continental collections of manuscripts where any remains of early monastic libraries are preserved.

A new English life of Alcuin was badly needed. Though some attention has been paid to him on the Continent, American and English scholars have, with a few exceptions, largely neglected him. Levison's great work on *England and the Continent in the Eighth Century* has roused fresh interest in the man who did more than anyone else to make relations closer. The history of his life, as

Levison says, "bears witness to the growth of international intercourse and to the existence of a spiritual heritage common to England and the Frankish kingdom."

No one is better qualified to write this life than Professor Duckett. Her previous studies have prepared the way for it, and with the assiduous care that we have come to connect with her work, she has studied all the original records available. Her footnotes and bibliography bear ample witness to the fact that she has missed nothing either in Alcuin's writings or in those of his contemporaries which could throw the least glimmer of light upon his life and work. Nor has she failed to read and critically assess all the important modern literature about Alcuin himself and about his background.

The arrangement of the book serves its purpose excellently. Alcuin is never lost sight of, but at the same time we get a clear view of the historical background, interesting for its own sake as well as for the light it throws on her hero. Her final summing up of Alcuin is judicious, nor does she fall into the trap which all biographers have to face, of overestimating the importance of her subject, though she does not fail to show that he has been much neglected.

It is almost unnecessary to say that Professor Duckett's translations from the Latin are impeccable and always pleasant to read. But one tiny point is worth questioning. On page 209 she translates "citharistam" as "flute-player." Surely it can mean nothing but "harpist." It is doubtful whether the Anglo-Saxons knew the flute, while the harp was popular among them as the story of Caedmon reminds us. In the same passage, the reference to Ingeld the Heathobard seems to miss the point, for it was *after* he had married his Danish princess that the feud between the two nations broke out again—a typical example of the "heroic dilemma" which the old Germanic heroic stories used so effectively, where the hero, or more often the heroine as here, is torn by conflicting duties.

Professor Duckett resembles Alcuin in that she is a "born teacher." She is able to piece together all kinds of tiny details gathered from her authorities and gradually to build up a living picture of Alcuin himself, of his much-loved pupils and friends, of Charles and his court, and of the life in the Abbey of St. Martin at Tours. What is even more remarkable is that she is able with equal ease to lead us through the mazes of the Iconoclastic controversy, clarify the confusion of the Adoptionist heresy, set out the varied views of scholars concerning the imperial coronation of Charles or trace the history of the Carolingian minuscule. Yet she never sacrifices accuracy to lucidity. The result is an eminently readable book in which the specialist will have something to learn and which the young student will be able, and what is more important, willing to read. Her book will doubtless long remain the standard work on the life and times of Alcuin.

Durham, England

BERTRAM COLGRAVE

A HISTORY OF THE CRUSADES. Volume I, THE FIRST CRUSADE AND THE FOUNDATION OF THE KINGDOM OF JERUSALEM. By *Steven Runciman*. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1951. Pp. xiv, 377. \$5.00.)

IN issuing this first volume of a projected three-volume history of the crusades, the author expresses his regret that the "composite work" which international scholars under American auspices are now planning was not available in time for him to profit by it, and thus describes the separate function of his own undertaking: "A single author cannot speak with the high authority of a panel of experts, but he may succeed in giving to his work an integrated and even epical quality that no composite volume can achieve." On this basis, the work now under review invites comparison with the efforts of Kugler, Röhrich, W. B. Stephenson, and Brehier to encompass the whole history of the crusades; and it may also be compared with special aptness to the three-volume study by Grousset of the same period.

After a first "book," largely descriptive of Eastern background, the author follows developments from the time of Gregory VII to the accession of Baldwin I in a narrative as interesting as that of Grousset and much more critical. Relying more than his predecessors on the use of recent scholarly contributions, he is also the first European scholar to make extensive reference to the works of American scholars in this field; and his tribute to D. C. Munro "whose regrettable small literary output belied his importance as a teacher" will be widely appreciated on this side of the Atlantic. Unfortunately, however, he appears to have made little use of either Paetow's *Guide* or *Speculum*, with the result that he includes in his bibliography only a fraction of the publications of Byrne, David, Duncalf, Joranson, LaMonte, and Munro, all of whom he cites, and he has missed some of the younger American contributors entirely.

In the comprehensive outlook he has brought to his purpose of surveying the whole crusading era, he excels over all previous writers in the field; and this is notably evident in his discussion of Near Eastern history. No diamond has ever been cut with as many facets as any major problem in this area presents. Yet he appears to have bent a discerning eye on nearly all these involvements, and treats with a sure touch the Greek East, the Slavonic elements, the various branches of the Turkish stock, the geography and people of the whole Near East, the Armenians, Jews, Kurds, Arabs, and Egyptians, the various Christian sects as well as those of Islam. Few, if any, historians of the crusades have been so well prepared for the task, his years spent in Sofia, Athens, Constantinople, and Cairo yielding large dividends for this work.

The temper of the author's critical faculties is, perhaps, best exemplified in his careful estimate of the probable number of crusaders. Disregarding the fantastic figures of the inexperienced contemporary chroniclers, he follows their accounts until

they deal with numbers within their comprehension, and then calculates on that reasonable basis the numbers involved in antecedent events. Fulcher, whose extravagant estimates at Nicaea are corrected by his later comments after years in the East, would, I am sure, agree with him. In similar vein, the author neither accepts nor rejects in entirety either Albert of Aix or Anna Comnena. Though there is much in both to command his respect, he indulges in few illusions, preferring to view the facts as they occurred. Recognizing both the ideals and the actualities that were involved in the great and tragic drama of the crusades, he records the story as it developed, the ideals too often succumbing to the raw human nature of an untutored folk who were dealing, in the main, with a complex society far beyond their comprehension.

One of the most impressive features of this work is contained in the author's bold, independent appraisal of the leading figures in the period under his view. Unawed by either the traditional or legendary reputation which the crusading leaders have in time acquired, he applies his own intuitive judgment to each of them on the basis of their separate acts in the situations which confronted them personally. In his desire, however, to depict the real Godfrey and Tancred, who have both become favorites of legend, he has fallen somewhat short, perhaps, in according full justice to either. Perhaps, too, he has been too severe in his judgment of Stephen and Robert of Normandy. On the other hand, Alexius, Adhemar, Arnulf, Daimbert, Raymond of Toulouse, and above all Baldwin, seem more accurately and fairly appraised than is usually the case in less than monographic delineation. And as a further result of the author's close study of all these puzzling characters, Raymond of Toulouse—so enigmatic a mixture of the base and the noble—emerges as a more consistent and more admirable figure than he is usually portrayed. That Baldwin should appear as the ablest leader produced by the crusade seems only a belated act of justice.

In so comprehensive a work as this, it is perhaps inevitable that the author must here and there fall short of satisfying the various specialists who have made meticulous studies of limited phases of the subject. Perhaps every one of them will mark some shortcoming in the volume now under consideration. Thus, I should be inclined to modify the author's interpretation of the disposition of Jerusalem both in the summer of 1099 and at Christmas time of the same year; for by the time the army reached Jerusalem, both Raymond and Robert of Normandy were so thoroughly embittered that neither could have been chosen ruler. Even if they had so desired, and in spite of various statements of their devoted followers to the contrary, this could hardly have happened; and the choice of Godfrey, leading neutral, as secular leader, and of Arnulf, Robert's chaplain, as ecclesiastical head suggests, moreover, an understanding between these two contingents. In like manner, the refusal to let Raymond hold the Tower of David or Ascalon was due more, in my judgment, to this coalition than to Godfrey alone; and since Raymond had lost the support of many of his

own followers, the decision was made the more easy. Again, there is room for a different interpretation than the author suggests regarding the *coup d'état* which Bohemond and Daimbert perpetrated in displacing Arnulf and in making Godfrey and Bohemond vassals of the new patriarch. In this particular the author may have been misled by the Pisan calendar into ascribing Daimbert's departure to the summer of 1099 instead of 1098, when he actually left—a fact which precludes the possibility that he had been appointed legate to succeed Adhemar, and fixes the responsibility for the *coup d'état* upon the shrewd, calculating scheme of Bohemond, who was thereby seeking validation of his title to Antioch. The personally ambitious Daimbert was thus a willing partner to the scheme which the weakness of Godfrey made possible. Some such qualifying considerations as these will no doubt occur to others who have worked in the field; and for this reason the author of this most percipient and careful study of the crusades would no doubt find it advantageous to work in close co-operation with the group of scholars who are now engaged in preparing the volumes on the same period which the Mediaeval Academy of America has sponsored.

Even allowing generously, however, for any and all variation of opinion on specific points, it is impossible to withhold tribute to the very high quality of achievement which this book represents. If the volumes that are yet to be issued succeed in upholding the standard of the first, the whole series promises to be not only the best comprehensive account of the crusades by a single author but a truly monumental work on all counts.

University of Minnesota

A. C. KREY

THE LEGENDARY HISTORY OF BRITAIN: GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH'S *HISTORIA REGUM BRITANNIAE* AND ITS EARLY VERNACULAR VERSIONS. By J. S. P. Tatlock. (Berkeley: University of California Press in co-operation with the Mediaeval Academy of America. 1950. Pp. xi, 545. \$7.50.)

THE late Professor Tatlock was a scholar of wide-ranging interests, best known for his studies on two like-named English writers, Geoffrey Chaucer and Geoffrey of Monmouth. During the last two decades he published a steady stream of articles centering upon the *Historia Regum Britanniae*, and medievalists are indeed fortunate that he lived to see through the galley proofs this important volume, which gathers between its covers the judgments of an active and mature mind concerning "one of the most influential books ever written" (p. 3). Whether admired willingly as the source for so much that was good in imaginative literature or grudgingly for perpetrating a fraud which enjoyed a vogue about as long as that of the Donation of Constantine, Geoffrey deserves such a synthesis as this to sum up the vast deal of specialized studies which have appeared. *The Legendary History* stands as a fitting monument to a life of

devoted scholarship and one may sense therein more of the temper of Professor Tatlock's mind than in a formal memorial.

In his book the author essayed to survey the *Historia* "as a whole," to discover Geoffrey's thoughts, the background of his work, what he wished to convey and what effect he wished to produce on his readers. This survey (in Part I) takes the form of a score of chapters which vary in intensity and length (but whose titles are all graciously short): Sources and Scholarship, British Geography, Continental Geography, Personages and Their Names, Merlin, Arthur, Saints and Churchmen, Religion and the Church, Law, Politics, Imperialism, Warfare, Customs and Manners, Popular Elements, Geoffrey's Historiography, Racial Sympathies, Prophecies of Merlin, Geoffrey's Motives, Date of the *Historia*, Biographical. These are in some degree discrete studies whose order is not inevitable and it is not easy to do justice to so meaty and complex a book in a short summary. But one may try.

Not too much is known about Geoffrey's life. A cleric from the marcher country, he was probably of Breton descent; his sympathies are with the Britons before the migration to Armorica, with the Bretons thereafter, and never with the Welsh. (Nor are the author's, at least in this respect, that he minimizes Welsh influence in the *Historia*.) He spent a number of years at Oxford as a canon and in 1152 was consecrated bishop of St. Asaph, dying apparently in 1154/55. He was alert, sane and well-balanced, intelligent but not an intellectual, concrete-minded and little given to philosophizing, moderately well read, rationalistic and secular in his attitudes and interests, and favorably disposed toward the Norman monarchy. The profile which Professor Tatlock etched so incisively is not an unattractive one and in many features it is not a unique one among clergymen of Norman England.

Between 1130 and 1138 Geoffrey wrote the *Historia*, intending it for an audience of aristocratic laymen of Anglo-Norman stock. His motives, other than desire for fame and preferment which the bishopric must have satisfied, were to do an exciting and lifelike "national" history of the British (*not* the Welsh) and to provide by earlier parallels some justification for the expansionist policies of the Anglo-Norman monarchs. In accomplishing these purposes he used a number of obvious written sources from Gildas to William of Malmesbury and perhaps others not so obviously identifiable, but *not* the British "*librum uetustissimum*" which he thrice names as his guide. He used as well traditional and popular materials (to be accepted only after careful scrutiny, though) and he drew heavily upon his knowledge of contemporary conditions and affairs, gained at first hand or through acquaintances. Most important, and most refreshing as the theme is developed by the author, is the extent to which Geoffrey drew upon his own imagination in shaping existing materials or in inventing new. For all his invention, Geoffrey wanted his book to be accepted as history, not as romance; this aim accounts for his frequent habit of ascribing to an earlier epoch that

which was known or plausible to his contemporaries and, coupled with his own rationalism, this aim accounts too for his slight use of the miraculous, the marvelous and the grotesquely exaggerated. This desire for verisimilitude without historical truth led to the paradox of an almost wholly legendary account more sober in its details than the mine run of authentic chronicles of the day. The proof of his artistry may be found in the long currency his pseudo-history had as history.

There is artistry too in the structure of the *Historia* with its conscious alternation of compressed summaries of lengthy periods enlivened by an occasional vivid touch and of expanded and detailed treatment of short periods of especial interest. The latter technique was followed in the two instances in which Geoffrey's influence on literature was to be most significant—the Leir story, "ultimate ancestor" of Shakespeare's tragedy, and the story of Arthur. Professor Tatlock finds no evidence for an earlier Arthur tradition of the sort that Geoffrey popularized. Whatever the latter may have borrowed from others, the Arthur of the romances was in large degree his own, strongly influenced by the concept of a British messiah, by current Anglo-Norman "imperialism," and by medieval Alexander stories.

Part II deals briefly with early vernacular versions of the *Historia*: with Gaimar and other minor French adapters; with Wace, who fashioned the Round Table; and with Lawman, who first "and most worthily" Englished Geoffrey's matter.

Unlike Geoffrey, Professor Tatlock wrote for the learned. Scholarship on the matter of Britain is highly controversial—witness the author's running feud with Faral and others—and scholarship, like bullfighting or Chinese art, requires a knowledge of background and of techniques for critical judgment and thorough appreciation. With but slight acquaintance with the extensive literature the author cites, the present reviewer can appraise his work only in the general fashion of that marginal reader we all hope our books may find, the scholar from a cognate field. This book is tightly argued; like his Geoffrey, Professor Tatlock is to be counted among the tough-minded and this marginal reader, who has never identified an eponymy or traced a literary motif to its lair, is easily persuaded of the soundness of the author's caution in his rejection of the theories of others. In advancing his own theories too he is far from dogmatic; the tone of the whole book may be summed up in his statement about Geoffrey: "Of so elusive a writer in so early a century most of our knowledge must come from the harmony of probabilities" (p. 82). To an untrained ear, there seem to be few dissonances here.

It is probably because erudition in any field but one's own appears over-meticulous that the reviewer has felt that some of the problems raised here are of less than world-shaking importance or that in spite of the author's vigorous prose the exposition is occasionally a trifle extended (the chapters on place and personal names are cases in point). In the context of the recondite treatment

of literary matters, information on social and political history appears somewhat obvious in spots. Throughout the documentation leaves little to the imagination. But these are merely the impressions of one marginal reader who nevertheless has found the book valuable and who hopes that it will have the same fate as the *Historia*, "which came more and more to appeal to those for whom it was not designed" (p. 395).

University of Chicago.

JAMES LEA CATE

TAXATION IN MEDIEVAL ENGLAND. By *Sydney Knox Mitchell*. Edited by *Sidney Painter*. [Yale Historical Publications, Studies, XV.] (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1951. Pp. 413. \$5.00.)

THE content of this volume is more limited chronologically and topographically than the title may seem to imply. The period of primary concern extends from 1154 to 1272. Excursions are made into earlier times where a background is necessary and into later years when the significance of developments before 1272 can be explained fully only by consideration of events after that date. The first four chapters deal with carucages and aids on movables and revenues and the last four with royal tallages. Other taxes, such as scutages, are discussed only for the information which they contribute to one aspect or another of the main theme.

Three of the first four chapters are concerned with the administration of aids on movables and revenues and of carucages. The first presents a careful study of the composition and functions of the central boards which were appointed to administer the receipt of nearly all these taxes until the reign of Edward I, when the exchequer took over the work. The functions of such a board for the tax, which it was appointed to receive were similar to those of the lower exchequer for other revenues and sometimes a board was also empowered to audit the accounts of the collectors. The second accords similar treatment to the assessors and collectors of these taxes. It leads the author to the conclusion: "In finance therefore as in the administration of justice the local political power of the baron was retiring before the expanding power of the royal government" (p. 110). The third gives a detailed explanation of the development of the basis of assessment.

The fourth chapter on consent to taxation is exceptionally important. Until the close of John's reign, in the author's opinion, consent to aids which took the form of a carucage or of a tax on movables and revenues was given by the great council and the tenants in chief individually. During the reign of Henry III to 1237 it continued to be the view of the king, the magnates and commentators that the aid was an individual grant by each tenant in chief and instances of individual refusals to pay an aid occurred, but the practical effect of a grant by the great council was to make the decision binding on all holders of the type of property being taxed. The king was always able to collect the great bulk of the aid. "A concept of corporate consent was imperceptibly taking shape" (p. 202).

At the same time, because these taxes were paid by many who were not immediate vassals of the king, a theory developed that the great council represented all freemen except clerks and monastic communities not holding by military tenure and laymen on the royal demesne. Until 1237 the barons did not feel entirely free to refuse the grant of an aid on account of the persistence of the original concept of the gracious aid. Thereafter the great council rejected several requests of Henry III for an aid and this experience helped to develop corporate consent. During the reign of Edward I before 1295 taxes on personal property were granted by the corporate consent of the great council supplemented by the corporate consent of the representatives of the shires except in the assemblies of 1283. In 1295 the king forced on the towns of the demesne the use of representatives with full power who also gave corporate consent and this remained the practice thereafter except in 1297.

In the four remaining chapters the development of the royal tallage is traced from the reign of Henry II to the statute of 1340 by which the king finally gave up the right to tallage the demesne. An especially interesting part of this story is the full discussion of the events connected with the confirmation of the charters in 1297.

It may be doubted if much new information can be added to our knowledge of the administration and levy of the taxes here treated so fully. Perhaps additional details may come to light, but the fundamental work is done. Those conclusions which are necessarily based on balances of probabilities and particularly those on some of the vexed problems of consent are of major significance, though there is room for disagreement with some of them. Taken as a whole, this work represents the thorough research and the mature conclusions of a scholar who spent a lifetime studying the subject. We are much indebted to Professor Painter for making available such a valuable addition to the literature of the constitutional history of the period.

Haverford College

W. E. LUNT

Modern European History

A HISTORY OF ENGLAND: FROM THE COMING OF THE ENGLISH TO 1938. By *Keith Feiling*, Emeritus Chichele Professor of Modern History, Oxford; Fellow of All Souls College. (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company. 1951. Pp. xxxiv, 1229. \$7.50.)

THIS book, as Professor Feiling indicates in his preface, does not aim at novelty of analysis or interpretation. Rather is it an attempt to tell, within the covers of a single volume, the story of the British nation, incorporating in the narrative the findings of recent decades of historical scholarship and bringing, he implies, J. R. Green up to date. Let it be said at once that he has accomplished

his purpose with no little credit. An impressive learning is writ large on the pages of the book, and well-balanced, perceptive judgments inform the study throughout. Professor Feiling draws on an enormous range of reading, primary and secondary, and he seems easily at home in widely separated periods of the English past, though, no doubt, specialists will find points to question. Indeed, as is often the case when scholars turn to the longer view, some of his most satisfying chapters have to do with periods, notably the Anglo-Saxon, in which he would profess no special *expertise*.

Both the merits and defects of the study follow, at least in part, from Professor Feiling's conception of his task. This volume is, in the best sense, traditional history, and political narrative supplies the main theme. Despite the claim on the jacket, it is not "the record of an entire culture" and is rather less "a history of the English *people*" than is Green. Of the eighty-one chapters (fifty-five dealing with the period from Henry VIII on) not more than seven or eight are devoted to social and cultural history, perhaps three or four others to the growth of the constitution. Institutional aspects are not heavily emphasized, nor does Professor Feiling employ such devices as statistical tables, graphs, and the like which can sometimes illuminate a historical panorama. It is men, not movements, that really engage his interest. Some of his more memorable passages are vignettes of individual Englishmen, of Alfred, who "had, in full the gifts of action,—ardour in hunting, gay endurance in war, interest in all human doing, simple, broad strokes of policy,—but to them added, what are so rarely combined, the artist's eye and a dedicated purpose. One side of him turned to planning warships or lamps . . . or to collecting English ballads; another to correspondence with the churches of Jerusalem or India, and his own new foundation at Winchester. But all roads in his mind led back to England"; of Richard III, in whose presence "men turned cold when they saw his nervous ringed hand for ever half-drawing the dagger from its sheath; and the teeth gnawing his lower lip"; or Chatham, who "scorched up his opponents in debate as if by fire, his speeches blazing up in sudden inspiration, as when he saw death riding on the white horse, the badge of Hanover, or pointed the Lords to the Armada tapestries."

It is ungracious to complain when an author carries out his own conception as adequately as does Professor Feiling. Yet one cannot help feeling that he has approached his task in an overcautious spirit. It is at least arguable that his book would have been a more useful and significant contribution had he defined his problem in more daring terms. There are no important new perspectives and little challenging interpretation—indeed, this is not primarily a work of interpretation. Although it was suspected, because of his identification with Tory party history, that Professor Feiling might reinterpret English history in the light of the Tory tradition, this point of view does not emerge strikingly. Possibly he is inclined to give more weight to factors of stability and less to those of change than Whig-Liberal writers have tended to do and to stress the achievements of certain

Tory ministries. But, on the whole, this is a middle-of-the-road approach, which owes little to political philosophy, Tory or otherwise.

What it comes down to, I think, is that Professor Feiling's insight into the world of individuals is not matched by an equally acute appreciation of the broader lines of historical development. Few general questions are raised and few general conclusions emerge. This is not an essay on the making of the English way of life, nor does it seek to isolate and explain in any conscious fashion the elements in their historical background that have made the English what they are. In short, the narrative, clear and well-proportioned as it is, has about it a certain atomistic quality and seems lacking in the unifying ideas which could give form and direction. For one reader, at least, the whole is a little less than the sum of the parts, though most of the parts are admirable in themselves.

Harvard University

DAVID OWEN

THE REFORMATION IN ENGLAND. Volume I, THE KING'S PROCEEDINGS. By *Philip Hughes*. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1951. Pp. xxi, 404. \$6.00.)

THIS is the second solid volume on the Henrician reformation within three years. Although the earlier one (H. Maynard Smith, *Henry VIII and the Reformation*, London, 1948) was Anglican in point of view, and this is Roman Catholic, although Father Hughes's organization and emphasis differ widely from Canon Smith's and he sometimes calls his predecessor sharply to account, on the whole the agreements are more striking than the differences. Certainly the emphasis, proportion, and the relative weighing of events are more alike than they would have been in a Catholic and a Protestant account a hundred or even fifty years ago. After all, among serious scholars, less disagreement is now possible about the facts.

About the rigidity, conservatism, and decadence of the pre-Reformation church in England, for instance, and the relation of those factors to lay anticlericalism and the rising humanist attack, Canon Smith and Father Hughes are of much the same mind, Hughes delivering, indeed, the sterner judgment. Similarly they both reject the scandalous and scabrous stories in which Protestant controversialists once delighted, and accept the saner view of English religious life which Cardinal Gasquet and James Gairdner did so much to advance, while at the same time they agree (Father Hughes, perhaps, a shade reluctantly) that Geoffrey Baskerville and others have drastically modified Gasquet's pathetic picture of the consequences of the dissolution. In all this a long generation of research shows its fruits.

Even more strikingly, Hughes and Smith agree that in the politics of the Reformation Henry VIII's divorce was the decisive factor. Here the main work of scholarship has been to clear away the apologetics with which Henry's de-

fenders, ever since Hall and Fox and Henry himself, have beclouded the issues. On this topic, it is perhaps natural and right that Father Hughes should be much the fuller and clearer. His account of the divorce is the plainest and surest short path yet blazed through that tangle, and the way he relates it at every step to the rest of "the King's Proceedings" gives his narrative exceptional clarity and dramatic interest. Anglicans in general will disagree with his conclusion that "the fundamental Protestant heresy" to which, before "the king's great matter" was wound up, he and his realm were committed, was (and is) the denial of the authority of the pope, and that once that denial had been made the people of England had no right to call themselves Catholics. But about this, theologians rather than historians should dispute.

Two minor points are perhaps worth raising: Father Hughes seems to underestimate the force of the reservation, "as far as the law of Christ allows," with which Warham and Fisher qualified the clergy's first recognition of Henry as Supreme Head. As long as there were bishops brave enough to maintain that the authority allowed to a king by the law of Christ was strictly limited, Henry had won an empty victory. Warham stood on that very ground, and the divorce at which the king was aiming had to wait two years more. Of course Henry could (and probably would) have had Warham's head, as later he had Fisher's, and then found a Cranmer to do his bidding, but that does not mean that the two bishops were either cowed or tricked. Father Hughes understands thoroughly the importance of the time-distance factor for interpreting sixteenth-century diplomacy but sometimes he slips in applying it. He rejects, for instance, the supposed connection between the battle of Landriano (June 21, 1529) and the signing of the Treaty of Barcelona (June 29) because "the distance Rome-Barcelona" is too great. But the significant distance is Landriano-Genoa-Barcelona, and, in fact, the news of Landriano had reached Barcelona by the twenty-eighth. The papal envoys did not need Rome to tell them that the French cause in Italy was lost. Later on, Father Hughes writes: "On January 12, 1539, Charles and Francis signed at Toledo a pact directed against Henry; and on the 25th the king sent Christopher Mont as an envoy to Saxony." Here a connection between two events is implied where none is possible. Leaving aside such considerations as that Francis was not in Toledo at all, that Henry seems to have been unaware of the treaty as late as the end of March, and that its contents would not have alarmed him had he known them, the time-distance factor contradicts the implication. Even at the most favorable season the fastest couriers never made London to Toledo in as little as thirteen days; in January, twice that would have been reasonably good time.

This, however, is to toggle at trifles when there is much that still demands to be praised: the admirable opening exposition of the numbers and distribution of the clergy, secular and religious, in relation to the total population; the clear and penetrating analysis of the relevant theology, so often neglected in

English Reformation history; the shrewd suggestions for further lines of inquiry; the careful index and many well-chosen illustrations. This book does not so much compete with Smith's as complement it. Anyone interested in the English Reformation will want to read both, and it is pleasant to anticipate that both studies will be carried forward at least to the Elizabethan settlement.

Columbia University

GARRETT MATTINGLY

THE ENGLAND OF ELIZABETH: THE STRUCTURE OF SOCIETY. By
A. L. Rowse, Fellow of All Souls College, Oxford. (New York: Macmillan
Company. 1951. Pp. xv, 547. \$6.50.)

PROFESSOR Rowse has published the first of a proposed two-volume work describing and interpreting Elizabethan England. To quote the author's own words, the present volume attempts "to expose and portray the small society—tough, vigorous, pulsating with energy—that accomplished those extraordinary achievements and made the age the most remarkable in history." To accomplish this end, Mr. Rowse has brought together an immense mass of detailed information, much of it from contemporary documents. He has woven this factual information into a description of the externals of life in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. "I have drawn largely upon local and regional material for my picture," Mr. Rowse says in his preface. "There are immense riches in local archives and in the published records and journals of antiquarian societies all over England. . . . I believe that the marriage of local with national history . . . has more to offer us than many more sought and overcultivated fields." His book offers ample proof of this statement. It is also significant that Mr. Rowse's most successful chapters are those in which he uses such material to describe the country as the Elizabethans might have seen it, and as we can still see it. American historians will find the descriptive portions of Mr. Rowse's book the most valuable, and they will be indebted to him for a rich mine of quotations from contemporary records.

When he comes to interpret the facts which he has unearthed Mr. Rowse is less successful. Historians of various points of view are certain to quarrel with many of his generalizations and deductions. Fortunately, Mr. Rowse never leaves the reader in doubt about his own attitudes and prejudices. He looks back upon the Elizabethan period as a golden age and mourns that he himself was born to live under the Labor government. He dislikes Puritans anywhere, at any time, and can find little good to say about them. Toward bishops and lords he is more tolerant. Since Mr. Rowse is perfectly honest in his attitude and makes his position abundantly clear with numerous asides and comments, the reader need not be misled by generalizations which are beside the mark. Nevertheless, in such chapters as the one on "The Church" and on "Catholics and Puritans," many readers will find it hard to forgive such statements as "I do not know a

single Elizabethan bishop who was a bad man" (p. 389), followed closely by a narrative of bishops' performances something less than admirable in anybody's definition of what is good and bad.

The reader will also be concerned with the implied philosophy behind a statement about men willing to die for their ideals: "The two sides are interchangeable: one does not respect either; nor did Elizabeth: she liked those who knew how to live" (p. 390). After a lively description of the domestic trouble of the bishop of Norwich, Mr. Rowse comments: "The fact that the Bishop had his own trials did not prevent him from trying a crazy Arian for heresy and condemning him to be burned" (p. 412). Puritans are "horrid" or "nasty" or otherwise approbrious when Mr. Rowse describes them. A good Anglican did not hold "Calvin's ugly doctrine of Predestination" (p. 415). Occasionally Mr. Rowse appears to be writing ironically; if so his style betrays him into the hands of critics who will condemn what they believe to be inaccuracies and unhistorical deductions. Perhaps Mr. Rowse has read too long among unpruned Elizabethan authors, for his style suffers from a lack of restraint. Fewer adjectives, parenthetical statements, unfinished sentences, asides, and exclamations would have made a briefer, an easier, and a more pleasing book to read.

Although the historian will find much in Mr. Rowse's book with which he must disagree, he will be grateful for the vast reading which the author has done and the abundant citations of little-known records and documents. Mr. Rowse is a scholar of great learning, and in many places he points the way to neglected areas of study.

Folger Library

LOUIS B. WRIGHT

SIR WALTER RALEGH: A STUDY IN ELIZABETHAN SKEPTICISM.

By Ernest A. Strathmann. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1951. Pp. ix, 292. \$3.75.)

BOTH Elizabethans and moderns have accused Sir Walter Raleigh of "atheism." Dr. Strathmann's book, based upon a thorough examination of the *History of the World*, exonerates Raleigh of this charge. He concludes that Raleigh, while anxious to define and enlarge the limits of intellectual inquiry, remained obedient to the religious code of his day; that his heresy (if one can term it such) was directed against Aristotle and scholastic logic and not against the scriptures or the belief in immortality. Raleigh's skepticism was the skepticism of the academy rather than the empirical skepticism of Pyrrho. The terms "atheism" and "Machiavellian" were linked in Elizabethan vocabulary and Dr. Strathmann does not deny the use made of Machiavelli by Raleigh; indeed he admits that in action and in his ethics Raleigh has earned the epithet "Machiavellian" but not the appellation of "atheist"—the moralist who wrote the *History* remains always in the ascendant.

Any interpretation of such a stormy figure as Sir Walter Raleigh is bound to be controversial, and Dr. Strathmann's conclusions, bolstered as they are by a thorough knowledge of the sources, command respect. Yet the contradiction between the moralist and the "Machiavellian" is never entirely resolved. Mario Praz tried to face this problem by distinguishing between the Raleigh of the Irish campaigns and the Raleigh in the Tower. Dr. Strathmann, basing his view on the scarcity of the sources, denies that Raleigh's development can be traced with confidence. He is, however, eventually forced to cite Bishop Hall's dictum that the "Tower reformed the Court in him." Even when he extols religion, Raleigh's sincerity has often been questioned, as Dr. Strathmann points out. Raleigh was passionately devoted to the maintenance of order and it is in this cause that he uses Machiavelli. His praise of religion in his political tracts has an element of utility rather than faith. Greater emphasis on Raleigh's political writings might have contributed to the solution of problems not solved entirely by a thorough examination of the *History*. Dr. Strathmann readily admits the existence of these problems in Raleigh's thought, though he is careful always to emphasize the primacy of the sincere moralist.

This book is valuable both for the problems which it raises and for its thorough and exhaustive bibliographic footnotes. The arrangements of the chapters make the book a very usable survey not only of the content of Raleigh's *History* but also of more general topics like "atheism" and "skepticism" in Elizabethan England. Extensive quotations from primary sources further enhance the value of the work.

State University of Iowa

GEORGE L. MOSSE

CLARENDON: POLITICS, HISTORY, AND RELIGION, 1640-1660. By B. H. G. Wormald, Fellow of Peterhouse. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1951. Pp. xiii, 331. \$5.00.)

THIS is an important book, not only for its new interpretation of a great man but for its brilliant analysis of the complex politics in the period of the English Civil War. The magnitude of the task of writing about a man whose career spanned the Tyranny, the Long Parliament, the civil wars, and seven critical years of Restoration history, and whose works include not only the copious memorials of a statesman but the lengthy reflections of a prolific historian, has in general daunted students. A popular life of Clarendon appeared in 1911 and a learned life and letters by T. H. Lister in 1838. Both Sir Charles Firth and S. R. Gardiner described briefly his life and works in various publications. Mr. Wormald has thoroughly mastered the extensive printed Clarendon material, on which he for the most part bases his thesis, though his notes show some acquaintance with manuscript sources as well. His contribution cannot be ignored hereafter by any student of seventeenth-century history, but it cannot be appre-

ciated in any way except by those whose familiarity with events, persons, and ideas of the period will enable them to follow and assess this closely woven study of the mind and policies of Clarendon.

Mr. Wormald derives his material not only from the persuasive pen of the statesman himself but from many a contemporary diary, manifesto, or polemic. His conclusions are original and not easy to gainsay. He maintains that Clarendon thoroughly endorsed the revolution effected in 1640-41 since it restored both the proper legal constitution as he understood it and improved it by necessary safeguards against the mistakes of the past years. Wormald denies that Clarendon became a royalist because he was a loyal Anglican. He was indeed prepared for drastic changes if they would create a stable edifice of state by meeting the demands of the intransigents led by Pym and satisfy the king. He joined the court in 1642 because he saw there more willingness to compromise than at Westminster. Clarendon then and throughout the struggle was anxious for a reasonable accommodation which would ensure the achievements of the early Long Parliament. Mr. Wormald makes some exceedingly acute observations on the significance of the Parliament which met at Oxford and on the omission of any attempt to upset the great Triennial Act. Indeed if Mr. Wormald's first conclusion concerns the nature of Clarendon's policy in 1640-42, his second deals with Clarendon's work throughout the interregnum for the healing of the breach and for accommodations which would enable England to enjoy her ancient constitution improved and safeguarded by the six acts. The statesman turned historian during this time and believed that events must now run their course, that Providence could and must do its work. His intractability now where the Cavaliers would have compromised is, so runs this argument, in reality a continuation of his earlier policy. The restoration of king, lords, bishops, and Parliament after the old order and without "terms" was his justification and his greatest achievement. Mr. Wormald's analysis of the relation between the historical work and the policy of the exile is perhaps the most interesting part of his essay. One may hope that he will edit the *Life* and *History* together, perhaps with long and careful commentary. His gloss is such that it practically demands the juxtaposition of text.

Mr. Wormald defines Clarendon's religion as latitudinarian. In youth he associated with Falkland and Chillingworth and the others at Tew. He was neither high church nor Laudian, nor was he a Puritan in sympathy with the sects. He was, it could be said, anticlerical. He supported the church because without it he could see no order in England. Mr. Wormald has yet to fit 1660-67 into the pattern here evolved. His conclusion may well be that, after the single triumph of 1660, Clarendon was as unsuccessful even as chancellor and royal father-in-law in achieving his own wise policies as he was before and during the Civil War.

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF BRITISH HISTORY: THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY, 1714-1789. Edited by *Stanley Pargellis* and *D. J. Medley*. [Issued under the Direction of the American Historical Association and the Royal Historical Society of Great Britain.] (Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Oxford University Press. 1951. Pp. xxvi, 642. \$8.50.)

THIS product of joint American and British scholarship is a worthy companion volume to Conyers Read's *Bibliography of British History: The Tudor Period, 1485-1603*, published in 1933, and to Godfrey Davies' *Bibliography of British History: The Stuart Period, 1603-1714*, published in 1928, and in its compilation the authors have followed the general format and standards of their predecessors. The eighteenth century experienced an upsurge in the amount of materials printed. In comparison with the 70,000 items printed between 1641 and 1700, there were an estimated 150,000 pieces, excluding broadsides, produced between 1715 and 1800. Since it was a bibliography rather than a short-title catalogue that was desired, space limitations required a critical selection from the mass of sources. In that selection the authors were guided by their "own notions" of what would be most permanently useful in a bibliography. In brief they applied the following rules: (1) Only the best of the mass of contemporary and modern materials were cited. In this "best," however, are the bibliographical tools such as bibliographies of bibliography, guides, catalogues, and dictionaries essential to filling the gaps left through selection. (2) Priority was given to original rather than to secondary sources, and secondary works dealing too thinly with large subjects or too exhaustively with small subjects have been excluded. (3) Nineteenth-century biographies which contained original letters were given preference over biographies of a popular nature. (4) References to periodical literature, in the main, are left to be found in the periodical guides.

The application of the above principles has resulted in a volume of seventeen well-conceived chapters which meet the requirements of a selective bibliography for the contemporary materials, but which, the authors frankly admit, can not be accepted as "even a selective guide to books published in recent years." Although there are but 4,558 serially numbered entries in the bibliography, the practice of listing additional works under each selected source brings the total number cited to about 12,000. With the excellent descriptive comments which accompany most of the entries and the careful inclusion of the available bibliographical tools in the selected titles, the volume becomes a most useful guide to both the novice and the seasoned scholar of the eighteenth century.

The bibliography covers all aspects of the history of Great Britain and her colonies in the eighteenth century. Not only are the curtains drawn wide on the sources of the political, constitutional, legal, social, economic, military, naval, colonial, and Indian history but the windows too are washed to add much-needed light in the fields of ecclesiastical, cultural, Irish, Scottish, Welsh, and local his-

tory. Welcome, too, is the chapter on the reports of the Historical Manuscripts Commission.

While the large number of publications that have appeared since 1900 on the eighteenth century dispels the belief that that century has been neglected by scholars, the fields that still need study are indicated by the paucity of entries in those fields and by specific citation by the editors.

In a bibliography so highly selective in content, however, one does expect a complete listing of all the bibliographical tools needed to fill the gaps caused by the selective process. Missing are the *Cumulative Subject Catalog of the Library of Congress*, and W. T. Laprade's "The Present State of the History of England in the Eighteenth Century," *Journal of Modern History*, IV, 581-603. For the benefit of American scholars some mention should have been made of the large microfilm holdings of the Library of Congress of eighteenth-century manuscript collections that were acquired through the English microcopying program during the late war. There also will be a considerable difference of opinion as to the "best" selections in many sections.

The volume is exceptionally well cross-referenced and indexed, and it must be regarded as an excellent bibliography.

University of Illinois

EDGAR L. ERICKSON

GENESIS AND GEOLOGY: A STUDY IN THE RELATIONS OF SCIENTIFIC THOUGHT, NATURAL THEOLOGY, AND SOCIAL OPINION IN GREAT BRITAIN, 1790-1850. By *Charles Coulston Gillispie*. [Harvard Historical Studies, Volume LVIII.] (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1951. Pp. xiii, 315. \$4.5c.)

In this closely packed study, Mr. Gillispie stands on the assumptions that early nineteenth-century England was acutely concerned with the relation of science to religious belief, and that, of the descriptive sciences just emerging from the chrysalis of natural history, geology was most advanced. On these assumptions he has at once traced the development of the science itself, and issues arising out of that development. In the latter connection he has especially considered the problem of religion in science and the impact of utilitarianism and evangelical religion. Although the dominant characteristic of the period was the holy alliance between religion and science, there were, nevertheless, shadows of Huxley's image of extinguished theologians lying about the scientific cradle. Not so sharply delineated, but still implicit in Mr. Gillispie's generalizations are the contemporary concern of laymen with science and the growing fear in certain scientific quarters for the prospects of science. The journals gave so much attention to the different branches that the laity comprised a jury before whom many cases were argued. Because some scientists feared lest this jury determine the course of scientific investigation and attitude, an increasing number of scientists, either

vociferously or quietly, were registering their fears of the decline of science. In books and in the foundation of new societies they sought to advance pure science; ultimately they even awoke the Royal Society from its apathy.

Against this background Mr. Gillispie has portrayed the furor inaugurated by Hutton's substitution of a geological synthesis for imaginative exercises. To the majority of scientists, the flood exceeded the creation in importance, and Hutton's failure to find any vestige of a beginning or any prospect of an end was infinitely distressing. As the flood receded in importance, scientists became increasingly prepared to pursue their inquiries at least to the point where the Creator had ended His direct activities. Catastrophic theories died hard. Even after Lyell had stressed that without uniformity there might be no science, the catastrophists had a hearing. Various straws predicted their reduced influence, however. Such a one was the *Vestiges of Creation* which had the paradoxical career of being repeatedly denounced as a bad book and going through eleven editions in a few years. Finally, the Bridgewater Treatises and the peculiar love of the English for "regarding Nature from a theological point of view" to the contrary, the evolutionary view was to triumph. Mr. Gillispie has harvested a good crop; further cultivation of this same period will yield even richer ones.

University of Missouri

CHARLES F. MULLETT

THE ROMANTIC ROGUE: BEING THE SINGULAR LIFE AND ADVENTURES OF RUDOLPH ERIC RASPE, CREATOR OF BARON MUNCHAUSEN. By *John Carswell*. (New York: E. P. Dutton and Company. 1950. Pp. vii, 278. \$4.00.)

THE author, an able officer in the British Civil Service and a veteran of World War II, comes of a literary family, for his father and mother have published biographies of Scott and of D. H. Lawrence and Burns respectively. Mr. Carswell is already known for his edition of the tales of the exuberant Munchausen. In this volume he tells everything that has been discovered so far by German scholars and himself about Raspe and the influences that played on the career of one of the most versatile rascals that ever promoted himself in Germany or in England. His authorship of the one thing for which he is remembered he never claimed. He was known to the police wherever he stayed for any length of time. To himself he was a misunderstood and unappreciated connoisseur of art treasures and a path-breaking geologist. He had a right to make such claims but his overweening ambition corroded his improvised morals and he ended his career a shabby forgotten exile in the pay of Matthew Boulton as an assay master and mining prospector. He died at fifty-eight while looking for coal deposits in Ireland.

His uniqueness derives as the author points out from the fact that he was a living anthology of the influences of the age of romanticism, industrialism, and

scientific awakening. His litmus-paper mind revealed with prescient sensitivity the varied phases of his age while others were only dimly aware of them. A native of the mining area of the Harz Mountains he saw geology in the raw and never lost his interest in mineralogy. He was a modern man of science in a field where only a few know his name today. He rose highest as a museum administrator and antiquarian in the service of Frederick II, landgrave of Hesse-Cassel. He was an intimate friend of Herder. He wrote on many subjects. He introduced Ossian to the German public. But the world did not move fast enough for Raspe. He overreached himself, and deep in debt he pilfered and pawned objects from his own museum. His fall was inevitable. He fled to England. He wangled a membership in the Royal Society and was expelled when his record was revealed. He grew shabbier and more incessantly active in attempts to climb out of the pit he had dug for himself. The story ranges from London to Scotland to Cornwall, where as an employee of the firm of Boulton and Watt he eked out a precarious living. On the way down he left a trail that made him, unjustly the author thinks, the original of the swindling German prospector in Scott's *The Antiquarian*. I ran across Raspe's trail through his letter to Boulton warning him against Baron Stein as a possible Prussian spy seeking the plans of the steam engine made by Boulton and Watt. I have already told that story and my respect for Mr. Carswell's bibliographical knowledge is enhanced by his finding it in what is probably the only copy of *On and Off the Campus* in England. By reworking the Boulton manuscript he has added a few sidelights. It is clear that Stein was under suspicion before Boulton got a warning letter from the alert Raspe.

It was in these days that Raspe was writing in Cornwall the brochures that gave the world in nervous, vigorous English the *Travels of Baron Munchausen*. His authorship was not firmly fixed until forty years later.

The author started out to write a biography of Raspe. He found he was in for giving some account of all the intellectual interests of Germany in the last half of the eighteenth century because the myriad activities of Raspe reflected or epitomized an era that has been monopolized by interest in Goethe and Herder. This makes the first part of the volume where he is leaning heavily on the biography by Hallo (1934) unnecessarily heavy going. This is my only slight reservation about what will remain the standard life of Raspe in English. The inclusion of so much on his times will, however, be welcomed by students of intellectual history and the history of science.

Washington, D.C.

GUY STANTON FORD

INVESTMENT IN EMPIRE: BRITISH RAILWAY AND STEAM SHIP-
PING ENTERPRISE IN INDIA, 1825-1849. By *Daniel Thorner*. (Phila-
delphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1950. Pp. xiii, 197. \$3.75.)

THE wide interest in such current policies as Point Four makes it highly opportune for historians to examine past episodes involving the development from outside of so-called backward areas. During the nineteenth century British activity in India constituted one of the most significant of these episodes, in terms of both the amount of capital involved and the limited accomplishments. Professor Thorner's book is concerned with the actions of the influential people with which this movement began. Chapter 1 very skimpily sets the stage. There seemed to the British a marked discrepancy between Indian potentialities and manifest results in terms of imports and exports; there was a conviction based upon home experience that improved transportation, first steam shipping and then railways, would promote development as measured by foreign trade; and there was a marked ambivalence at home between a high valuation of private enterprise and an official desire for public regulation of railways. The substantial chapters deal with the complicated promotional administrative and political maneuvers which led to the establishment as going concerns, first of the Peninsular and Oriental Steamship Company and subsequently of the first two Indian railway systems, the East Indian and the Great Indian Peninsular. Thorner identifies the promoters and their principal business sponsors—London merchants, provincial manufacturers, and shippers with a lively interest in increasing the volume of trade from and into India.

The central thread in this narrative, and of the maneuvers, was the establishment of a pattern by which for a quarter of a century subsequent railway undertakings were financed—a distinctive, and in the end highly expensive, sort of government guarantee system. Thorner savors fully the paradox of this device emerging as a prerequisite for the business promoters at the height of the railway boom in England and also in the years in which laissez-faire principles were supposedly riding high. The promoters eventually mobilized public opinion on their behalf, climaxing their campaign by mustering an imposing delegation representing such varied interests as the *Times*, James Bright and other Manchester men, major banking houses, and influential landed families. Briefly, the government of India secured complete nominal control over all railway operations in return for a qualified guarantee of net income to the companies, and an absolute obligation, in case of losses on operation, to bail out the companies for the full amount of the capital invested. The suggestion of the latter device is traced to James Wilson, then editor of the *Economist*. It was understood, of course, that the sponsors, as merchants, manufacturers, etc., also stood to reap an adequate share of whatever further advantages improved transportation would bring.

This is a remarkable story of the way in which enterprising men set about manipulating their environment so that they could be enterprising without risk. It does not deal with business operations and indeed ends precisely at the point when substantial "investment in empire" began. Professor Thorner makes ex-

cessive demands upon the reader's knowledge of background. A description of the mercantile agency system would have strengthened several unnecessarily weak links in his narrative. One would like to have more than a hint as to the ambivalent relations between the East India Company and the mercantile houses. In other respects this is a work of solid scholarship, fully documented from public records and other contemporary sources.

Wellesley College

LELAND H. JENKS

FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE, 1820-1910. By Cecil Woodham-Smith. (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company. 1951. Pp. 382. \$4.50.)

THE present work is the American edition of a book of the same title published in England in 1950; and Mrs. Woodham-Smith is the first biographer of Florence Nightingale to draw upon significant bodies of manuscript material since Sir Edward Cook published his *Life of Florence Nightingale* in 1913. The American edition must therefore be compared with the English; and both with their predecessor.

Mrs. Woodham-Smith had access to the papers which descended in the family of Lady Verney, Florence Nightingale's sister, and to the papers of Sidney Herbert, Miss Nightingale's principal ally. Sir Edward Cook made no use of the former, and only partial use of the latter, manuscripts. The central body of materials, that is, the papers retained by Florence Nightingale herself, were put at Cook's disposal on the condition that he give no offense to living persons. No such condition was imposed upon Mrs. Woodham-Smith.

Given these advantages, what fresh contributions has she made? In one sense, very few. If one had to determine the points about the career of Florence Nightingale which need to be insisted upon, as forming no part of her "legend," perhaps the choice would be these: the torment of her life at home before she broke away; her communion with God and her leanings toward mysticism; the greater importance of her administrative abilities than of her skill as a practicing nurse; and her many years of service, *after* the Crimea, as an expert consultant to the British government and a reformer of military, political, and social institutions both at home and in India. All these points were made and, with the possible exception of her unhappiness at home, duly emphasized by Cook. Even here he gave ample excerpts from her early papers to prove that she thought she was going through hell, in the form of submitting to her parents' desire that she move in good society with no particular object but marriage. Yet there was a bland and soothing note about Cook's own text, in which he embedded these cries of despair, and a judicious balancing of accounts between her and her parents, which made her seem guilty of an unaccountable lapse of taste. Mrs. Woodham-Smith has given her book a singleness of texture which avoids this defect—she feels no obligation to the family, and limits herself to the point of view of the heroine.

She also avoids the mumbling tone into which Cook fell when discussing Florence Nightingale's suitors, and gives their names. Apart from this, Mrs. Woodham-Smith adds an enormous quantity of telling detail; and she gives (as Cook did not) the sense of following a point from beginning to end. Firm, crisp, and coherent, her book has literary distinction as well as reference value—she learned the right lessons from Lytton Strachey. By appearing in 1918 *Eminent Victorians*, with its attack on tombstones in two volumes, gave Sir Edward Cook the adventitious celebrity of one of the last funeral orators before the Flood. The cycle is now complete with a full-scale biography on the model of Strachey. Part of his formula was a firm insistence on certain redeeming defects of the hero; and perhaps the single most striking innovation in Mrs. Woodham-Smith's portrait is a frank, but not exaggerated, display of the many maddening qualities of Florence Nightingale—self-righteousness, self-pity, and ruthless disregard for the health of her associates (in the worst form, of cavalier disbelief in the possibility of their being ill). Though Mrs. Woodham-Smith avoids, in the tradition of Strachey, a maudlin eulogy of her subject, it must be borne in mind that her task is the evocation of a personality. This leaves room for the criticism of Florence Nightingale but not for the discussion of an event in other terms than her implication in it; and historians may feel a certain want of balance and perspective in the treatment, say, of the Crimean War and of the nursing profession before the war. But the book ought to be judged for what it is: not history but biography. Few readers will take it up without finishing it.

Unfortunately, the full merits of the book will not be evident to the reader of the American edition; because the text has been cut by "about a third" (the publishers' own estimate in a letter to the reviewer). No mention is made of this fact either in the book or on the jacket; and the back of the jacket is occupied exclusively by a number of complimentary remarks made by English reviewers on an English book one third again as long. The publishers state that the cutting was done by Mrs. Woodham-Smith herself. If the initiative came from her, she is mistaken in thinking that the American public must have its books "digested." If the initiative came from McGraw-Hill, they have shirked their responsibility to reproduce a distinguished biography in its entirety. If it be said that the book is better for having been cut, this is a severe reflection upon Mrs. Woodham-Smith, who deprived her readers in England of the better book which she had it in her power to give them. If it be said that the material deleted is of interest only to British readers, this is not true. Few people made any lasting impression upon Florence Nightingale; one of these, by Mrs. Woodham-Smith's account in the London edition, was Madre Santa Colomba, the moving spirit of a convent-school in Rome. Of Miss Nightingale's relations with the *madre*, Mrs. Woodham-Smith says: "... while she was in Rome the Roman Catholic Church gave her an experience which profoundly influenced the subsequent course of her life" (London edition, p. 71). By Mrs. Woodham-Smith's own account,

Florence Nightingale acquired from the *madre* an idea still fresh fifty years later: that the life of the true mystic (as Florence Nightingale thought herself to be) ought to bear fruit in active service to society on earth. *Every* mention of Madre Santa Colomba has been deleted from the American edition. Many other important omissions might be mentioned—frequently in the form of substituting a general formula for the precise details of Miss Nightingale's achievement. By Mrs. Woodham-Smith's own account, Florence Nightingale despised vague generalities. If it be said that these things are matters of taste, it is not a matter of taste to compress and abbreviate quotations without indication. Instances of this may be found on pages 54, 60, 63, 70-71, 165, 167, 222, 232, 244, 264, 287, 292, 300, and 333 of the American edition. In the use of quotations, no reliance can be put upon this edition; and for this reason, if no other, every scholarly library should purchase the edition published by Constable of London. Unhappily, the reader's confidence in Mrs. Woodham-Smith's original transcription of passages from the manuscript is badly shaken by this discovery; and in the case of unpublished materials, the offense is serious. But the offense, if any, need not have been compounded by her American publishers. In every respect, they have been guilty of irresponsibility.

Brown University

DONALD FLEMING

THE LIFE OF JOHN MAYNARD KEYNES. By R. F. Harrod. (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. 1951. Pp. xvi, 674. \$7.50.)

THIS biography of the English economist most prominent during the first half of the twentieth century is a challenge to historians and economists, separately and jointly.

A hard-pressed historian may be disinclined to examine rather carefully a lengthy biography which gives much space to economic theory, unless he reminds himself of at least three facts. First, that economic and monetary problems have assumed of late a much greater weight than formerly among the forces which strongly affect the course of history. Second, that those problems were precisely the ones on which Keynes strove hardest to affect both thinking and action. Third, that he achieved extraordinary influence, for a person never elected to office and but briefly in the civil service, and that this was due in part to his "flexibility," which his biographer insists was not "inconsistency" (pp. 199, 441), to his shifting of advocacies to keep them within the realm of what he considered "the possibilities of things" (p. 365). This flexibility shortened the time lag in his influence upon domestic and foreign affairs, but not enough to prevent Britons and some other nationals from sometimes applying to later, less fitting situations, expedients recommended for earlier and different conditions, so that they became more Keynesian than Keynes to his grief and that of no few others at home and abroad.

The challenge of this biography to economists lies in the fact that Keynes

continually stressed the modern dependence of wise government policy upon economic knowledge, believing that economists "are the trustees, not of civilization, but of the possibility of civilization" (p. 194). This theorist insisted upon the obligation to be a realist, to transmit thought into action for the preservation of the civilization he held dear. No ivory tower could content him. Harrod emphasizes strenuous work in four fields particularly: his fight against the 1919 treaty, which he blasted in *Economic Consequences of the Peace*; his arguments against re-establishing the old gold parity, summarized in Keynes's 1923 *Tract on Monetary Reform*; his campaign against underestimating the explosive force of unemployment, which was capped by his 1936 tome on *The General Theory of Unemployment, Interest and Money*; and his exhausting labors to husband Britain's shrinking resources with the aid of lend-lease, the loan to Britain, and the Bretton Woods institutions.

The challenge of this biography to historians and economists, jointly, lies in the fact that it demonstrates the need for purposeful and continual co-operation between scholars of the two disciplines. The economist most useful to his government is he who has a keen sense of historic origins, else he underestimates both the strengths and the weaknesses of the nation. The historian who proves most skilled in recent history is he who picks the brains of economists to round out his understanding of environing trends. Since each group so badly needs the other, any crossing of the imaginary lines of demarcation should be applauded rather than resented.

The demonstration of the challenge to historians and economists is found, of course, in Keynes's life span (1883-1946). This explanatory *Life*, written by an admiring, devoted, and close friend, carries the reader from Keynes's childhood in Cambridge, into the boyhood at Eton, studentship and donship at King's College, social and artistic delights of the esoteric Bloomsbury circle (pp. 171-94), editorship of the *Economic Journal* (1911-44), energetic and continuous authorship, labors at the India Office (1907-1908) and the Treasury (1915-19), and on into the titanic battles with the diplomats seeking political peace at Versailles and economic security at Washington.

Keynes's influence upon events was without benefit of elective office. This "Liberal" did not press his party activity much beyond contributions of money and some campaign speeches. His formal experience in public office consisted of the brief tours of duty in the India Office, whence sprang his highly praised *Indian Currency and Finance* (1913), and in the Treasury where, occupying "the key position at . . . the center of the inter-allied economic effort, he thought out the policy, and in effect bore the ultimate responsibility for the decisions and carried the business forward with a success that was universally acclaimed" (p. 206). His devastating and all-too-prophetic *Economic Consequences*, with its vitriolic vignettes of Wilson and Lloyd George and its aspersions on the British treaty-designers, was scarcely calculated to endear him to those who select civil servants. But he early accumulated by speculation in foreign exchange a com-

portable competence allowing him freedom from the narrow income of a don. He could afford to function as an active, fearless critic of government. He did not return to quarters of his own in Whitehall until World War II impelled the Treasury to install him as an adviser, where he served without emolument or regular official rank but actually as the leading British instigator and negotiator in the vital arrangements for lend-lease, the loan to Britain, and the postwar institutions of the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development.

Always, whether possessed of a government desk or not, he was watching economic trends, national and international, often foreseeing causes and effects far in advance. Appointment to the Macmillan Committee on Finance and Industry (1930) and a few other committees which did the thorough, nonpartisan investigating possible under the British system, gave him a forum, and there were always his articles in the press and periodicals and his continual association with people of importance. In these groups Keynes was an antagonist to be feared. A negotiator whose first principle was to know both sides of a controversy, and especially that of his opponent better than he, could wage a memorable battle. To that precaution was added a remarkable command of the primary tool of argument—prose—and his could be forceful, light, deadly serious, brilliant, scathing, as he thought occasion required or as his fancy impelled him. Probably no modern economist has fought harder or more ably for actual implementation of his prescriptions. Harrod thinks Keynes was never even equaled in debate except once by Sir Richard Hopkins of the Treasury in 1930, when Chairman Macmillan observed that it was “a drawn battle” (p. 422).

Keynes had more influence than might have been expected for one who never acquired respect for politicians; his contempt was bold, honest, tactless, repeated; their stupidity was inhuman, they were as incompetent as they were mad, statesmen were to be classed with nursery maids, and the cabinet, sometimes, was “a poor, weak thing” (p. 619). Nor was he ever able to believe that bankers, as a class, were blessed with enough acumen to handle wisely the resources of a nation in travail. Keynes cultivated the art of rudeness to a high point and showed a persistent tendency to ridicule those in high authority.

Then how could the great and near-great bring themselves to seek his counsels and use his talents? Harrod says that it was because Keynes “had within him a flame of goodness exceeding that granted to most mortals” (p. 638). His sincerity, his intense desire for the nation’s welfare, his willingness to renounce his own ideas if he found others’ were better, his lack of pomposity and of self-importance, were obvious. Also, he had an extraordinary freedom from personal resentments—a forgivingness which he too readily assumed resided likewise in all persons with whom he exchanged the insults of heated debate. Herein Keynes was victimized by the virtue which hid from him his fault, as illustrated by his painful contretemps with Secretary of the Treasury Vinson at Savannah in 1946

(pp. 625-40). He was all the less prepared for this failure because so many Americans who worked and argued with him on his five difficult errands to this country grew so to know and understand him that they cherished deep friendship for him.

Despite the fact that Keynes was often disappointed by the short range of adopted policy, he remained, in the end, optimistic for fulfillment of his hopes. His optimism was animated by his liking for the experts, the economists, the literati, the artists, the students, the dons of Cambridge and Oxford, and other folk in the wide range of his multifarious life. At least Keynes knew that his "minutes" would be read and considered carefully when those in British high places had decisions to make. Those minutes would be likely to include what he had learned from "the backroom boys" (p. 536): the lesser civil servants whom he knew often proved to be springs of knowledge. Unfortunately for American government today, it often happens that comparatively little of meticulous data, prepared by backroom boys for wise decision-making, is actually pondered by the overbusy higher-ups, and much of this material never even receives their momentary gaze. Another quality which buoyed Keynes was his conviction that the British are a superior race; his faith in his countrymen supported even his most baneful task, the coming "as a beggar" (p. 601) for the loan which Britain needed but which Britons did not want. There is much in the narrative of Keynes's meetings with Americans which could advisedly acquaint future American negotiators with the kind of men they face across the council table.

Yet scholars of this or any other democracy—be they historians or economists—must guard themselves against this biography, for it has been done remarkably well and shortly after the death of its subject. It is so solid a piece of work (despite an occasional worshipful touch surely to be understood and expected) that it may prove peculiarly influential in determining later analyses of this man. Any immediate biography is likely to have too much influence; Harrod himself hints at this danger in describing Keynes's damning sketches of Clemenceau, Lloyd George and Wilson (p. 261). Yet we of course are very grateful to Harrod for preserving so much that later would have been irrecoverable. We can wish we might have a like achievement for several of the Americans who dealt with Keynes.

At the same time we might ask the biographer to equip a second edition with a chronological appendix to help in following the innumerable activities of a many-sided man, and with a much better index. We do, however, attest our delight in a special device. He has thoughtfully placed, at the top of each left-hand page, the year pertinent to the events described thereon; opposite, on the right, he provides the corresponding age of Keynes, meticulously advancing it every June 5 of each year. A most convenient device for persons of chronological habit.

LOUIS PASTEUR, FREE LANCE OF SCIENCE. By René J. Dubos. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1950. Pp. xii, 418. \$5.00.)

ON the occasion of the award of an honorary degree to the late William H. Park, director of laboratories of the New York City Board of Health, he was characterized by the president of Yale University as "the perfect type of scientist in the service of the state." This is an encomium which is equally applicable to Louis Pasteur, the subject of this new biography. Professor Dubos, himself an eminent microbiologist and an intellectual descendant of the man about whom he writes, has not merely rewritten the now well-known story of a great scientist—he has reviewed and reinterpreted his subject. If it be true that each generation writes its own version of past history, Dr. Dubos has not only successfully but brilliantly performed his self-assigned task. For the picture of Louis Pasteur which he has given us is exactly that of a scientist in the service of the state. And this is a peculiarly appropriate version at a time in our own history when the relation of the scientist to the state is under re-examination.

Louis Pasteur was born, lived, and died in the nineteenth century, during which much of the major structure of modern science was fabricated. It was the century of Mendeleef and the periodic table of the elements, of Wöhler and the synthesis of urea, of Darwin and the theory of evolution, of Faraday and Maxwell and Henry and the development of electromagnetic theory and practice, and last but not least the nineteenth century was the century of Louis Pasteur and the establishment of the germ theory of disease.

Born in 1822 in a village in the shadow of the Jura Mountains in France, Pasteur by the age of twenty-six was already famous for his discovery of the relation between the structure of crystals of organic substances and their ability to rotate the plane of polarized light. Elaboration of these findings kept him busy for ten years and led him into an investigation of the theory and mechanism of fermentation. Establishing that microorganisms, until then little studied, were the basic cause of this process, he made practical application of his findings in his studies on the diseases of beer and wine. His methods of control are immortalized in the term "Pasteurization." During this time he also worked on the silk-worm disease which was threatening an important industry in France and which Pasteur was able to save.

But lest we assume that all of Pasteur's work was practical we are reminded of the spectacular and fundamental researches on the theory of spontaneous generation. And finally come the studies on animal and human pathology which helped establish the germ theory of disease and the principles of immunity.

Pasteur's basic aim was to devote himself to theoretical and fundamental studies such as the structure of crystals and the origin of life. Yet continually he was drawn away to practical applications which stemmed from his more abstruse investigations. He was directed into the practical studies because he was

a servant of the state. Yet he reiterated time and again that there are not two forms of science—pure and applied—but only science and the application of science. "Without theory," he wrote, "practice is but routine born of habit. Theory alone can bring forth and develop the spirit of invention." Those who have followed recent developments in science during and after World War II will recognize the applicability of this aphorism.

Space does not permit a detailed review of Dr. Dubos' analysis of Pasteur's work and its relation to the times in which he lived. Suffice it to say that those historians who concern themselves with the impact of science upon society will find in this book a rich mine of relevant and rewarding material. The life of Pasteur has lessons of importance not only for the natural scientist but for the social scientist as well.

Washington, D.C.

MORRIS C. LEIKIND

DOCUMENTS DIPLOMATIQUES FRANÇAIS (1871-1914). 2^e Série (1901-1911), tome XI (15 MAI 1907-8 FÉVRIER 1909). [Ministère des Affaires étrangères, Commission de publication des documents relatifs aux origines de la guerre de 1914.] (Paris: Imprimerie nationale. 1950. Pp. 1, 1119.)

THE first part of this latest volume of the admirably edited French diplomatic documents reflects European comparative calm and even hope for a better international understanding. The Second Hague Conference established a permanent tribunal which soon happily manifested its great value by the equitable arbitration settlement, printed in the appendix, of the Casablanca fracas between the French military authorities and the German consulate which had assisted Germans to desert from the French Foreign Legion. Accords were also negotiated to guarantee the integrity and independence of Norway (lately separated from Sweden), and the status quo in the North Sea and in the Baltic. Anglo-Russian rivalry in the Middle East seemed more or less settled by the convention of August 31, 1907.

Soon, however, stormy feelings and increased tension were caused by many things: Ferdinand of Bulgaria's ambition to become independent, rival Balkan railway projects and atrocities in Macedonia, the Young Turk Revolution, and Aehrenthal's haste in annexing Bosnia and Herzegovina. A further factor was the German kaiser's temperamental instability, again reflected in his Döberitz speech on "encirclement" and his amazingly indiscreet interviews, one published in the London *Daily Telegraph*, and the other with W. H. Hale which, it is said, was fortunately dumped into the Atlantic just as it was about to appear in the *Century Magazine*. The gist of it, apparently known to the British Foreign Office and aimed mainly against Edward VII, if published, would have made impossible the king's projected visit to Berlin (pp. 917-19, 944-45). On all these

causes of tension there are many very interesting details but few new points of great importance.

The subject that is most fully treated, with much that is new and valuable, is, as one might expect, the persistent ground swell of Franco-German hostility and its undercurrents in the Moroccan aftermath of Algeciras. Jules Cambon repeatedly complained of the "ungentlemanly" Germans in general and of the inveterate Bismarckian traditions of the Wilhelmstrasse bureaucrats in particular. Bülow, however, hiding behind a false façade of optimism, is seen to be vacillating, insecure of his position in consequence of the *Daily Telegraph* affair and the internal opposition of Roman Catholics and Conservatives to his taxation program and of the Social Democrats to nearly everything. In the summer of 1907, in order to satisfy the clamor of German merchants and industrialists for a greater share in the economic exploitation of Morocco, with Bülow's approval, French and German agents in Tangiers carried on long negotiations for a draft proposal to effect this. The French agreed, but then Bülow dropped the subject when Mulay Hafid stirred troubled waters anew by revolting against Sultan Abd-el-Aziz. France stood by the latter as long as possible. Though Mulay Hafid was probably given underhand support by local German agents and certainly asked for German military instructors and munitions, the higher authorities in Paris and Berlin maintained a firm but courteous and "correct" attitude. Mulay Hafid was finally recognized by all the Algeciras powers when he promised, "with the help of God" to pay the debts of his predecessor. Bülow then took up again the dropped economic negotiations, and the resulting agreement, with which the volume ends, was signed on February 8, 1909.

In the crystallizing system of alliances England and France were drawing ever closer together in secret exchange of information and mutual confidence at a time when England felt panicky over the German navy and the possibility of being invaded. Huguet, the French military attaché in London, sent long and very interesting reports on England's military preparations. In one of them he made a remarkably prescient forecast of 1914: Germany's necessity to invade Belgium and England's to send troops to defend northern France (pp. 932-36). Izvolski caused some annoyance at the Quai d'Orsay by his mercurial temperament, his fear of offending Germany, and his insistence on the recall of Bompard, the French ambassador in St. Petersburg. Bompard's conservative and aristocratic successor, Admiral Touchard, showed proper tact in his cautious handling of pressure by French industrialists for more favorable treatment in the award of Russian contracts in view of a new 1,220,000,000-franc loan to Russia. Italy's irredentist irritation at Austria was so increased by Aehrenthal's annexation of Bosnia, expulsion of Italian students from the University of Vienna, and refusal to establish an Italian university at Trieste, that Tittoni secretly stated that, though Italy would not attack Austria for at least three years, "in no case," not even if France were the aggressor, would she send troops to aid Germany. Thus the balance

of strength and solidarity was turning in favor of the Triple Entente, a fact not a little due to the wisdom, firmness, and self-restraint of M. Pichon, French foreign minister throughout this period.

Harvard University

SIDNEY B. FAY

STORIA POLITICA D'ITALIA: PREPONDERANZA SPAGNUOLA (1559-1700). Edited by *Romolo Quazza*, dell'Università di Torino. (2d ed.; Milan: Francesco Vallardi. 1950. Pp. xx, 631.)

THE potent attraction exerted upon students of history by the apparently clear peaks has tended to render the plains and valleys of Clio's domain less romantically interesting than they really are. In history there is much in a name and that which we call the Renaissance and the Risorgimento, less happily named, would perhaps not entice so strongly. The real or assumed prominence of such periods has many subtle consequences and at least one obvious result: whatever lies before, between, or after them must of necessity be relegated into some kind of semantic and historiographical chiaroscuro. Thus, like "medieval" and "Byzantine," the term "baroque" inevitably lost its literary, technical, or purely descriptive function and, until it was partially rescued by the art-historians, became generally synonymous with "decadent." Given the milieu in which the modern historical spirit came to fruition in Italy during the nineteenth century, it could hardly thrive without a rejection of the "baroque" as the antithesis, which it was among other things, of "national." Even a "pure" historian like Ettore Callegari paid homage to that trend of *a priori* repudiation when, as Romolo Quazza's predecessor in the old Vallardi historical series, he practically apologized to the readers of his *Preponderanze straniere* (1895) for his having undertaken to deal with so dreary a period of Italian history as that which went from the invasion of Charles VIII to the coming of Napoleon Bonaparte. The ossification of assumptions on the *cinquecento* and the *seicento* was an accomplished and accepted fact in Callegari's day. It is symptomatic of the tenacity of such phenomena that Quazza, dealing with much the same period (trimmed down at both ends to 1559 and 1700) after half a century of the fruitful historiographical developments recently evaluated by Walter Maturi, must still implicitly combat the nineteenth-century legacy in this field.

Professor Quazza is known to students of seventeenth-century European history for his studies and articles on the Italian phase of the Thirty Years' War: his basic work on the war of the Mantuan and Montferrat succession has been widely cited. In Book III, Part II, chapter v of the present volume he has clearly distilled his previous findings in this field. This work on Italy during the period of the Spanish preponderance should become indispensable to all historians interested in the early modern period. Despite the title page, the work is distinctly Professor Quazza's own, and direct as well as internal evidence clearly

shows this. In richness of factual material, up-to-date bibliographical information, and authoritative treatment of Italian internal and foreign politics of the seventeenth century this volume has no equal. The lists of rulers, governors, and viceroys given on pages 195-98 will be found especially useful by all those who have ever had to deal with the intricate and sometimes exasperating problem of political and diplomatic chronology in this period.

Professor Quazza's admirable manual succeeds in clearing some of the historiographical debris accumulated on aspects of this period of Italian history. The book contains much interesting material on the demographic, social, economic, institutional, administrative, moral, and cultural life of Italy. But it is so schematically presented that it loses the importance it really has or was intended to have. Except in the suggestive introduction, this precious material is given no clear position of relationship, causality, or continuity in the state of Italy for a hundred and fifty years. The ultimate result is different from and, paradoxically, similar to that obtained with other methods and intentions in Braudel's monumental volume on the Mediterranean world in the age of Philip II. The illustrative function of socio-economic facts rather than their continuous and complex evolution is emphasized by Quazza though he, unlike Braudel, has no organic synthesis as his goal. But the subtly erosive work of time upon the apparently static geoeconomic Italian milieu is not made evident in Quazza's study. By 1600, 1650, 1700—the impression is inescapable—names change but the realities which were institutions, social classes, and political elites appear to have remained the same as in 1560. The cumulative effect of the episodic eludes the reader so that the shifting balance of international, political, and economic power in Italy and in Europe as well as the immense moral and intellectual change and the cultural transformation do not loom as the larger facts in whose perspective alone the details of Italian life can gain meaning.

The division of the volume into three books dealing respectively with the internal developments of the Italian states, the Counter Reformation, and foreign relations is theoretically acceptable but in practice becomes perplexing. Perplexity is turned into something like confusion for the reader when the presentation of the material in each chapter is carefully examined. The fragmentation of this material, whose authenticity and reliability are never in question, deprives the book of the character it might have had. This is not a true work of history but rather a useful and authoritative factual manual and work of reference. Those who are acquainted with Professor Quazza's interpretation of pre-Risorgimento history will perhaps recognize a design implicit in his method. Since he grants that the only unitary element in Italian history is cultural (pp. 9-10) and since culture is only incidentally presented in his work, the inference may be drawn that his chief purpose here is to reconstruct the political reality and complexity of the late *cinquecento* and *seicento* "as it actually was"—from ruler to ruler, from pope to pope, and from duke to duke. The final impression resembles the feeling

of some fundamental insufficiency here despite the abundance of facts: the addition of the parts of this rich volume does not give the sum of the large historical reality which was Italy from 1559 to 1700. Professor Quazza's volume might lead the superficial and hasty to the false conclusion that by 1700 though much had naturally happened in Italy little had actually happened to Italy as a whole.

New York University

A. WILLIAM SALOMONE

CHIESA E STATO IN ITALIA NEGLI ULTIMI CENTO ANNI. By *Arturo Carlo Jemolo*. (Turin: Giulio Einaudi. 1949. Pp. 752. L. 2000.)

STORIA DEL PARTITO POPOLARE ITALIANO. By *Stefano Jacini*. (Milan: Garzanti. 1951. Pp. xvi, 345. L. 1000.)

WITH Italy under a Christian Democratic government and the Catholic Church playing a more influential role in Italian politics than it has at any time since the unification of the country, it is natural that Italian historians should be turning to questions of church-state relations. The two books under consideration, while widely contrasting in scope and profundity, both deal with essentially the same problem: the role of the Catholic Church and of Christian Democratic political parties in a state that was originally established on laical and even anti-clerical principles. Both authors are Catholics; both believe that Catholicism and political democracy are reconcilable. But while Professor Jemolo writes as an independent, respectfully critical both of the papacy and of organized Christian Democracy, Senator Jacini—the bearer of a name famous for a century in Italian public life—speaks with the emotion and personal commitment of an actual participant in the parliamentary battle.

Professor Jemolo's book is by far the more important of the two. It is probably the most widely acclaimed work on internal Italian history that has appeared since the fall of Fascism; in 1949, it won the *Premio Viareggio*, Italy's outstanding literary award. Professor Jemolo combines a wide professional learning in church law and church history—his field of academic specialization—with an unusual literary talent. In this combination lie both the strength and the deficiencies of his book. On the one hand, it offers a solid, painstaking reconstruction of the juridical and ideological elements in the long struggle between church and state since the advent of Pius IX in 1846. On the other hand, it succeeds in evoking in a few graceful, subtly modulated phrases the major scenes, the personalities, and the literary manifestos of a controversy whose intricate convolutions defy summary and simplification. Professor Jemolo has the historian's rare gift of appreciating the arguments and the motives of both sides and of presenting them with a visual directness. To this reviewer, for example, the figure of Leo XIII has never appeared so compellingly as here: while fully understanding the profound impression that the pope made on his contemporaries, Professor

Jemolo calls *Rerum Novarum* an "over-praised encyclical" whose "real merit . . . consists in not having left without a complement the clearly anti-socialist positions of the *Syllabus*."

Between these two aspects of the book, however, a certain amount of straight "history" simply gets lost. Professor Jemolo's account has a discursive, uneven, episodic character: it frequently leaves us to piece out from a few passing references what was the actual course of events. For Italians, all this may be familiar as childhood memories. But for non-Italians who are not specialists in the field, such a method will doubtless prove bewildering. In this respect, Professor Jemolo's treatment of the settlement of 1929 contrasts unfavorably with the much fuller account given by D. A. Binchy in his admirable *Church and State in Fascist Italy*—a work, incidentally, with which the former appears to be unacquainted.

Senator Jacini's book is more modest in scope. It is a sober, largely parliamentary chronicle of the *Partito Popolare*, the ancestor of present-day Christian Democracy. Since its author was one of the leaders of the earlier party and now sits in the Italian senate as spokesman for the more conservative wing of Christian Democracy, his account is necessarily official and for the most part uncritical. It has the endorsement of both Don Luigi Sturzo, the founder of the People's party, and of Prime Minister De Gasperi, his political heir. With this official patronage, Senator Jacini's book almost inevitably becomes a defense and explanation of the "Center" policy of the party's leaders. He minimizes the importance of the dissident factions of the Right and the Left—except for the near-revolutionary agrarian movement led by Guido Miglioli, which he finds too important to ignore. And Miglioli he attacks as a kind of crypto-Bolshevik. In fact, to Senator Jacini, the whole program of co-operation between the People's party and the Socialists in the "Aventine" opposition to Mussolini—which most historians have regarded as the sole realistic alternative to Fascism—appears as a questionable expedient which the *Popolare* leadership very rightly approached with caution. Similarly, toward the early philo-Fascism of Pius XI, Senator Jacini shows more sorrow than anger. And such, indeed, is the predominant attitude toward Fascism in general that emerges from the admirably arranged series of documents in which the author allows the *Popolari* themselves to explain their course in the confused period following the march on Rome, when they were gradually evolving from qualified support through loyal opposition to opposition pure and simple.

Professor Jemolo, in contrast, dismisses more abruptly the hesitations and long suffering of the People's party. His is a frankly anti-Fascist account, and his negative judgment on Pius XI pierces through his carefully chosen phraseology. For Professor Jemolo, then, the present Christian Democratic government is not the logical continuation of social Catholic endeavor that it must be for Senator Jacini. It is rather an "anti-Risorgimento" regime that in taking over intact the Concordat of 1929 has incorporated in its relations with the church some highly illib-

eral provisions inherited from Fascism. The two contrasting positions are both buttressed by able historical argumentation: Professor Jemolo's is the better thought out, but it is Senator Jacini's that in the Italy of today is gradually winning the ideological battle.

Harvard University

H. STUART HUGHES

RICORDI, 1922-1946. By *Raffaele Guariglia*. (Naples: Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane. 1949. Pp. 783. L. 1400.)

WRITTEN by the Italian foreign minister during the infelicitous "45 days" that Marshal Badoglio governed Italy between the *coup d'état* of July 25 and the proclamation of the armistice with the Allies on September 8, 1943, these memoirs are a prolix but important contribution to the literature of the dispute over the manner in which King Victor Emmanuel III and Marshal Badoglio detached Italy from Nazi Germany and surrendered their country to the Allies.

Many Italians, including most of the historic anti-Fascists, antimonarchists, as well as numerous military officials, have bitterly denounced the delays of Badoglio in ending the war—delays which allegedly enabled Germany to pour large numbers of troops into Italy prior to the Salerno invasion. The rise to political power after September, 1943, of the anti-Fascist groups was facilitated by the widespread condemnation by the Italian public of the Badoglio policies. Other Italians, comprising largely conservative, intensely nationalistic, pro-monarchical elements, together with many military officials, have insisted that the Badoglio government *had* to delay the rupture with Germany until such time as this would not entail complete disaster for Italy, and in the interests of national honor *had* to resist capitulation to the Allies on the basis of "unconditional surrender." Belonging to the latter school of thought, Guariglia argues his case with skill: (1) Because of insufficient Italian troops and inadequate petroleum stores in the summer of 1943, Italy would have committed suicide had she, acting unilaterally, detached herself from Germany. (2) "Playing for time" with Germany was imperative in order that Italian troops garrisoning France and the Balkans might be repatriated. (3) Italy had to persuade the Allies to alter their "unconditional surrender" formula in order to arrange for co-ordinated action to resist Germany at the moment of the proclamation of the eventual armistice. The Badoglio government hoped to delay proclamation of the armistice until after Allied landings in force and to persuade the Allies to invade northern Italy—Civitavecchia in the west and Rimini in the east—in order to protect Rome. It is hardly likely that Badoglio appreciated the insuperable logistical problems that such a change in plans would have entailed for the Allies, or that he understood the seriousness with which Anglo-American public opinion insisted upon the enemy's capitulation prior to the inauguration of any policy of altruism.

Insisting that he did not needlessly delay initiation of contacts with the

Allies after July 25, Guariglia rests most of his case on the fact that on August 2 he dispatched to Lisbon Marchese d'Ajeta for the purpose of "clarifying the Italian situation" to the Allies. Although d'Ajeta was, admittedly, not empowered to "initiate negotiations," it apparently was hoped that d'Ajeta's contact might lay the basis for military discussions that would make possible Italy's exit from the war after a successful Allied invasion. On August 4 d'Ajeta was officially received by the British ambassador to Portugal, who forwarded his message to London. Guariglia does not know why London failed to respond. On August 4 Badoglio dispatched to Tangiers a minor official, Alberto Berio, with instructions to persuade the Allies to cease bombing Italian cities and to entice German troops away from Italy by means of Allied landings in southern France and/or the Balkans. Making his contact at Tangiers on August 5, Berio was informed by the British representative there on August 13 that Italy must unconditionally surrender before anything else could be discussed. Still another envoy was dispatched to neutral territory in August: Alberto Pirelli, who went to Switzerland, with negative results. Most important of all was the mission of General Castellano, who departed from Rome by train August 12 for Lisbon and who did not return until August 27. Like everyone else, Castellano was not empowered to sign an armistice. Until his return, the Badoglio government had no positive information regarding the development of its negotiations with the Allies, and even then there was no synchronized military plan, inasmuch as Italy had not yet agreed to capitulate. As if enough men had not already been sent to "explain the Italian situation" to the Allies, Badoglio in August dispatched—unbeknownst to Guariglia—General Zanussi to Lisbon, a mission that seemingly served only to confuse the Allies more than ever.

Guariglia grudgingly admits (p. 666) that the Italian government by late August should have stopped deluding itself regarding the possibility of changing the "unconditional surrender" formula. It is too bad that at the outset Guariglia and his associates did not recognize that necessity, for if their government had signed—without publication perhaps—the surrender document, doubtless the Allies would have been much less diffident toward the Italian government, and the two parties could have worked out timely and co-ordinated military plans.

The events that took place between August 27 and the proclamation of the armistice on September 8 form an almost unparalleled tragedy of errors and stupidity. Apart from contributions to the subject by Anglo-American observers, the historian now has available a plethora of Italian memoirs, including those of Marshal Badoglio, Ivanoe Bonomi, Generals Castellano, Rossi, Carboni, and Roatta, Police Chief Senise, and the study by Paolo Monelli, *Roma 1943*. The outside observer can hardly avoid the conclusion that—apart from the dubious wisdom of the Allied "unconditional surrender" policy—most of the censure for the blunders in this period must be placed on the *entourage* of Badoglio, many of whom were unconscionably naive, unrealistic, and even derelict in

their duty to prepare for any eventuality. Nothing in Guariglia's polemic basically alters this conclusion.

Guariglia describes in abundant but tedious detail his activities as a professional diplomat after 1922. Particularly annoying, in view of the author's professional background, are the repeated misspellings of foreign names. More important defects arise from the author's intransigent nationalism which enables him to countenance almost every action of foreign policy by Fascist Italy and to justify his continued association with the Fascist regime, which he served "not docilely but often enthusiastically" until about 1938 (p. 756). Also regrettable is Guariglia's seeming inability to comprehend the importance of public opinion in shaping Anglo-American foreign policy, his underestimation of the sincerity with which Anglo-Americans viewed the ideological and ethical issues at stake in World War II, and his generally condescending if not contemptuous attitude toward the Italian anti-Fascists. In spite of the defects in interpretation caused by the prejudices of the author, the book must be considered a significant primary source for the historian of contemporary Italian diplomatic history.

University of Oregon

CHARLES F. DELZELL

PORTUGUESE RULE AND SPANISH CROWN IN SOUTH AFRICA,
1581-1640. By *Sidney R. Welch*. (Cape Town: Juta and Company. 1950.
Pp. 634. 30s.)

THIS is still another volume in the ambitious and comprehensive history of the Portuguese in South Africa which Dr. Welch is writing. In it the story is brought through the years 1581-1640, the so-called "Babylonian Captivity," which began when Philip II of Castile inherited the throne and ended when the Portuguese repudiated Philip IV in order to re-establish their own national monarchy. Portuguese historians generally believe that the union of the peninsular crowns under the house of Austria was a disaster for their country, but Dr. Welch, on the contrary, defends it as beneficial to Portugal. Portugal, he says, while not losing her identity as a separate kingdom, profited from the superior power of Castile at a time when protection was most needed. He does, however, feel that the Portuguese were uncomfortable under the arrangement and that their revolution of 1640, which ushered in a new dynasty, was amply justified. Dr. Welch will take up these developments in greater detail in his next book, and we should withhold judgment in this regard until his evidence is all in.

Certainly the period covered by Dr. Welch's book is an exciting one insofar as the Portuguese possessions and spheres of influence in Africa are concerned, from the Gulf of Guinea to the Cape of Good Hope and from the cape on the other side of the continent to the Red Sea. This was the time when the Dutch and the English were disputing Portugal's well-established hegemony on the Indian Ocean and in Angola, and were also fighting each other. The activities

of Portugal's two major European rivals do not, of course, form a pretty picture. As Dr. Welch again points out, the Dutch were especially guilty of horrible crimes; and he shows in what a thoroughly materialistic and ruthless manner the Dutch East India Company built up an empire in Malaya. Dr. Welch by no means excuses the depredations of the English, but he recognizes the weakness of their position during the heyday of Dutch power and praises their willingness, possibly because they were weak, to come to some understanding with the Portuguese.

As regards the Portuguese, Dr. Welch takes historians to task for having concluded (in his opinion hastily) that Portugal at this time was already at the mercy of supposedly superior rivals (as she was very definitely to be in the nineteenth century). The author abundantly shows the extent of Portuguese power, which was still formidable, and the additional strength of the Portuguese which came to them from the tradition they had developed of mutual respect and understanding with the exotic peoples of Africa and India. Dr. Welch feels that if the Dutch and the English had followed Portugal's successful pattern of building an empire, and if they had joined forces with the Portuguese instead of opposing them, Europe's legacy in the Orient would have been infinitely richer than it is and would probably not have led to the bitterness which the East now feels toward the West. The author is of course primarily concerned with Africa south of the equator, and most of his book is devoted to the history of the Portuguese in that area; but since Mozambique was under the administration of the viceroy of India, with headquarters in Goa, his story must necessarily have a broad imperial sweep.

Dr. Welch's idea of history is amply illustrated in this volume as in the others already published in the series. He believes that facts must be seen in the light of the causes and motives that produced them (insofar as it is possible for us to apprehend them), and that acts may be (and indeed ought to be) judged in accordance with the moral law. There is a freshness in this book, partly the result of the author's approach to history and partly the result of his own vivid style, that makes the subject both interesting and timely. It goes without saying that the field of Portuguese African history, to which a number of other scholars in the Union of South Africa have also contributed, owes Dr. Welch a tremendous debt of gratitude.

There are 595 footnotes to sources in Portuguese, Spanish, Italian, French, Latin, English, Dutch, and German, a truly magnificent harvest of materials. The book alas is filled with typographical errors. Under the circumstances a page of errata would have helped.

Catholic University of America

MANOEL CARDOZO

MARTIN LUTHER UND DIE REFORMATION IM URTEIL DES DEUTSCHEN LUTHERTUMS: STUDIEN ZUM SELBSTVERSTÄNDNIS DES

LUTHERISCHEN PROTESTANTISMUS VON LUTHERS TODE BIS ZUM BEGINN DER GOETHEZEIT. I. Band: DARSTELLUNG. By *Ernst Walter Zeeden*, Dozent der Neueren Geschichte an der Universität Freiburg i. Br. (Freiburg: Verlag Herder. 1950. Pp. 389. DM. 14.)

THIS is another of those histories of the historiography of a movement which induce a certain despondency as to the possibility of objectivity, for plainly every period has discovered its own interests in the past, and has in so doing distorted the historical. This book deals only with Lutheran portrayals of Luther and the Reformation. The first generation including Melancthon and Mathesius saw in Luther an apocalyptic figure in the celestial drama of the fight of Christ against Antichrist. By the end of the sixteenth century the shift had been made from the personal to dogmatic theology. Luther became a Byzantine stereotype and his teaching was equated with the word of God, though controversy arose as to what his teaching actually had been.

The seventeenth century was marked by a yearning for the reunion of Christendom, notably on the part of Leibnitz. Differences between the confessions were minimized and absolutes were softened. Pietism, as represented by Spener, shifted the center from theology to personal experience and Luther became the great witness to evangelical piety. Gottfried Arnold, church historian of Pietism, introduced a treatment of Luther which has ever since been popular in left-wing Protestantism, involving a distinction between the early Luther portrayed as an evangelical rebel and the later Luther as an intolerant dogmatist.

The Enlightenment, whose best-known representative is Lessing, saw in the Reformation an uncompleted rebellion against superstition. The movement was thus treated historically rather than theologically. Political absolutism, as exemplified in Frederick the Great, interpreted the Reformation as due in part to resentment against political and commercial exploitation. The reform itself was considered also to be an emancipation from superstition and a step toward freedom of religion. Herder also saw in Luther the champion of independent investigation, and at the same time emphasized in him the note of German nationalism. In general the eighteenth century was disposed to stress the spirit against the letter in Luther, and rejected much that he said and did in favor of his spirit which authorized his successors to do otherwise.

The study comes down only to the eve of Goethe. It is highly illuminating and particularly significant because written by a Catholic.

Yale University

ROLAND H. BAINTON

GEIST UND GESCHICHTE VOM DEUTSCHEN HUMANISMUS BIS ZUR GEGENWART. By *Heinrich Ritter von Srbik*. Volume I. (Salzburg: Otto Müller Verlag. 1950. Pp. xi, 437. S. 110.)

THE difficulties inherent in Heinrich von Srbik's volume on German histori-

ography (the publisher rather than the author is responsible for the title) are indicative of the early stage of development in which the history of historical writing still finds itself. Such writers in this field as Fueter, Gooch, and Thompson accept the biographical basis; in the reviewer's opinion, this attitude is best refuted in the two volumes that Croce dedicated to nineteenth-century historical writing in Italy, so that one of the best historiographies has been written on a period which did not know great historical writing. The attempt of Troeltsch in his *Historismus* to single out two problems and to present the history of history by carefully surveying their development, can not do full justice to the individualities of the great historians. "*Individuum est ineffabile*," certainly within the frame of a very limited number of problems.

In conformity with his general historical approach, which derives from Ranke, Srbik decided to present German historiography against a broader background: first, as interwoven with the political and social history of the nation; and second, as part of European historical writing at large. Because of the infinitely better preparation carried out for the first aspect, the author succeeded more fully in its presentation than he did in that of the second aspect, where some minor misrepresentations crept in.

Srbik's work under review is dedicated to Meinecke, whose influence on the whole concept can easily be traced; but it also brings forth the differences between the two great German historians: while the Berlin historian excels in penetrating analyses of thought, Srbik takes a broader approach and gives evidence of experiences not granted fully to Meinecke, like the genuine understanding of southern and Catholic German thought. In *Die Entstehung des Historismus*, probably the most penetrating study on historical thought (though not on historical writing or vision), Meinecke stopped short of Ranke, whose writings were to have formed the climax of the work: Srbik wisely planned and made this master the core of his first volume, allowing here, and correctly here, the biographical approach to unfold fully while he kept it within strict limits for all the other writers whom he discussed.

By and large Srbik accepts the Ranke portrait as outlined by Meinecke and his school. He was not acquainted with the criticisms that Dr. von Laue raised against the basic intellectual and political attitudes of the German historian in *Leopold Ranke: The Formative Years* (Princeton, 1950), but he would not have been willing—just as the reviewer is not—to subscribe to von Laue's statement that Lord Acton "was a greater man than Ranke, although less productive as a historian." On the basis of two publications of Ranke correspondence (both issued in 1949), Srbik was able to investigate the two problems that form the center of Laue's discussion: the relation between historical writing and political activity, and Ranke's own participation in politics that had already led a contemporary of his—Droysen, of course—to refer to the "eunuchism of historical objectivity" (p. 371). Bearing in mind the evidence as presented by Srbik, it will hardly be pos-

sible to doubt that Ranke was fully aware of the interconnection between historical writing and political activity, though he considered an indirect way congenial to the historian in influencing politics. Similarly, he preferred the historian to be instrumental in shaping the general intellectual climate rather than a single decision. No doubt is left that his sympathies—just as those of Savigny—were with the moderate-conservative forces. However, there existed shortcomings in Ranke's attitude (these, too, shared by Savigny) which Srbik does not present fully: an example is afforded by Ranke's unwarranted optimism, today hardly believable, an optimism characteristic of much of the outstanding European nineteenth-century writing; the Berlin historian seems to have been aware neither of Karl Marx nor of Nietzsche; yet to this ignorance we owe that feeling of security out of which Ranke turned to write the *Universal History*. Certain deficiencies of his presentation may be connected with the character of the main sources that he used.

As in all great historical writing, the personality of the author shines through Srbik's work; this is especially clear when he comes to deal with the "Borussian" historians against whose oversimplification in presenting German history Srbik devoted much of his own lifelong research.

In the wake of Ranke—and, as a matter of fact, also of Polybius and Bossuet—Srbik, too, considers the political factor to be at the core of historical writing, albeit he understands this factor in its broadest sense. However, being himself a master in the field of the auxiliary sciences—his Wallenstein inquiry evidences it—he gives more attention to the development of this branch of studies than most writers on historiography do; still, he is far from assigning to these sciences that exaggerated importance that positivists in all countries are likely to bestow on them.

The meaning of a qualified historicism, a position that Srbik claims for himself, stressing that there exist values in history which can not and should not be presented as relative, will probably become clearer in the second volume of this, his last work. This volume will deal with "Intellectual History and Historicism" in a special chapter and will so continue as to include a discussion of the racial historical doctrine of National Socialism.

One merit, and a merit that cannot be disregarded, of the volume under review consists in the fact that Srbik has put in his right place Fueter, whose *Geschichte der neueren Historiographie* has done considerable damage to gifted young students of history by leading them, through its all too smooth presentation, to the belief that no problems remained but those that he, the historian of Zurich, had been willing to see.

Catholic University of America

FRIEDRICH ENGEL-JANOSI

GESCHICHTE DES NATIONALISMUS IN EUROPA. By *Eugen Lemberg*.
(Stuttgart: Curt E. Schwab, 1950. Pp. 319. DM. 14.80.)

NATIONALISMUS UND SÄKULARISATION: BEITRÄGE ZUR GESCHICHTE UND PROBLEMATIK DES NATIONALGEISTES. By Reinhard Wittram. (Lüneburg: Heliand-Verlag. 1949. Pp. 86. DM. 2.80.)

THE catastrophe of German nationalism within twelve years, after having proclaimed its millenary mission, has rekindled the interest in the problems of nationalism among German scholars and writers. Dr. Lemberg became well known before World War II by his competent studies in Bohemian and Flemish nationalism. During the war he became *Privatdozent* at the German University of Prague and, after the war, he was expelled with the other Sudeten Germans from his native Bohemia. His present attempt at a synthesis of the history of European (predominantly Continental) nationalism from the Renaissance to the present period, which he regards as the age of the "crisis of nationalism," is mostly remarkable for its defense of nationalism, especially the romantic nationalism of central and eastern Europe, and even of National Socialism.

Dr. Lemberg, who writes in an easy and pleasing style, clearly distinguishes between the two different kinds of nationalism, the rational and political one characteristic of western Europe and the United States, and the irrational organic one mostly represented by the Germans and the Slavs. This later concept originated with Herder. His folk theory was deeply embedded in the humanitarian and pacifist tradition of the Enlightenment. The whole danger of this folk theory became obvious, once the rationalist-individualist foundations of the eighteenth century were abandoned. Nowhere, however, was this revolt against the West, of emotionalism (*die Macht des Gemütes*) against reason, of the potency of the subconscious forces of blood and soil against the liberty of the individual will, of the organic community of the past against progress, as pronounced as among the Germans. "*So wurde das organische Denken, wurde die Romantik zu einer Art nationaler Ideologie, zum Programm der deutschen Wiedergeburt*" (p. 217).

National Socialism is explained by Dr. Lemberg as a necessary and inevitable attempt to organize Europe. The Germans in 1938 were faced, or so Dr. Lemberg believes, by the task of a supranational Reich which would order all the various nationalities of central and central-eastern Europe. This recalls the many books published during the war, such as Karl Richard Ganzer's *Das Reich als europäische Ordnungsmacht*, which was interpreted as a "*Bekennntnis zu einem neuen Europa*," not as imperialism, but to quote Professor Erich Botzenhart of the University of Göttingen, "*als geschichtlich begründete Ordnung und Führung — ein unverlierbarer und unabdingbarer Auftrag und Anspruch vor uns selbst, vor Europa und vor der Welt.*" Some of this spirit is still in Dr. Lemberg's book. By the occupation of Austria in 1938, Germany, according to Dr. Lemberg, assumed a responsibility for the fate of the non-Germanic peoples in the Danubian area. No wonder that these peoples and all those who desire a peaceful Europe will look with utmost skepticism at a "union" of Austria with Germany.

Dr. Lemberg praises nationalism because it lifts man above himself into the

service of a greater whole. But he rarely asks whether this greater whole is morally better than the individual, whether collective egoism is of greater value than individual egoism. Dr. Lemberg finds moving words for the anti-Christian or pre-Christian "ethical" ideals of National Socialism and for Hitler's faith of being the instrument of a mission bestowed upon him by a higher power (*eine ihm von einer höheren Macht erteilte Mission*). Whether this mission was imposed by the Germanic gods, for a realization of the pre-Christian ethics which "*eine durchaus ernst zu nehmende Forschung*" had reconstructed "*aus den germanischen Überlieferungen*," we are not told (pp. 279-81). But we are told that German nationalism after 1918 was as understandable a reaction against defeat as French nationalism after 1871. It is true that Imperial Marshal MacMahon became president of France in May, 1873, and Imperial Marshal Hindenburg became president of the Reich in April, 1925. But in January, 1879, MacMahon was ousted by the rising tide of French democracy, while Hindenburg in January, 1933, ousted the weak vestiges of German democracy. The French Republic emerged triumphantly from the Boulanger and Dreyfus crises, and the great names of 1914 were Clemenceau, Jaurès, and Péguy, not Déroulède, Maurras, or Barrès. In 1933 the great names in Germany were Hitler and all the professors and writers greeting enthusiastically this prophet of a new dispensation; the parallel breaks down in the essential point.

Dr. Lemberg's conclusion that "after the collapse the increasing nationalism must be recognized and accepted as psychologically necessary" (p. 305) seems historically not justified and practically dangerous. It is more than doubtful whether such books can help in the "*Überwindung des Nationalismus*" which in a final section Dr. Lemberg thinks desirable.

The problematic character of nationalism is much more clearly seen in the short book by Professor Wittram. It consists of three lectures of which the one on "Church and Nationalism in the History of the German Protestantism in the Nineteenth Century" will be the most interesting for the non-German scholar. It contains a wealth of material not easily accessible.

Professor Wittram does not glorify nationalism; he recognizes its dangers. In 1848, and since, many Germans in their awakened nationalism believed in the cultural mission, "*die welthistorische Aufgabe der Deutschen*," to spread order and civilization among the peoples east and southeast of Germany. "At the time of this pronouncement—seemingly a result of history itself, which was now only made conscious by the rise of nationalism—the historical conditions for claims of this kind were in full disintegration because of the simultaneous national awakening of the smaller peoples. And nobody saw that the age of nationalism in Europe which produced such a missionary claim, made its realization impossible" (p. 19). A state which wishes to serve a national purpose and to become the servant of a national idea, suffers in its real task of assuring peace and justice. Professor Wittram knows that "we made a grievous mistake

concerning the leadership role of the German people" (p. 75). And he quotes an observation which Ranke wrote in 1832: "Who will ever define in concept or words what is German? It would become only another will-o'-the-wisp seducing us to other false roads."

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HANS KOHN

GESCHICHTE UND ABENTEUER: GESTALTEN UM DEN PRINZEN

EUGEN. By Max Braubach. (Munich: Verlag F. Bruckmann. 1950. Pp. viii, 458. Ln. DM. 17.50.)

SINCE the end of the war Max Braubach, the Bonn historian of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, has published an imposing array of books based on original research relating mainly to Cologne and Bonn. These are themes too local to attract many readers beyond the borders of Germany, but the latest of Braubach's books commends itself to a wider audience, for (with the possible exception of Oehler's *Prinz Eugen im Urteil Europas*) it is the most substantial work about Prince Eugene of Savoy to have appeared in this century.

The book consists of a series of critical articles. They are, as the author is at some pains to emphasize in his introduction, the sort of pieces which appear in "purely scientific journals"; in every instance, manuscripts hitherto unnoticed provide the core for Braubach's essays. His great resource has been the archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Paris. No one before had systematically studied the documents there in order to comb out the material relating to Prince Eugene, his family, his personal associates and agents. The yield has been considerable, though not sensational, and since Braubach's diligence in the archives has been supplemented by his altogether exceptional mastery of the published materials, as well as by a talent for sober exposition, the result is a particularly fine example of historical craftsmanship. Four pieces stand out from the rest—an essay, monographic in length and definitive in character, on the family of Prince Eugene; superb studies of two fantastic adventurers of the period, Klement and Bonneval; and an account of Eugene's tragic last years. Of the lesser pieces, that on Count Venzani centers upon a memorandum on the Vienna court in 1706; that on the abbé Lenglet tells us something more than was known before about the literary and artistic circle around Eugene; and another on Eugene and Saint-Pierre adduces evidence indicating that Eugene's interest in the abbé's writings was something more than perfunctory.

In 1936, when Braubach published in the *Historische Zeitschrift* an article commemorating the two-hundredth anniversary of Eugene's death, the prince's claims to be regarded as a German national hero were placed in the forefront of the discussion, and emphatically approved. Braubach thus bowed to the fashion then in vogue of regarding Eugene's relation to *Volk* and *Reich* as the central problem of a twentieth-century biography. This aspect of things gets a

passing nod on page fifteen of the new volume, but nothing further is heard of Eugene's German mission. Whether or not Braubach still regards this mission as a matter of primary historical relevance he does not tell us, for his method in this volume has not been to set problems and to seek solutions but to look for new facts, and, having found them, to put them in their setting and let them speak for themselves. Such an approach is obviously no substitute for the full-scale biography which no one since Arneth, nearly a hundred years ago, has produced. What we get from Braubach is a glimpse, as intimate as the sources permit, at a miscellaneous collection of people-on-the-make who inhabited Eugene's private world. Seen in this human environment, the personality of Eugene, himself an adventurer with a genius for success, becomes both more understandable and more mysterious.

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PAUL R. SWEET

DEUTSCHLAND UND ÜBERSEE: DER DEUTSCHE HANDEL MIT DEN ANDEREN KONTINENTEN, INSBESONDERE AFRIKA, VON KARL V. BIS ZU BISMARCK: EIN BEITRAG ZUR GESCHICHTE DER RIVALITÄT IM WIRTSCHAFTSLEBEN. By *Percy Ernst Schramm*. (Brunswick, Germany: Georg Westermann Verlag. 1950. Pp. 639.)

SCHOLARS interested in commercial history and in the relations of Europe with Africa will find this book by Professor Schramm of both general and specific interest for the light it throws on areas of history where information has been scanty. In point of time the book covers the overseas commercial activities of Germans from the days of Charles V down to 1890; the emphasis and detail, however, are reserved for the five decades after 1830. For this careful study Professor Schramm has made extensive use of archive materials in the Hanseatic cities, whose merchants found themselves engaged in a world-wide commerce a century ago. Reports of representatives of these firms in distant lands have been used with great skill to give us a story that is both exciting and informing in what it has to say about the background of the trade and colonial rivalry that developed between England and Germany nearer the end of the century. The book is something of a memorial to the author's ancestors who participated in that trade.

The book makes one aware of the contrast between the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in economic possibilities. Here one gets a picture of the significance to the world, particularly to Germans, of England's abandonment of mercantilist policies and her adoption of free trade. Here we see how the nineteenth century offered vast economic opportunities all over the world to Europeans engaged in the manufacture of goods to be exchanged for the foods and resources of nonindustrial lands. That the nineteenth century was a time of marvelous economic opportunity becomes clear as traders argue that Australia, Brazil, China, or Argentina is the coming land of the future, where Germans

can settle down, engage in trade, and make their fortunes. It was a golden age that fills us with nostalgia.

The author has excellent material on German commercial activities that eventually led to the adoption of a colonial policy by Bismarck. In the fifties and sixties there were numerous complaints that the lack of a strong Germany and navy made it hard for Germans to carry on a successful trade in lands where a show of power was necessary if traders were to command respect. The interest of German traders in a united Germany was apparently a real one. Frequent were the pleas that this or that area in some distant part of the world be placed under German protection. The charge was frequently made that there was much interference with legitimate German trade by British ships engaged in suppressing the slave trade along the west coast of Africa. Students of that trade will find information of the most interesting sort of firms and peoples engaged in the nefarious business.

Along with the story of German commerce, Professor Schramm gives a good deal of incidental information about the commercial activities of both French and British firms in Africa. There is history here for nearly all parts of Africa, not merely those areas where Germany under Bismarck eventually proclaimed the annexation of territory. The author is careful to avoid repeating what is already familiar to the student of German occupation in Africa; he is interested in giving what is new, and in this effort he has succeeded admirably. One gets a clear picture of the prominent Germans who laid the foundations of the African empire and of the reaction of the British Empire to that work. So significant a study is this work of German scholarship that one regrets having to point out that Disraeli did not acquire a majority of the shares in the Suez Canal Company by his coup of 1875.

Yale University

HARRY R. RUDIN

ONNO KLOPP: *LEBEN UND WIRKEN*. By *Wiard von Klopp*. Edited by *Franz Schnabel*. (Munich: Schnell & Steiner. 1950. Pp. xii, 271.)

In recent years German historians have tried to reappraise Bismarck and his policies. While Bismarck and the Prussian school of historiography have on the whole been defended, though with reservations, by prominent historians like Gerhard Ritter of Freiburg im Breisgau and Hans Rothfels of Chicago and Tübingen, the attack against the traditional Bismarck evaluation has emanated from two different camps. Erich Eyck, who published in exile his three-volume Bismarck biography, was the most representative spokesman for German liberalism. He did not question Bismarck's goal of a German *Nationalstaat* but his methods. A Germany built less on violation of constitution and victories in war would have fitted better into a nineteenth-century Europe of which Gladstone was the greatest spokesman; it would also have provided a more enduring basis

for German national life. Recently another group of German historians led by Franz Schnabel of Munich has gone farther. They reject not only Bismarck's methods which in the hands of less skilled successors developed far beyond anything Bismarck himself intended, but the whole concept of the *Nationalstaat*.

In a paper read by Professor Schnabel before the International Historical Congress in Speyer in October, 1949 (reprinted in *Europa und der Nationalismus* [Baden-Baden, 1950], pp. 91-108), he pointed out that the *kleindeutsche Nationalstaat* was hardly discussed in Germany in 1840. "The Bismarckian Reich as a self-contained national body under Prussian leadership had only a short development; it was a wholly unhistorical concept in German life. It had no grass roots. Even in the Prussian government before the appearance of Bismarck the Frederickian tradition had almost died out" (p. 105). It was Germany's and Europe's misfortune (*Verhängnis*) that at the time when all possibilities still seemed open, Bismarck's genius decided for the one which seemed least constructive for Germany and Europe. This criticism of Bismarck from the federalist and Catholic camp is, however, not the result of hindsight. In the fateful years between 1865 and 1870, Bismarck's concept was attacked, and its consequences clearly predicted, by men as different as Constantin Frantz, Gervinus, and Onno Klopp.

Of these men Onno Klopp is least known today. He was born in 1822, the son of an East-Frisian Protestant family and a subject of the king of Hanover, in whose service he spent most of his life. With his exiled king he moved in 1866 to Austria, there in 1872 joined the Catholic Church, and died thirty years later. The present biography was written by his son in a spirit of filial piety and edited posthumously by Professor Schnabel. Klopp was a very fertile writer. He edited the historical and political writings of Leibnitz from the manuscripts in the Hanoverian library in eleven volumes; he published a three-volume history of Ost-Friesland, a fourteen-volume history of western Europe from 1660 to 1714, focused upon the fall of the House of Stuart and the succession of the Hanoverians, and a four-volume history of the 'Thirty Years' War to the death of Gustavus Adolphus. Of greater importance for present-day readers are his works on Frederick II of Prussia, on Bismarck, and on the problem of German unification generally. In his political views he was strictly conservative, and he rejected not only Bismarck but liberalism; as a historian he was a moralist and regarded it his duty to present what is right (*das Recht in der Geschichte*) without regard for its success. Though he came from an environment which revered Luther and Frederick II, he was led by his studies to regard them as misfortunes for Germany. In his courageous and indefatigable struggle against Prussia and against the dominant trend, he wrote many pamphlets and newspaper articles. The present biography contains a complete bibliography of his works.

In August, 1865, he published an article, "Prussia's Future," in which he

wrote that Prussia was an absolutist military state by its origin and history and could not become anything else. "This Prussian monarchy can neither create nor allow true liberty nor can it represent the German interest, because by its origins and history it is irreconcilably opposed to both." He predicted that Prussia would bring unheard-of misery to Germany and Europe and regretted that the situation of 1850 was not used to end the Prussian "menace." Five years later he suggested a Franco-Austrian alliance against Prussia and Russia to stop the growth of the two latter powers, for both were out to destroy Austria as the only obstacle to their expansion. His years in Vienna brought him much disillusionment. He warned against the Dual Alliance, and he was deeply worried by the lack of Austrian patriotism and by the inability of the Austrian government to understand and promote an "Austrian idea." Like Georg Herwegh in 1871, Klopp was convinced that Germany's "*schlimmste Feind steht an der Spree*."

Today Prussia has disappeared. The monarchy and the landowning nobility which were its backbone have been destroyed. A return of Prussia seems today as romantic a dream with as little real foundation as Mussolini's re-creation of the imperium. But the words which Klopp wrote in his pamphlet "*Wer ist der Wahre Erbfeind Deutschlands?*" may not be without interest even today to the student of German nationalism: "Never have the ways of the German nation followed the path of a so-called unity. The idea of unity nowhere has a foundation in concrete reality. Neither the manifold landscape of Germany, its rivers and mountains which reach in all directions, nor the preponderance of a capital or the intellectual preponderance of one of its parts [*eines Stammes*] make any necessity for such a unity appear. . . . The peasant from the North Sea to the Alps was ignorant of the theory that the German nationality needs a national state [*einen Einheitsstaat*]. He was happy in his differentiation [*Besonderheit*]. He was satisfied with his government. Prussia brought him only increased taxes and military burdens."

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HANS KOHN

THE FORTY-EIGHTERS: POLITICAL REFUGEES OF THE GERMAN REVOLUTION OF 1848. Edited by *A. E. Zucker*. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1950. Pp. xviii, 379. \$4.50.)

It is refreshing to find in these eight papers (sponsored by the Carl Schurz Foundation and handsomely produced by the Columbia University Press) so little of the old emotional approach to a very attractive group of men—though it is not entirely absent. For instance, the traditional view of Carl Schurz as "a true German-American with a double loyalty but not a divided one" is restated by Dr. Bayard Q. Morgan (p. 249), whereas, surely, the main reason for the rapid and phenomenal success of Schurz as *an American* is that he so quickly stopped being a German-American and resolutely turned his back upon

all ideas of a "double loyalty." Mrs. Hildegard Binder Johnson, in her exceedingly interesting paper on "Adjustment to the United States" (pp. 43-78) does not share the view of the present reviewer that the situation in which many of the Forty-eighters found themselves after the Civil War (and in some cases earlier) was one of arrested development. She argues her case persuasively, but the biographies of some three hundred German Forty-eighters so conveniently summarized at the end of the book by the editor, Dr. Zucker, hardly bear out her contention. They had emigrated too late in life (though most of them had still been in their twenties) either completely to master the language or to accept the mores of the Americans. Carl Schurz was a striking exception to the general rule.

Apart from Dr. Hildegard Johnson's stimulating and scholarly contribution, the paper on "The Forty-eighters in Politics" (pp. 111-56) by Lawrence S. Thompson and Frank X. Braun, is the most impressive, though not quite so provocative. As might be expected from two such able and experienced bibliographers, their paper is specially valuable for its references. But, indeed, for all the papers the critical apparatus, included in an appendix (pp. 253-68), is exceptionally full and helpful. The paper on "The Turner" by Augustus J. Prah, and those on "The Radicals" by Eitel W. Dobert and on "The Forty-eighters in the Civil War" by Ella Lonn are all of considerable interest in somewhat narrower fields, though the need to compress so much material into so little space inevitably forces these three contributors at times simply to catalogue names, events, and organizations. Dr. Lonn perhaps suffers most from this restriction, but her forthcoming book, of which her paper gives a foretaste, will be able to give her very large subject the space it deserves. It is to be hoped (and this will be all the more fitting because her book is to be published by a southern university press) that she will therein devote at least a little attention to those German immigrants and those (admittedly few) Forty-eighters who espoused the Southern cause and fought in the Confederate armies. She ignores them completely in her paper.

In the opinion of this reviewer the two introductory papers ("The European Background" by Carl J. Friedrich and "The American Scene" by Oscar Handlin) might well have been omitted. Neither tells us anything that could not have been found in any good college textbook. One feels somewhat sorry for Drs. Friedrich and Handlin that their two rather slight (but very readable) little essays were put in the forefront of such a solid and impressive collection of research papers as are at least five of the other six contributions. This is the one serious criticism that can be leveled at the otherwise excellent editing of a noteworthy volume.

SOVIET DOCUMENTS ON FOREIGN POLICY. Volume I, 1917-1924. Selected and edited by *Jane Degras*. [Issued under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1951. Pp. xxi, 501. \$7.00.)

THIS initial volume of selected Soviet documents on foreign policy from 1917 to 1941 is issued under the auspices of an organization which "is precluded by the terms of its Royal Charter from expressing an opinion on any aspect of international affairs." It consists of 263 items, ranging from treaties (excluding those, such as Riga and Rapallo, registered with the League of Nations) to newspaper interviews (some originally printed in the English press), fairly evenly distributed over the period from November 8, 1917, to January 4, 1925, but with particular emphasis on the year 1918. The arrangement is strictly chronological, and the material is presented without any comment or explanation beyond indication of the source. The translations from Russian, though sometimes quite free, are excellent.

The work is not intended as an interpretation of Soviet policy, save in so far as any principle of selection involves some interpretation. It therefore can serve the purposes only of students of international relations who, though unable to read the Russian originals, are familiar with the general setting. Those who are content with a surface "knowledge and understanding of Soviet foreign policy" may indeed find here "a sufficient number of documents to indicate its main preoccupations and to illustrate its aims and diplomatic techniques." Those who wish to probe more deeply must look farther afield. As a random example, it may be suggested that the excerpts (pp. 78-79) from Lenin's speech of May 14, 1918, on foreign relations (based on a press report) fall far short of the flavor given by the much more extended excerpts (based on the official stenographic record) given by Bunyan in *Intervention, Civil War and Communism in Russia*; nor is there here any suggestion of the sharp attacks made on Lenin within the Soviet Central Executive Committee. It is material of this kind that sets Soviet policy in its true perspective. One may therefore regret that such documents have been generally deliberately omitted in order to save space for the eternal procession of diplomatic notes and propaganda releases. Even in these latter categories the principle of selection is not always clear. Thus, the initial protest of April 22, against German penetration of the Crimea, is reproduced, but the more sweeping protest of April 27, calling the whole Treaty of Brest-Litovsk into question, is excluded; the only document given under that date is Chicherin's demand for the recall of the French ambassador.

However, it is not possible to give complete coverage. This volume, and its two successors, will probably prove to be extremely valuable reference aids for many.

THE SOVIET UNION: BACKGROUND, IDEOLOGY, REALITY. A SYMPOSIUM. Edited by *Waldemar Gurian*. (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press. 1951. Pp. vii, 216. \$3.50.)

"WHILE with reference to physics and techniques the world is already in the atomic age, in research on the Soviet economy [or polity, or culture] it is in the Adam-and-Eve era." With these words one of the contributors to the present volume suggests the magnitude of the task to which a group of Soviet experts under the initiative of Waldemar Gurian addressed themselves in February, 1950, at a University of Notre Dame symposium.

Specifically in the field of economics, Naum Jasny, the contributor referred to, rejects Soviet claims of increase in industrial output from 22 billion rubles in 1928 to 163 billions in 1948 as "a pack of lies." Soviet production data in physical terms he still in the main accepts, but data in monetary terms he regards as having been manipulated on a vast and increasing scale. Cutting through this subterfuge he estimates industrial output as having risen, in terms of "real 1926-27 prices," only to 70 billion rubles in 1948, thereby reducing the proportions of the Soviet industrial revolution by more than half. Moreover his warning against taking any one ruble as equal to another ruble has an added significance in that during the period from 1928 to 1948 the inflation of consumer goods prices was more than eight times that of producer goods prices. This means that Soviet budgetary statements with their generous outlays for "social and cultural" funds (a consumer goods item) are distorted beyond comparison while military expenditures (a producer goods item) are conveniently played down. Jasny's own figures suggest a breakdown of the total Soviet national income for 1948 somewhat as follows: 38 per cent new investment, 24 per cent military expenditures, 33 per cent private consumption, 5 per cent miscellaneous. According to government sources, the comparable figures for the United States were: 14 per cent investment, 6 per cent military, 80 per cent consumption. The difference between the private consumption figures of the two systems goes far to explain the difference between a dictatorship and a democracy.

With two thirds of the Russian national income being absorbed by the government, it is understandable that the Soviet leaders might want to extend their "system" to neighboring countries. Stephen Kertesz in an able article has outlined the methods whereby Soviet control was extended over eastern Europe in the postwar period. Here is indicated the double strategy of a seizure of key positions from above (e.g., the ministry of interior) and manipulation of mass pressures from below (e.g., the staged demonstration). Here is explained the Communist meaning of the word "freedom" as a sort of unilateral "freedom for us." Here is shown the danger of a coalition type of spoils system which includes Communists and which thereby opens the civil service to men having allegiance primarily to the Communist party itself. As Laszlo Rajk, at that time a minister of interior himself though later to be liquidated as a Titoist,

is alleged to have said: "Learn from Lenin; if you have five enemies, you should ally yourself with them; arrange to incite four of them against the fifth, then three against the fourth, and so on until you have only one enemy left in the alliance; you can then liquidate him yourself."

In view of the expansive and totalitarian nature of the Communist system it is well also to consider the solitary example of a non-Communist institution retaining a foothold in the heart of the Soviet empire itself. This institution is, of course, the church, and in particular the Russian Orthodox Church. Nicholas Timasheff, in a chapter which brings up to date his standard work on the subject, explains the uneasy consequences of the morganatic alliance entered into between the General Secretary Joseph and the Acting Patriarch Sergius in September, 1943. The marriage was morganatic because Stalin retains all the power and the church is merely permitted rights of cohabitation within the empire. It is an uneasy alliance because both parties have compromised themselves: the church by making peace with atheistic rule, and the party-state by condoning a major breach in its monolithic pattern. Behind the facade a private cold war is in progress as each partner yearns, on Stalin's side not always secretly, for a state of single blessedness.

The three articles here described comprise three fifths of the book under review. In the remaining two fifths, five shorter articles round out this particularly stimulating symposium as follows: "Church and State in Central Europe" by Francis Dvornik, "Soviet Exploitation of National Conflicts in Eastern Europe" by Philip E. Mosely, "Historical Background of Soviet Thought Control" by Michael Karpovich, "Aims and Methods of Soviet Terrorism" by Vladimir Petrov, and "Development of the Soviet Regime from Lenin to Stalin" by Walde-mar Gurian.

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RONALD THOMPSON

Far Eastern History

THE ANCIENT KHMER EMPIRE. by *Lawrence Palmer Briggs*. [Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, Volume XLI, Part I.] (Philadelphia: the Society. 1951. Pp. 295. Cloth \$6.00, paper \$5.00.)

WE are indebted to Mr. Briggs for his vast and careful labors in bringing together and completing this volume on the early history of the Khmer Empire. The results form an erudite volume of great merit. The author has gone painstakingly through the voluminous materials on the Khmers produced in the past several decades. From the background of his own scholarship he has produced what may well be considered the definitive work on the first three periods of Khmer history, the Funan, Chenla, and Khambuja epochs.

Prior to the publication of this volume there has been no single work of un-

questioned scholarship which attempted a similar detailed study of ancient Khmer history. This was partly due to the fact that no one had undertaken the task of collating and interpreting the vast amount of heterogeneous data available. Briggs brings together the latest scholarship enriched by careful analysis and interpretation.

The present volume is of great worth because of its careful survey of art and architecture, political history, dynastic change, epigraphy, religious influences, and, where possible, social and economic conditions. The final section, on the nature, significance, and causes of the fall of Angkor, seems particularly valuable for its thoughtful analysis. The light shed on the "mystery" of the smiling Buddhas of Angkor is a welcome addition to our knowledge of the Khmers.

In a society such as that of the Khmers, characterized by a highly institutionalized theocracy and epitomized in resplendent architecture and decoration, a purely political history would be most inadequate if not, indeed, impossible. Mr. Briggs has woven the fabric of Khmer history from its most significant exemplification, its monumental religious art. His translation of the record is clear, competent, and informed.

The volume is enhanced by many excellent figures, exhibiting the best of the art and architecture of Angkor as well as by numerous maps and plans. The American Philosophical Society has made scholars its debtors by publishing this work in such an adequate format.

University of Chicago

ROBERT I. CRANE

FORT WILLIAM-INDIA HOUSE CORRESPONDENCE, AND OTHER
CONTEMPORARY PAPERS RELATING THERETO (PUBLIC SERIES).

Volume V, 1767-1769. Edited by *Narendra Krishna Sinha*, Lecturer in History, University of Calcutta. [Indian Records Series.] (New Delhi: National Archives of India. 1949. Pp. xiv, 670.)

THIS volume is the first to appear in a proposed series of twenty-one volumes covering the period 1748-1800 under the general editorship of Dr. S. N. Sen. It has been ably edited with an introduction and notes by Dr. N. K. Sinha. The book deals with Verelst's governorship after Clive's departure from Bengal, and the letters may best be read in conjunction with *Verelst's Rule in India* by Nandalal Chatterjee (Allahabad, 1939). Publication of the public letters "out" and "home" in the same volume reveals very well the striking dichotomy between expectations in England and facts in Bengal. On the one hand, the directors in England were trying to satisfy the public expectation that the acquisition of the Diwani would enable them to conduct a flourishing East India trade without exporting bullion to either India or China. On the other, the directors' servants in Bengal, trying to meet their ever-mounting military and administrative expenditure from a region already severely drained of its specie, were vainly trying

to convince their "honourable masters" of their difficulties in supplying the expected "investment" of Indian goods and of their inability to send silver to China.

Many aspects of this paradoxical situation are revealed in these letters. In India, we see the Bengal Council struggling to send the necessary subsidies, not only to Madras where much military activity is taking place but to Bombay also where the company's debts are steadily mounting. An example of the way military necessities forced the suspension of supplies to China is found in the letter from court of November 11, 1768, "We remark with very great surprise your desiring the Presidency of Madras to appropriate three lacks of the money destined for the supply to China for the use of the military operations on the Coast." There are several illustrations of the struggle to avoid further involvement with the country-powers. On this point, it may be said that, in Verelst's masterly letter analyzing Indian politics in March, 1768, there is no hint of the necessity of future conquest. The emphasis remains on maintaining "our present character as Umpires of Hindostan by counteracting any hostile designs against ourselves or our Allies by our Influence at a distance, by our force when near." This letter is also noteworthy for the attention it gives to the Sikhs. The ever-widening sphere of the company's interest is also evidenced by their orders, likewise in March, 1768, to "obtain the best intelligence you can whether a Trade can be opened with Nepal and whether Cloth and other European Commodities may not find their way from thence to Thibet, Lassa, and the Western parts of China." In London, we see the directors struggling vainly to keep their political affairs separate from their commerce, worrying constantly that they will not have the resources to pay bills of exchange drawn in India, yet complaining when their servants buy foreign bills of exchange after being forbidden to take up their own. The letters "out" are of course full of the admonitions against corruptions, so lightly regarded; full of evidence of the breach of many of the company's regulations, and very expressive of the directors' awareness that much of the company's book-keeping abroad was of so "fictitious" a character as to make it very difficult for London to know precisely what the company's financial position was at many of its settlements.

While there is much to be said for printing documents of this kind *in extenso* without omitting a word lest it be of value to some student of the period, there is unquestionably much verbiage which could be safely omitted, and nothing would be lost if many paragraphs of a purely routine character were briefly summarized. Writers of eighteenth-century documents were especially prolix (witness the incredibly involved jargon of Lord Clive's *Jagir*, pp. 116-20). Judicious pruning would reduce printing costs and facilitate further publication. The early appearance of companion volumes will do much to place these public letters in proper perspective. Contemporaries concerned with East India affairs thought in terms of "trading seasons," not of calendar years. Readers will there-

fore gain a better impression of how the East India Company's multifarious affairs were conducted in this period when several of these volumes have been issued. The wider studies of eighteenth-century India which are so much needed will be facilitated by more extensive publication of the materials of this sort available in the Indian National Archives.

University of Pennsylvania

HOLDEN FURBER

FOREIGN RELATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES: DIPLOMATIC PAPERS, 1934. In five volumes. Volume III, THE FAR EAST. [Department of State Publication 4011.] (Washington: Government Printing Office. 1950. Pp. lxxxvi, 868. \$3.25.)

Most studies of the foreign policy of the United States treat very lightly of the years between 1931 and 1937. This is understandable enough when one remembers that the era between Japan's Manchurian "adventure" and the skirmish at the Marco Polo Bridge was rather devoid of spectacular events. Yet it was during that very era that decisions were made and policies formulated which led directly to the Lukuchiao affair. This was a crucial period in world history.

Volume III of the State Department's latest publication of diplomatic papers concerns one of these "unspectacular" years; 1934 was a year during which the United States made no startling diplomatic moves. There were no pronouncements such as the Open Door notes or the Stimson doctrine. But while the State Department made few headlines, the policy that it adopted, or was forced to adopt, had a direct bearing upon the series of events which led us eventually to World War II.

Here, in 600-odd documents, the State Department has revealed much of the evidence upon which it based its decisions. Along with an earlier two-volume publication (*Papers relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States: Japan, 1931-1941*) these papers will provide the scholar with invaluable research material and the interested layman with an opportunity to see behind the curtain of official press releases and journalistic conjectures of the time.

The evidence presented deals largely with Japan and the effect of Japanese policies upon our relations with China. In one of the very first documents, Ambassador Grew touches upon the key to the whole Asiatic situation. Reporting in January a conversation with the Japanese vice minister of foreign affairs, Grew noted that ". . . the Vice Minister's remarks, while containing much that is controversial, are interesting principally as indicating the point of view of at least one person in a responsible position in the government here—that Japan has the responsibility for the peace and order of the Far East. This point of view is widely held in Japan, and with it goes a corollary—that Japan is to be consulted on any question affecting China which is of more than local importance"

(p. 3). The famous Amau statement of April 17, which was essentially a paraphrase of instructions sent to Japanese diplomatic officials in China, served to emphasize the point of view reported by Grew. It is in the light of these Japanese assertions—that they and they alone should have the dominant role in all East Asia—that the papers under discussion must be read.

In general, United States policy was one of conciliation, a policy which the Japanese interpreted as a sign of weakness. In December, for instance, Under Secretary of State Phillips recommended to President Roosevelt that the Navy maneuvers planned for the Pacific in 1935 “be moved to the other side of the canal or confined closer to our coast.” He added that he thought “this would be a fine gesture to make” (p. 344). The President refused to alter the Navy’s plans but did agree that Grew, in Japan, should be informed that the maneuvers were to be purely defensive in nature (p. 344).

United States willingness to conciliate Japan was also reflected in its attitude toward China. One strongly suspects that the State Department’s disinclination to approve a government loan to the Chinese government was a result of repeated Japanese assertions that it (Japan) was opposed to the granting by foreign governments to China of “political loans” (pp. 371 ff.).

Coincident with the cautious policy of the United States, Japan found Russian resistance to her aggressive designs increasing. During the early months of 1934, many observers of the Far Eastern scene were convinced that war between Russia and Japan was imminent. Grew himself felt in February that war was not unlikely, though he believed that the struggle would probably not begin until 1935. By the end of the year, however, he had been forced to revise his estimate of the situation. Noting that while United States policy had failed to modify Japan’s course of action, the ambassador reported that Japan “has already modified her policy toward the one nation which has assiduously devoted itself to building up its defenses in the Orient and to making clear its readiness to employ them if need arises. Soviet Russia has forced the Japanese Army to relegate all ideas of seizing Vladivostok and the Maritime Province to the uncertain future although at one time such action seemed imminent. Soviet Russia has avoided the seizure of the Chinese Eastern Railway and is receiving a fair price for it. . . . As I have already reported, my Soviet colleague not long ago repeated to me the remark of a prominent Japanese that the greatest single factor in obviating war between the U.S.S.R. and Japan was the marked increase of Soviet military strength in the Far East” (p. 689).

Herein, perhaps, lies the lesson of the 1930’s. Japan was convinced that Russia would resist with force, if necessary, further Japanese attempts to expand to the north. Japan was similarly convinced that the United States would not, or could not, resist with force Japanese expansion in other directions. Had the United States maintained its armed strength in the western Pacific during this crucial year, had the United States embarked upon a program of building up a definitely

superior navy, as Dr. Stanley K. Hornbeck recommended in May (pp. 189-93), it is not inconceivable that the course of subsequent events would have been profoundly altered. As it was, Japan, checked in the north, began to concentrate more and more upon plans for a drive to the east and to the south, where she was to fill a vacuum created by the refusal of the United States to exert its strength in those areas.

The dispatches to and from our representatives in China reflect, of course, our concern with Japan. Few, if any, major policy decisions were made concerning China without considering the effects of such policy upon our relations with Japan. Treaty revision, the effect of the United States silver purchase program upon China's economy, loans to China—none of these problems was considered solely upon its own merits. The question of financial aid to China, as noted above, is a case in point. In May, 1934, the State Department urgently requested its people in China to make no mention to Chinese officials of a possible United States loan because such action would traverse "delicate political ground" (p. 437).

As for the political health of China, it is of interest to note that the question of the ability of Chiang Kai-shek and the Kuomintang to establish effective control over China was a concern of our foreign service officers long before the present controversy over the China policy of the United States developed. Writing in May, 1934, Minister to China Johnson reported that although "there were developments indicating a growing understanding on the part of some of the country's leaders of its needs . . . until there is evidence that these leaders intend effectively to implement this understanding with action, there will be little reason to view the present situation in China with other than pessimism" (p. 218). Johnson added significantly: "Little relief was extended [during 1934] to the masses of China suffering from excessive taxation, the cupidity and dishonesty of military and civilian officials, the exploitation of the people as a market for opium, and continued neglect of measures to overcome such natural disadvantages as flood, aridity, and difficult communication. Until such fundamental ills are remedied, the loyalty of the people to the governing classes, approval of their activities, and the removal of the danger of subversive movements cannot be anticipated" (p. 219).

Concerning other internal Chinese events, the dispatches of Minister Johnson and his subordinates cover relatively familiar ground.

University of Maine

JOHN J. NOLDE

THE UNITED STATES AND JAPAN. By *Edwin O. Reischauer*. [The American Foreign Policy Library.] (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1950. Pp. xviii, 357. \$4.00.)

THIS book is historical writing at its best. It increases in value as spectacular

contemporary events call for a greater understanding of historical background. With regard to Japan, Mr. Reischauer's is the voice of experience. He considers the problems of our neighbor Japan as also our problems, and he loses no time in establishing the underlying economic aspects of those problems.

He devotes one hundred pages to an understandable analysis of Japanese character and he removes the veil from what lazier minds choose to call the mystery of the Orient. What seem to be absurd contradictions in Japanese character are "contradictory to us only because we do not understand the substratum of forces within Japanese culture which has produced the particular surface patterns which we see in Japanese behavior" (p. 116).

Mr. Reischauer points out that "the nationalistic awakening, industrialization, the spread of education, the revolutionary concept that the common man should participate in and perhaps even control government, all hit Japan before the rest of Asia" (p. 180). He asserts, "The struggle between democracy and totalitarianism was not merely a passing phase of pre-war Japanese history" (p. 203) and that struggle has continued under the occupation. Our objectives are "to readjust the balance so that in the future the peaceful and democratic forces within Japanese society will gradually win out over the militaristic and authoritarian forces" (p. 287). He thinks that our efforts at reform in Japan make "Communist theories seem old-fashioned and unimaginative by comparison" (p. 270), and he insists that we dare not fail in our experiment, which all the world is watching.

Even before the outbreak of the war in Korea and the dismissal of MacArthur, Mr. Reischauer believed "the occupation authorities have virtually completed the task they set out to accomplish. . . . In any case we have already long since run into a situation of diminishing returns" (pp. 303, 304). He gives credit to the American authorities in Japan for a job well done, but he recognizes that the ultimate success of American reforms will have to depend upon eventual implementation by the Japanese themselves.

The author gives us some grave warnings and some sound advice. "No matter how devoted a military ally Japan might be, if we were to sacrifice democracy in Japan and the friendship of the rest of Asia to make her this, we would have made a sorry bargain indeed" (p. 44). Again, "If the Japanese cannot solve their economic problems as a peaceful people ideologically aligned with the democratic peoples of the world, they will undoubtedly seek to solve them by other means—perhaps by aligning themselves with Communist nations . . ." (p. 303).

Mr. Reischauer wants a peace treaty but not at the expense of our reform efforts. He thinks that "the best and most feasible move, therefore, would be to bring a complete end to occupation controls and to restore Japan to a status of real independence, limited only by the rules of international law and the universal principles of mankind as expressed through the United Nations and enforced by the community of nations" (p. 308).

His wise conclusion is: "The eventual fate of Japan is, after all, that of the world as a whole. Japan is of concern to us only as an element in a world order. In working for a peaceful and democratic Japan, we have been contributing to the creation of a peaceful and democratic world" (p. 317).

Stanford University

CLAUDE A. BUSS

American History

THE LAWS OF ILLINOIS TERRITORY, 1809-1818. Edited with Introduction by *Francis S. Philbrick*, Emeritus Professor of Law, University of Pennsylvania. [Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library, Volume XXV. Law Series, Volume V.] (Springfield: Illinois State Historical Library. 1950. Pp. cccclxxvii, 386. \$2.50.)

THIS volume is more important for the introduction than the laws it contains. The introduction is an account of the Northwest Ordinance of 1787: its purpose, its functioning in the territories before legislatures were established, its use by politicians and judges in the political battles before the Civil War, and its interpretation by historians. What Professor Philbrick has to say will shock those who repeat without reference to the facts the idea that the ordinance was a great progressive document, one of those which made the nation great. It was "miserably drafted. As an instrument to serve as the basis of territorial administration there was no greatness in it." Jefferson's ordinance of 1784 was "a complete and workable plan for the government of a specific territory . . . it was, *by implication*, something more; namely an enunciation of general principles of government which were judged proper to control the administration of all federal territory." The principles of Jefferson's ordinance were "wholly consonant with the principles for which the Revolution had been fought." The ordinance of 1787, on the other hand, "established a governmental system unknown in any of the original states, irreconcilable with the principles of Anglo-American political doctrine, particularly repugnant to those of our Revolutionary era then just ending."

Professor Philbrick is no respecter of historians who have written about the Northwest Ordinance, no matter what their reputation among their own kind. He points out that most of the historians have stated the provisions of the ordinance "as though no question of their merits could be involved." He puts the real issue squarely: "A knowledge of actual territorial government—of the acts, development, and interrelations of executive, legislative, and judicial departments—is requisite for a dependable appraisal of the Ordinance as a working plan of government." By citing chapter and verse, he proves that most historians do not have such knowledge.

This reviewer agrees with most of the points made in the introduction. It is not easy reading. The style is legalistic and at times prolix and repetitious to the

point where the reader is in despair. But the stuff is there and it should be read by those who have occasion to lecture and write about the ordinance of 1787.

University of Wisconsin

MERRILL JENSEN

ARIZONA: THE HISTORY OF A FRONTIER STATE. By *Rufus Kay Wyllys*. (Phoenix, Ariz.: Hobson and Herr. 1950. Pp. xiii, 408. \$6.00.)

To the average American, Arizona is a vast sun-drenched land, bounded on the north by the Grand Canyon and on the south by Mexico, on the east by the blanket-weaving and silver-working Indians and on the west by the more corpulent natives who greet the trains at Yuma and Needles and by the California inspection stations. It is a great place for tourists, as the color photography in *Arizona Highways* so emphatically reminds; it is a mecca for health seekers and winter refugees; and its popularized history echoes with endless Apache wars and with bursts of gunfire by the badmen of Tombstone.

Although it is the youngest of the forty-eight states, Arizona has a history that goes back more than four hundred years. Furthermore, through archaeology, tree-ring dating, and the perpetuation of much of the Indian stock, its prehistory has a greater verisimilitude than in most other parts of the United States. Its history, however, has long intermissions—for a century and a half after Coronado, and for almost as long after Kino—with the result that practically all that counts is crowded into the last hundred years.

For almost a quarter of that period R. K. Wyllys has been mining this sector of southwestern history, first with a study of filibustering into Sonora, which until 1853 came all the way up to the Gila; then with a life of Kino; and since 1932 through a program of teaching and research encompassing Arizona history in its entirety. The literature on Arizona is large. The Munk collection in 1914 ran into the thousands of titles. H. H. Bancroft dealt at length with the first American decades, the region was not by-passed in the era of mug-books, and the pioneer days found a faithful recorder in Frank C. Lockwood, professor of English. Wyllys, however, is the first professional historian to undertake the subject. High time it is.

The book he has written has as general pattern an introductory look at the land, its first inhabitants, its Spanish discoverers and missionaries, and the adventurous visitors who began to come early in the nineteenth century. Then in more commodious detail he tells of the Mexican War and the Gadsden Purchase, the influx of American settlers, prospectors, cattlemen, and tradesmen; the impact of the Civil War, the launching of the territory, and the problems of Indian relations, land policies, irrigation, and transportation. Two chapters are reserved for the period as a state. The bulk of the book is on the epoch from American acquisition to statehood, though several chapters are topical and range from the territorial days to the present.

In any book such as this it is easy to pick episodes and topics that might have had more extended treatment. The specific examples that come to mind here have to do with the nature and shaping of modern Arizona; they corroborate the impression of the table of contents that Wyllys has done better justice to the good old days than to the recent history. Other shortcomings are an index that neglects the topical and a bibliography without evaluations. The excellences far outweigh the defects. One lies in a concise, even-gaited style. Another is an adequate knowledge of the myriad elements that have gone into Arizona's history, an awareness of the larger contexts into which it fits, and an appreciation of its factors—geographical, economic, and, most of all, human. The appurtenances also enhance the book, particularly the series of expressive maps drawn especially for the purpose.

Los Angeles, California

JOHN WALTON CAUGHEY

WILLIAM JOHNSON'S NATCHEZ: THE ANTE-BELLUM DIARY OF A FREE NEGRO. Edited by *William Ransom Hogan* and *Edwin Adams Davis*. [Source Studies in Southern History, No. 1.] (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1951. Pp. ix, 812. \$10.00.)

THE appearance of this volume is significant for two reasons. In the first place, it inaugurates the "Source Studies in Southern History" under the general editorship of Professor Edwin Adams Davis of Louisiana State University. There can be little doubt that the written history of the South will be greatly enriched by this series, if the standards set in the first volume are to be followed in subsequent publications. In the second place, it is the diary of a member of a group, the free Negro of the ante-bellum South, that was generally inarticulate. The history of the group has been, for the most part, reconstructed from opinions and reactions of the usually hostile white community. William Johnson can hardly be regarded as representative of the free Negro, however. He was a prosperous barber, planter, slaveholder, and confidant and creditor of many of his white neighbors, while most of his free Negro contemporaries were in wretched circumstances and were the objects of the most profound contempt of the white community.

For more than fifteen years William Johnson kept a detailed diary, recording his business and recreational activities, his relationships with his family and friends, and his reactions to innumerable events in which he was a participant or an observer. About his relations with his family, for example, he apparently tells everything, including his numerous difficulties with his mother. In his civic activities and in his love of drink, food, and sports, he reveals a zest for living that suggests some considerable accommodation for one of his status. His qualities as an acute observer and his singular vantage point as the owner of a barber-shop, bath house, and rental property in the business section of Natchez made it

possible for him to know much of what went on in the white world; and he recorded these events faithfully. Weddings, births, deaths, horse races, gambling, fights, politics, military activities, and scandals were merely some of the events that caught the watchful eye of this mulatto Pepys. Throughout one can see the struggle of this free Negro for complete acceptability. There were times when he almost achieved it. At other times, he was bluntly or subtly reminded that he was a member of a despised group. His death at the hands of an ambushed enemy in 1851 was mourned by the entire community.

Professor Davis and Professor William Ransom Hogan of Tulane University have given this diary the careful editing that it deserves. The extensive introduction places the diarist in his proper setting, carefully describes his life from the earliest possible time to his death, and discusses the quality and reliability of the diary itself. The editors have spared no pains to illuminate the diary with copious but unobtrusive notes; and they have selected apt illustrations from the manuscript of the diary and from Johnson's account books to show the diarist at work. The excellent index completes an editorial feat that is as unusual as the subject matter of the volume. The history of Natchez and of the South has been considerably illuminated by this significant volume.

Howard University

JOHN HOPE FRANKLIN

JOHN BELL OF TENNESSEE. By *Joseph Howard Parks*. [Southern Biography Series.] (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1950. Pp. viii, 435. \$5.00.)

For some thirty years John Bell was an important political figure in Tennessee and in the nation. During the greater part of this time he served as a member of the United States House of Representatives, for one session its Speaker, or as a member of the United States Senate. He was at first a supporter of Andrew Jackson, but he later took an important part in the revolt against Jackson that established the Whig party as the dominant party in Tennessee for many years. He served briefly as Secretary of War in 1841. A conservative and wealthy slaveowner, he opposed aggressive proslavery activities in the fifties; he was the presidential candidate of the Constitutional Union party in 1860, most strongly supported in the states of the upper South; and he opposed disunion until after war had begun in 1861. A good biography of Bell has long been needed, and Professor Parks has met this need. The reviewer regrets, however, that the book is so largely a narration of Bell's participation in the political warfare of his day and that there is in it so little information about Bell's other interests, his investments in coal mining and iron manufacturing, for example; but he recognizes that little information about these interests appears to be available. The reviewer believes that John Bell would have considered it a serious error to state, as Professor Parks does, that the people of Tennessee ratified an

"ordinance of secession" (p. 404). What was submitted to and approved by the Tennessee voters was a declaration of independence from the United States. Bell and many of his followers denied that there was a constitutional right of secession, but they recognized the right of revolution and appealed to it in justification of their opposition to Lincoln's use of armed force.

Professor Parks is to be especially commended for his diligence in searching for materials, published and unpublished, that throw light on Bell's career. These are usefully described in a "Critical Essay on Authorities." Unfortunately, no considerable body of papers kept by Bell, his "personal archives" in the form of letters received, copies of letters sent, and other materials documenting his activities, is known to exist. But fairly numerous letters from him and letters about him have been found among the papers, in widely scattered depositories, of a number of his contemporaries. It is with considerable surprise that the reviewer finds in this volume no indication that materials in the National Archives pertaining to John Bell were used. No biography of any important official of the federal government of the United States should be written without resort to the official records of the government that are in the National Archives.

Washington, D.C.

PHILIP M. HAMER

MR. LINCOLN'S ARMY. By *Bruce Catton*. (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday and Company. 1951. Pp. vi, 372. \$3.75.)

THE author, a Washington newspaperman, devotes his second book to what he terms "Mr. Lincoln's Army," in the bitter fighting of the campaigns leading to the battle of Second Bull Run in the summer of 1862, and General Lee's rebuff of George Brinton McClellan's well-equipped command.

This reviewer wonders a bit concerning the pertinence of the title Mr. Catton gave it. When gathering background for my own book on that titanic struggle, still the greatest experience the American nation has ever known, which I entitled *Conflict: The American Civil War*, I came to the conclusion that "Little Mac" was held in such esteem by his men that it was not "Mr. Lincoln's Army" but McClellan's own, in fact while he commanded the Army of the Potomac, and in loyalty to him for countless years after Lee's surrender.

The men of the Army of the Potomac, the principal federal force in the chief theater of combat in the East, adored their commanding general, fought his battles with ardor and sacrifice, and loved McClellan quite as much as "Uncle Billy" Sherman's rustlers of provender ever did.

Thus it seems to this reviewer that, in the hot summer of 1862, it was in fact General McClellan's army rather than that of the President as commander in chief of the Army and Navy of the United States when in active service. That general's first job was as drill-master, and he organized and inspected well. He had the advantage of being sent by the War Department to Europe a few

years before the outbreak of the Civil War, his mission being to report on the arts of war on that continent, and to get to the Crimean War if he could, as an observer. Little Mac brought back with him sheaves of notes, and the model of the McClellan saddle, which just last year was discarded, inasmuch as cavalry is no longer a branch of the Army of the United States.

The defects of Little Mac's qualities often frustrated his battle plans. As Mr. Catton emphasizes, the commander was generally good on logistics, and usually placed his cavalry, infantry, artillery, and wagon trains where they could be put in service whenever need arose. He was a stickler for his men being "found"—that is to say, provided by the Army with adequate clothing, boots, chow, and other necessities of the fighting forces, to the last gaiter button.

Soon there came a veritable gift of Mars to aid McClellan's hopes for a major victory. Corporal Barton W. Mitchell, of the 27th Indiana Infantry, found three unsmoked cigars on camp grounds Lee's army had occupied the previous night. This slip in security precautions on the Confederate commander's part thus made it possible for McClellan to organize a crushing blow against Lee's main army! But the big question was whether the general would ever make efficient use of his now well-trained troops. If he did, the Confederates had better retreat quickly, or be disastrously defeated.

President Lincoln visited the Bull Run region, to feel the pulse of the privates, noncoms and shave-tails. He found things not much to his liking: there was too much "fuss and feathers," too many parades, not enough vigor on Little Mac's part. Mr. Lincoln also found that no use of any sort had been made of the secret Confederate papers the soldier had found wrapped around the three cigars! McClellan needn't have muffed the ball when information direct from Lee's headquarters was available. Here was opportunity for the federal general to defeat in detail the Confederate columns. What a hideous waste that was of the luckiest break McClellan's command ever got.

A master of psychology, Lincoln learned on his visit to the camp that Little Mac "has the slows." In other words, he faltered and delayed when opportunity was at hand, marching and countermarching to the exhaustion of his men and the delight of the Johnny Rebs. The President returned to the White House a sorely disappointed man. Now he knew that Little Mac had neither the will nor the military know-how to win the war in the East. Within a fortnight, the President removed McClellan from command of the Army of the Potomac, and retired him to a desk job.

Politicians like Old Thad Stevens applauded the discharge of a Democratic general; Lincoln didn't like to get rid of one, for he knew full well that hundreds of thousands of Democrats in the North had enlisted in Mr. Lincoln's Army. If McClellan hadn't muffed his chance because of his insatiate delaying, he might have achieved the political offices he sought so often after the war.

But the sequel was what McClellan should have expected: the military ap-

proach having failed, the President shifted to political devices. On July 4, 1862, he announced his intention to free the slaves the first of January, 1863, unless the Confederacy folded.

Had Little Mac been successful as well as ambitious for fame and power, he might have achieved election as President of the United States. But he didn't have what it took to make Mr. Lincoln's Army succeed. Mr. Catton's volume is interesting in itself, and even more so in its implications. It deserves wide reading.

Arlington, Virginia

GEORGE FORT MILTON

THE ARMY OF THE PACIFIC: ITS OPERATIONS IN CALIFORNIA, TEXAS, ARIZONA, NEW MEXICO, UTAH, NEVADA, OREGON, WASHINGTON, PLAINS REGION, MEXICO, ETC., 1860-1866. By *Aurora Hunt*. (Glendale, Calif.: Arthur H. Clark Company. 1951. Pp. 455. \$10.00.)

OCCASIONALLY a reviewer feels that he could give a book a more accurate, if not a more attractive, title than it already has. In the case of Miss Aurora Hunt's book a suggestion would be "Military and naval history of the Civil War period in the West and of Californians in the Civil War." The point is that this rambling, interesting, and useful book covers more than its title indicates. It includes discussions of the military reaction of the Pacific Coast to the outbreak of the Civil War; the raising of volunteer troops in California; camps, cantonments, and training in California; the use of California volunteers in connection with Indian fighting, garrisoning, and patrolling of routes of communication normally carried out by Regulars; the Confederate invasion of New Mexico and Arizona and its repulse by California and Colorado troops; Indian warfare throughout the West during the Civil War insofar as California troops participated therein; medical service with the California troops; the campaigns of California volunteers accepted as part of Massachusetts cavalry units and therefore permitted to participate in fighting in Virginia; the Pacific Squadron; the collection of funds in the West for the Sanitary Commission; the problem of civilian disloyalty to the Union in sections of California; and finally demobilization. Following the text proper, the book contains a nineteen-page bibliography, seventeen plates reproducing a number of hitherto unpublished photographs and drawings, and a reference map of the region discussed.

Miss Hunt has based her study mainly on the *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies in the War of the Rebellion*, contemporary California newspapers, and some personal manuscript materials. The bibliography lists a good many sources whose use is not reflected in the footnotes.

The many topics comprehended in the book are covered with differing levels of detail. Some of the subjects introduced seem to be well worth further study.

In other instances, the writer has been led afield by minor details and the text is cluttered in places with genealogical and sentimental information which would be better placed in footnotes if included at all. At times the effort to dramatize events and operations which were at best routine and which certainly did not contribute directly to the outcome of the Civil War is annoying. Military forces in the region west of the Rockies mainly carried on the same functions in the same way that they did before 1861 and after 1866. The only difference was that California volunteers replaced Regulars. From the viewpoint of the professional military historian, the book lacks technical detail and even an adequate, connected account of the organization and scope of the Department of the Pacific.

The book is handsomely printed and bound, but the reviewer found himself constantly worried by the curious crotchets of the publisher with respect to capitalization. Although one might wish for a better book in some ways, Miss Hunt has certainly earned the gratitude of military and western historians alike by suggesting the outlines and character of a field hitherto little cultivated.

Pomona College

JOHN HASKELL KEMBLE

REUNION AND REACTION: THE COMPROMISE OF 1877 AND THE
END OF RECONSTRUCTION. By *C. Vann Woodward*. (Boston: Little,
Brown and Company. 1951. Pp. x, 263. \$4.00.)

THIS excellent and provocative study is a major contribution to an understanding of the end of the Reconstruction period in particular, and of American political and economic history in general.

The author proves that the Wormley Conference, although later of propaganda value, had nothing to do with the selection of Rutherford B. Hayes as President and with the removal of the last federal troops from the former Confederate States. Rather, a political-economic agreement had been launched weeks earlier by close Republican associates of Hayes, by a group of Southerners, and by a set of Northern railroad interests. The Republicans were led by two journalists formerly of Ohio, William Henry Smith of the Western Associated Press and the better-known Washington columnist, Henry Van Ness Boynton. Another journalist, Andrew J. Kellar, editor of the Memphis *Avalanche*, was the principal negotiator for the Southerners, mainly composed of ex-Whigs turned Democrats who had little difficulty in swinging their more orthodox Democratic confreres in the House of Representatives into line when issues of great importance to their section were at stake. That journalists had thus engineered themselves into positions of great political power may surprise some, but few will blink on seeing them hook up with Thomas A. Scott of the Pennsylvania Railway to complete the political-economic circle.

The Southern ex-Whigs were disturbed at the parsimony of the Northern Democrats, and were anxious to see their impoverished section dip deep into the

federal exchequer for aid in internal improvements, and especially for assistance to Tom Scott's Texas and Pacific Railroad. The Southerners had already joined with the Northern Democrats (together they controlled the outgoing House of Representatives) and had refused appropriations for the Army, thus handicapping the incoming administration. Finally, however, the Southerners turned and broke the Democratic filibuster in the House, thus assuring the choice of Hayes.

During the course of these maneuverings, prominent Republicans lowered their bloody shirt to speak in loving terms of the poor war-torn South. But the Southerners, motivated also by an urge for continued peace, were poor bargainers. They delivered before they had firm assurance of receiving anything from the Republicans (it had been the economy-minded Northern Democrats who had helped cripple Hayes's army). Collis P. Huntington with the Southern Pacific Company managed to outbuild and outfox Tom Scott; the Hayes administration, influenced by anti-Grant reformers, began welching on the bargain; Republicans again unfurled their bloody shirt; and the South remained ostensibly Democratic and economically a colonial appendage of the East.

The author properly asks for a little soul-searching on the part of American historians. "The most remarkable thing," he says, "about the true explanation—for which the Wormley Legend has been universally substituted—is that so much of it was public property in 1877. All the essentials appeared repeatedly in the public press during the crisis—in both Democratic and Republican papers, North as well as South. How all this was obliterated from the public memory and the Wormley story substituted for it would make one of the most intricate studies in American historiography."

Mr. Woodward in his preface subscribes to Charles Beard's concept of the "Second American Revolution." But it is possible to argue that the work under review, taken in conjunction with such ante-bellum studies as those of Frederick Jackson Turner and Arthur C. Cole, indicates that the Civil War and Reconstruction periods were less of a revolution than Beard would have had us believe. Continuity of Federalism and Whiggery, as well as abrupt change, becomes an important key to Southern political history. Be that as it may, the author has brought the pertinent details of the 1877 settlement to light at an opportune time, and the most striking feature of his work is the illumination it throws on our currently beclouded political picture.

Princeton University

JETER A. ISELY

JOHN WILLIAM DRAPER AND THE RELIGION OF SCIENCE. By Donald Fleming. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press for American Historical Association. 1950. Pp. ix, 205. \$2.50.)

Dr. John William Draper (1811-1882) was born and educated in England, migrated to Virginia in 1832, completed medical training at Pennsylvania in

1836, and after 1839 became a recognized authority on physiology at the medical school of New York University. Meanwhile he had long been devoted to research in physics, having introduced both portrait and scientific photography into the United States in 1840. When he died he was declared, on good authority, to have been "the most renowned investigator in molecular physics and the most encyclopedic author in the circle of American scientists." During his later years, almost as an afterthought to a varied scientific career, Draper had attained world reputation as a writer on intellectual history and social theory. His best-known work, *The History of the Conflict between Religion and Science* (1874) went through fifty printings, was translated into ten languages, and was still selling sixty years later. Yet Draper's scientific work was soon forgotten, and today he is only vaguely remembered even as a historian.

The brilliance of this career, combined with the anticlimax of subsequent obscurity, invites interpretations and comparisons. The range of Draper's work renders any evaluation of it difficult but also intriguing. Mr. Fleming has made the most of this opportunity, in a biography which is everything such a study should be—painstaking, appreciative, yet keenly critical, and replete with insights derived from an intimate knowledge of nineteenth-century thought. The style is clear, but at points so compact as to make a second reading unusually rewarding.

Mr. Fleming deals primarily with the history of ideas, but places this in the setting of Draper's personal experiences. He takes account of ideas as such and also of their relation to the particular cultural environment in which Draper had his being. (In the words of John Higham's recent article in the *Review*, Fleming examines "the content of thought while still testing its functional role"—a two-dimensional perspective which is much to be desired.) Intellectually, Draper was a somewhat belated heir of the Enlightenment, both in versatility and in his boundless confidence in science as a means to "progress." The evangelical environment of his youth, although repudiated in theological terms, survived in a certain moral enthusiasm which when blended with the teachings of Comte made a religion of positivistic science. This enthusiasm led him to popularize the social and intellectual implications of science while doing battle with orthodox Christianity; and his interests finally shifted from science as such over to what its outlook and methods could mean for society. The transition was made easier by the popularity of his controversial writings and, negatively, by a lack of recognition and support for earlier physical and biological investigations. At this point Draper was one of the many casualties among scientists who abandoned basic research for activities which were better rewarded in the American environment.

What natural science lost in this connection was a gain for history and social thought; for Draper became one of the first Americans to give serious attention to the possibilities of a science of society. He carried over into the latter field the scientists' emphasis upon determinism, with certain interesting results. On the

one hand, he found himself logically propelled into a nascent authoritarianism which, one can now see, was inconsistent with his long devotion to intellectual freedom. But determinism also made of him an American pioneer in the environmental interpretation of history. He held views similar to, but not derived from, Buckle, and was in a sense a predecessor of Turner.

It is indeed surprising that this physicist and physician should have opened so many vistas in historiography, which had been overlooked by literary predecessors. The scientific background had its merits, whether or not history could be made a science. In addition to presenting environmental interpretations, Draper was apparently the first American to revive the eighteenth-century concern for intellectual history. And, in passing, he prepared the first scholarly history of the Civil War, which was remarkable for the time (1867-1870) in being largely free from moral indictments. In all his historical work, he had the advantage of a flowing and impressive diction, a quality which some scientists as well as historians still possessed in the last decades of the romantic era. But Draper was vulnerable to the criticisms of professional historians, the new specialists, who were coming on the scene at the end of his career. Much of his work was superficial and doctrinaire in tone, and hence was rapidly superseded when more critical scholars "took over." Meantime, specialization in science rendered his early work in physics and biology even more obsolete, so that by 1900 he was recalled only as a champion of science in the controversies of the seventies.

Draper may be interpreted as one of the last of the *philosophes*, possessing their merits as well as their limitations, who lived on into an alien age of criticism and specialization. Mr. Fleming has so analyzed this story as to add much to our understanding of the intellectual cross-currents of the nineteenth century.

Johns Hopkins University

RICHARD H. SHRYOCK

RUFUS JONES, MASTER QUAKER. By *David Hinshaw*. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1951. Pp. xi, 306. \$4.00.)

To most of us who are historically conscious of the changing doctrines of our own brand of Christianity in the last three centuries the Quakers appear to have enjoyed greater continuity of belief and practice than the rest of us since the days of William Penn, if not of George Fox. We think of Elizabeth Fry, of John Woolman, of John Bright, and we are apt to assume that the Quaker meetings of England and the United States have continuously supplied leaders for the radical reforms most needed in the social structure and the body politic of which they constitute such a small section. It comes as something of a surprise therefore to be reminded that the Society of Friends in the United States went through a long and arid period in which it discouraged its members from taking part in public affairs and neglected even the work of higher education which the Congregational Church in New England had never failed to promote. This

period drew to a close with the founding of Haverford College in 1833 and the sister colleges of Earlham and Guilford a little later, but the divisions in the society, which had arisen from the refusal of the strict and literal-minded circle of "birthright" Friends in the neighborhood of Philadelphia to hearken to the new leaders who were inspiring a revival of activity in the meetings farther afield, continued almost to our own day. It was healed by the work of the second generation of men and women educated in the new institutions of learning, and of these Rufus Jones was the greatest.

Rufus Jones combined a sound historical sense and a strong practical bent for getting things done with a deep mystical religious faith and that awareness of his own mission which is spoken of by the Quakers as "having a concern." He published more than fifty books, of which a considerable number were founded on the most thorough historical research, without ever interrupting for very long his career as a college teacher. He "had a concern" for the unity of the Quaker community and the extension of its influence which carried him to every part of the United States and England and eventually to more distant parts of the world. And above all he loved and understood his fellow men. He was fortunate in his origins, for his own family supplied him with spiritual guides in the persons of two Quaker saints, Aunt Peace and Uncle Eli, and the backwoods community of South China, Maine, taught him democracy and a homespun philosophy about everyday things which endeared him to many an alien audience. To him the distinctions drawn by most of his neighbors, after he moved to Philadelphia and Haverford, between "birthright" Friends and other Christians who had hearkened to the inner voice, between the members of the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting and the Hicksites who had accepted new leadership in the nineteenth century, were not only unimportant but harmful. His doctrine was not easily accepted by the older generation, nor even perhaps by those of his contemporaries who regarded themselves as liberals and who had made him the editor of the *Friends' Review*. He was probably acclaimed as a great preacher and spiritual leader in other Christian communities before his worth was fully recognized by the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting. But by 1917 the opposition had almost disappeared and the work of the Friends' Service Committee, for which he supplied many of the practical ideas as well as much of the spiritual inspiration, has continued more and more to unite Quakers in England and America and to give them a renewed sense of their universal mission.

The story is faithfully told by David Hinshaw, and it may seem ungracious to say that this biography is scarcely worthy of its subject. The introductory chapters of Quaker history are well written and interesting but contain nothing new. The long chapters about the early years are scarcely needed in view of the fact that they were so fully covered in the autobiographical volumes. On the other hand the chapters on Rufus Jones as an author and on the early years

of the Friends' Service Committee are very inadequate. Throughout there are too many appreciations of Rufus Jones by other people, too few of his own letters. It is really more a memorial volume than a definitive biography, and perhaps the best part lies in the recollection of conversations bringing back the salty flavor of Rufus Jones's stories, which incidentally did not suffer from any slavish adherence to literal fact. "Thee knows that was an exaggeration, Rufus, doesn't thee?" would be Mrs. Jones's mild rebuke at the end of a "grand story." "Maybe thee's right," he would reply, but he never seems to have changed the story.

There is still room for a volume of Life and Letters to contain, it is to be hoped, an adequate treatment of Rufus Jones's contribution to the history of religion and the history of ideas. For not only did he add to our knowledge of the lives and the writings of the Christian mystics but he related their teachings and influence to the general course of human history.

Bryn Mawr College

HELEN TAFT MANNING

RUNAWAY STAR: AN APPRECIATION OF HENRY ADAMS. By *Robert A. Hume*. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1951. Pp. x, 270. \$3.75.)

In the opinion of many, no other writer of American history is as fascinating nor, as a person, probably as misunderstood, as Henry Adams. Except for the years immediately following the First World War, when his *Education*, and to some extent his published letters, were widely read, he has been a subject chiefly of interest to the student and of controversy to the specialist. This is not due to neglect. Henry Adams does not speak to the multitude. He spent most of a lifetime probing, thinking, synthesizing, and writing for the few; these he hoped would learn from his books enough lessons to help equip them for better leadership of the multitude. History was full of lessons for Henry Adams, and students have regarded his books as a rich source of instruction. Nevertheless, he insisted that he failed in his task, and that is where most of the controversy begins. There is no controversy, however, about his pre-eminence as a historian, as a brilliant thinker, and as a consummate master of prose. Behind all that lay a private life which is fascinating to explore.

Robert A. Hume, a literary critic, has written this book in order, as he says, "to explain to myself, and to others interested, why Henry Adams is one of the most meaningful persons to have lived in the present century." At the same time he hopes the book will attract a larger number of understanding readers to Adams. Perhaps Mr. Hume would have succeeded better in the last purpose if, instead of concentrating on writing an explanation for himself, he had tried more deliberately to interest others. Basing his book entirely upon published material by and about Adams, he describes and evaluates almost every known piece of Adams' writing, beginning with his student days at Harvard and ending with the completion of the *Education*. Written in a style that strains the impersonal

to the utmost, the author manifests an extensive appreciation for Adams, but the book is obviously for the specialist and therefore will not add appreciably to the reading public Henry Adams has long claimed.

Certain portions of Adams' writings are given clinical attention, largely because Mr. Hume is interested in evidences of autobiography. In analyzing the *History*, he gives Adams credit for defining the character of the American people; nevertheless he finds that "an impulsive liking for 'the people' was not inherent in Adams's temperament. The democratic sympathy found in the *History* may have been deliberately conceived as a concession to necessity." The suggestion of Adams' insincerity in this remark is unfortunate. Without attempting to evaluate the thoroughness of the research on which the *History* was based, Mr. Hume finds that it has "those qualities of comprehensiveness and delicacy, of scholarship and readability, of power and ironic humor, that befit a significant segment of the human drama."

Mr. Hume accepts Adams' doctrine of women as a social force, yet poses this curious juxtaposition: "They are, no doubt, a strange triumvirate: Marian Hooper Adams, Arii Taimai, and the Virgin of Chartres; but each of them brought something of the meaning of life to Henry Adams, and he was one compelled to accept such meaning and prize it wherever he found it." Arii Taimai, the seventy-year-old Tahitian matriarch who dictated her memoirs to Adams, may have given him very briefly a bit of life's meaning but hardly enough to put her in the above company; nor in a strict sense is his wife to be included with the Virgin of Chartres, for the latter was purely intellectual.

The question about Adams' pessimism is taken up several times in the book, with somewhat disappointing results. The only definite conclusion reached is that he was not an "unalloyed pessimist," because his pessimism was alloyed with hope. Adams, the author tells us, was an intellectual, a sensitive observer, a disciplined scholar and artist, a man of hypercritical reasoning powers who, because of these characteristics, was compelled to discern the frightening condition of contemporary society. The trouble is that these characteristics do not prevent any man from being a pessimist. Unmistakably Henry Adams always had hope, and he had far more than that when the pedagogue in him was not attempting to lead a student into devious bypaths while pursuing some unlikely answer. On this controversial question Mr. Hume could have built a stronger case.

Minnesota Historical Society

HAROLD DEAN CATER

THE LETTERS OF THEODORE ROOSEVELT. Volumes I and II, THE YEARS OF PREPARATION, 1868-1900. Selected and Edited by *Elting E. Morison, et al.* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1951. Pp. xxix, 800; vi, 801-1549. \$20.00.)

Mr. Morison has produced a model that on the whole future editors may well

follow. Even the index is full, accurate, and intelligently subtitled so that one can actually find things from it. Proofreading so letter-perfect is rare. The Harvard Press has provided clear, readable type and an attractive makeup. Most important of all, the letters are accurately reproduced. Careful checking of hundreds of letters reveals only one substitution of "Anna Bulloch Roosevelt" for "Martha Bulloch Roosevelt" and possibly two or three faulty dates. Mr. Morison has followed, as Senator Lodge did not always do, Mrs. Roosevelt's suggestion to the senator to print even her husband's more violent comments and in any case to print a letter in full or not at all. Only in the case of the Lodge letters, which for some reason Mr. Morison failed to use during the two years when the originals were available, has the editor omitted parts of letters. Here he has cut, without indication of omission, important passages from twenty-four letters that he has printed, among them an explanation of why Roosevelt did not run for mayor in 1894 and revealingly frank comments on Bayard, Gorman, Grant, Harrison, Voorhis, a Reed-Hale dinner, and brother Elliott. Omitted entirely are 130 other letters to Lodge that contain important material for the historian. Mr. Morison's statement, then, that for these years this collection can be taken "as a substantially complete record of the existing correspondence" with Lodge is misleading.

Otherwise Mr. Morison and the Roosevelt family in particular deserve commendation for their intelligence and for the service they have rendered the historical public in publishing without censoring letters that are critical or that might be considered damaging to public men of the day or distasteful to their heirs, and, most of all, in printing without hesitation passages that might be used to depreciate Roosevelt himself. For instance, Mr. Morison has published the passages most specifically glorifying war for its own sake (e.g., "If it wasn't wrong I should say that personally I would rather welcome a foreign war") and those indicating Roosevelt's willingness to get what he wanted even at the cost of war (e.g., "It is difficult for me not to wish for a war with Spain for such a war would result at once in getting us a proper Navy"). The editor has also included comments showing the snobbery under which Roosevelt was brought up, his apology to Long when his indiscretions had brought a reprimand, revelations of wire-pulling to obtain appointments in Washington, the passage about "Jew bankers," intimate comments on troubles with his brother Elliott, countless vituperative outbursts important to understanding Roosevelt, and numerous devastating characterizations of his contemporaries, even presidents. To be sure, as Mrs. Roosevelt pointed out, her husband was a historian and would have wanted his correspondence made available, but few editors and still fewer families have the sense of historical values, the public spirit, and the confidence in their hero's fundamental soundness to resist the temptation to protect him or others by censoring passages that many less enlightened than Mr. Morison and the Roosevelts would have suppressed as damaging.

One wonders why in a work otherwise so complete certain collections such as those of Jane Addams, Bristow, R. H. Dana, Harrison, Lissner, C. I. Long, Perkins, Rowell, Steffens, and Stubbs were neglected, why the date of publishing the Lodge-Roosevelt letters is given as 1921 when it was 1925, and why the reader is told that the bulk of the Library of Congress collection falls after 1889 whereas actually there is little before 1897. But, none the less, Mr. Morison has meticulously combed nearly all possible sources of Roosevelt letters with rewarding results.

Selection of those worthy of printing from the vast number of letters available raised perhaps the most serious problem. Regrets of invitations, acknowledgments of gifts, formal notes of condolence, letters similar to others in content or spirit about appointments to office or about pressures on Roosevelt as civil service commissioner, and repetitions to numerous people of his unwillingness to run for vice-president have been wisely omitted. Selection among letters on hunting was necessary. Some of the naturalist items could be spared. Beyond these trivia and duplications, however, the editor has still omitted hundreds of letters. It is the basis for these latter omissions that the reviewer would question. Mr. Morison's ideal of presenting to the reader Roosevelt's "thought and action" could have been served in a much smaller publishing, if it is the general reader at whom he aims. Few will read eight volumes for this purpose. Many historians, on the other hand, will discover that they still have to go to the manuscript collections to be certain of finding what they need. The printed volumes present an interesting picture of social life in New York and Washington and at Harvard. Yet many discarded letters are necessary for the historian studying that social life. It is a pity to have dropped out so many revealing comments on literature, history, art, and public affairs by one of the most widely read men of the time. Eight letters were omitted that the reviewer has used in writing of Roosevelt's appointment to the Navy Department, three that he thought important in dealing with pleas for a large navy, three used for a brief passage on Roosevelt's desire for imperial power, three on his love of war. Of the thirty letters to his mother and ten to his father that were not printed several add to one's understanding of Roosevelt's youth. Some of the twenty unprinted items to his Robinson brother-in-law shed light on financial difficulties at the ranch and on Roosevelt's closeness to bosses and businessmen while governor. The forty-five unused letters to his sister Corinne and three hundred to Anna contain many that are of only trivial value but many others that illumine Roosevelt's personality or his social life or that of his times; and the total picture that they would have added would be interesting social history. A discarded letter to Hay urged him to cultivate a great shipbuilder. Some of the twenty unpublished letters to Root dealt with Platt, Payn, and legislation in New York and showed Root's influence. Many of the letters to Anna dealt frankly with public figures, with his sense of the dullness of some of his relatives and his contempt for "nice but unutterably narrow" people, the timidity and greed of the wealthy, the provincialism of edu-

cated men. In one he revealed an unconscious private condescension toward mid-westerners that is important. In another he spoke of "dago diplomats" and argued that a lynching of Italians in New Orleans had been commendable. Letters have been deleted that would have been more important than those published on the anguish Elliott caused the family, if that unhappy subject was to be included at all. In short, historians cannot depend on these volumes as a substitute for search of manuscripts. It is unfortunate that if eight volumes were to be published enough more space was not used to make the collection adequate for most historical purposes.

The detailed chronology provided for the governorship, Mr. Morison's comprehensive introduction, and John Blum's penetrating essay on Roosevelt are admirable. The collection from which each letter is taken is carefully indicated. Holograph, typewritten, and printed originals are distinguished. Since so many letters were taken from copies in the Roosevelt collections (in future volumes most of them will be), it is regrettable that the recipient's collection where the original is found was not also indicated and the various Roosevelt collections differentiated. Here and there an extra footnote might have lent added significance by explaining, for example, what a "dig" friend was or, for those who have not read Eleanor Roosevelt's memoirs, how Elliott made the family despair. In view of loose charges that Roosevelt was anti-Semitic, the editor might have pointed out that, in thousands of letters, not a shred of evidence was found more valid than the one quoted use of "Jew" as an adjective in the common usage of the time to describe some leading New York bankers. Two or three times, as in the long note at the end of the police commissionership, the editor becomes more apologetic for Roosevelt than appears justified without more searching investigation than he seems to have made. On the whole, however, the footnotes are reasonably objective; they are an invaluable aid to understanding the letters. No one who has not searched out and supplied such information can begin to suspect what a labor its compilation involves.

The letters themselves portray the vividness of personality, the catholicity of interests, the virtues, the weaknesses, the enthusiasms, and the long apprenticeship in public service that were Roosevelt's through his young manhood and thus provide the key to understanding the President of later years. They present, too, a colorful description of the America in which he moved and are rich in social history. Besides, whatever else Theodore Roosevelt was, he was never dull; his qualities were enthusiastically admired by his generation; he knew interesting and important people; he had a pervading interest in public affairs and an important influence upon them; from the age of twenty-three he held public office through much of his life. Hence the letters, in the admirable form into which Mr. Morison has put them, offer interesting, sometimes exciting, reading.

TYRANT FROM ILLINOIS: UNCLE JOE CANNON'S EXPERIMENT WITH PERSONAL POWER. By *Blair Bolles*. (New York: W. W. Norton and Company. 1951. Pp. 248. \$4.50.)

SPEAKER Joseph Gurney Cannon encountered the foliating program of the Progressive reformers after the election of Theodore Roosevelt in 1904. As the organizer of the House and the dictator of its rules he was in position to block the Progressive bills which he disliked. This book is a detailed and explicit account of the struggle between Uncle Joe and the Progressives. It is not a new theme but no previous writer has focused upon it so exclusively as Mr. Bolles.

The picture of Cannon as the czar of the House is vivid and convincing. The explanation of his power both through organization and through popular appeal to his associates in the House and to his constituents indicates his real command. That in a democracy he should have dared to use that power to its extreme limit is the inconsistency that discounts his political acumen. He used his power over the House to block the program of the President and the bills of the Senate and forced them to seek him out to formulate their measures. Theodore Roosevelt's last four years as President were barren of achievements because Cannon rejected trust regulation, tariff reduction, conservation, tax reform, and anti-injunction measures in behalf of organized labor.

The Speaker aspired to succeed Roosevelt in the White House, but he made no headway with a public whose ears were tuned only to T. R. publicity. Nevertheless he dictated his party's platform, and used it to shepherd a wavering President away from Progressive allurements and even trapped Taft into supporting his re-election as Speaker. His arbitrary and dictatorial domination of legislation drew the concerted fire of La Follette and other Progressive leaders until their own programs became identified with the dislodgment of the tyrannical Cannon. Cannonism, symbolized by the Republican Speaker, was the repellent of voters by which Champ Clark foresaw Democratic victory in 1910 even though Cannon had been shorn of his power by the reform of the rules some months before the election.

The book is well written. It abounds with live phrases and some glittering quotations. Unfortunately it supplies the scholar no citations, and it is impossible to know whether some of the quotations are from principals concerned or whether they represent judgments of commentators, partisan or otherwise. Some of the statistics cited (p. 17) are overgenerous with ciphers and confusing. It is out of character to be told (p. 43) that Uncle Joe "drank champagne from a kitchen tumbler" in his Danville study. The panic of 1893 predates the Wilson tariff of the following year and that tariff was not "followed by panic" (p. 186). The index is satisfactory and there is a five-page bibliography. The author offers a more penetrating and clear-cut analysis of this important political controversy than we have heretofore had. Readers will find it both entertaining and edifying.

University of Nebraska

J. L. SELLERS

AGRICULTURAL DISCONTENT IN THE MIDDLE WEST, 1900-1939.

By *Theodore Saloutos*, Associate Professor of History, University of California, Los Angeles, and *John D. Hicks*, Morrison Professor of History, University of California. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1951. Pp. viii, 581. \$6.75.)

THIS was a difficult book to write. It is a difficult book to review. The authors have achieved marked success in synthesizing the complicated events that aroused agricultural discontent in the Middle West in the twentieth century. They have not only lived into the documentary and printed material pertaining to the subject but they have lived within the area mapped on page 5 and designated as the "center of agricultural discontent." It was in Illinois, Wisconsin, Missouri, Iowa, Minnesota, Kansas, Nebraska, South Dakota, and North Dakota that the "gusty winds of reform" loosed their fury; but the authors recognized the impossibility of isolating them from neighboring North Central states and even beyond. In their own words, the term Middle West, if interpreted with reasonable elasticity, sets satisfactory limits to the scope of the study.

Two introductory chapters, which follow in the main previously published articles by Professor Hicks, set the stage and escort the reader from "Populism to Insurgency." The author's study of this phase of agrarianism entitles him to say that throughout the western Middle West, and to a considerable extent throughout the country, the legacy of Populism determined the course of political development during the opening years of the twentieth century.

In the remaining seventeen chapters the manifestations of discontent are painstakingly traced through co-operative movements, the American Society of Equity, the Farmers' Union, the American Farm Bureau Federation, the Farm Bloc, the McNary-Haugen Movement, the Farm Strike, the Nonpartisan League, and the New Deal. Relentless research has enabled the authors to elucidate the complicated problems that plagued the farmers, unlike anything hitherto experienced in this country or in any other country. In contrast to the years after the armistice, the early years of the century were prosperous. It was the impact of war that plunged the agricultural population from the heights of fabulous war prices and the consequent land boom into the abyss of mortgage foreclosures and bank failures. In spite of periodic hard times, the excessive individualism of the farmers was a formidable obstacle that blocked the efforts of leaders to organize them in self-defense against railroads, middlemen, corporations, monopolies, and shift politicians.

The volume is much more than a history of agrarian parties, usually called third parties. Appropriate space is allotted to the efforts of organizations to put pressure on the major parties to enact legislation in the interest of agriculture and to provide better transportation and marketing facilities through associations and co-operatives and to protect the producer against dishonest practices in the weighing, inspecting, and grading of commodities.

It was a difficult task to compress this material into reasonable bounds and to present it in language intelligible to the lay reader. Particularly is this true of the years when Congress and economists wrestled with McNary-Haugen bills, marketing acts, equalization fees, stabilization methods, price-fixing, soil conservation, and other new-fangled projects unknown to Grangers and Populists. With all the merits of the book, one is nevertheless reminded of the concluding sentence of a letter: "Please excuse the length of this letter; I didn't have time to make it shorter." Every chapter contains names of men who were active in various capacities. In some cases there is a mere mention of an individual. Perhaps the period is too recent to attempt the evaluation of personalities, but one could wish for emphasis.

Authors and publisher have achieved excellence of workmanship. Competent copy-editing and proofreading have eliminated irritating irregularities and errors, with few exceptions. However, the authors could have held to the standard of dispassionate historical narrative and could still have set forth in greater detail the "contemptible efforts of so-called respectable elements in society to graft on the war and to steal on its passions and its patriotism for their own private purposes." These words were used in a private letter written by a distinguished citizen of Minnesota who lived through the hectic years of the World War and the hysteria that followed. The organizers of the Nonpartisan League and their allies and sympathizers—men like Townley, Lindbergh, and La Follette—felt the sting of distortion that was blazed abroad in the press, from platforms, and on billboards. La Follette's speech in the St. Paul auditorium in 1917 was shamefully misquoted; and a sentence from Lindbergh's book was wrested from its context and was made to say something very near the precise opposite of what the next sentence shows that he did mean. Lindbergh did not vote against declaring war on Germany, as stated on page 186; he was not a member of Congress when the resolution was adopted. Neither is it true, as stated on page 178, that Lindbergh had written a book "whose bungling expressions on the war came home to roost . . . when published by the opposition during the campaign." The "bungling expressions" were campaign distortions, similar to the tortured meanings in the press of Wilson's "too proud to fight" speech.

University of Minnesota

GEORGE M. STEPHENSON

THE POLITICAL CAREER OF FLOYD B. OLSON. By *George H. Mayer*. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 1951. Pp. 329. \$5.00.)

THE comment was made on Franklin D. Roosevelt, when he died, that while most public men are either this or that, Roosevelt was this and that. This somewhat cryptic analysis of the Rooseveltian greatness seemed apt to those who had first-hand knowledge of his paradoxical character. It might have been applied to Floyd B. Olson, whose personality and extraordinary political career are de-

scribed with more than usual adequacy in George H. Mayer's new biography recently published by the University of Minnesota Press. For Olson, like Roosevelt, was full of contradictions, and the fact that death cut his career short before his life had time to explain itself left him the more enigmatic figure.

Mayer's biography is a good, honest, and often juicy job of setting forth the elements of the enigma of Minnesota's depression-times Farmer-Labor governor. It puts down what the record made it reasonable to say about the motives of a man who came out of societal nowhere to dominate a decade of social partition in his state, to burst the rocket of his brilliance just above the national horizon, and then disappear without leaving any answer as to what he might have become. He was a mighty-lot-of-man, Mayer makes it clear; and to the many who knew him, one way or another, these remembrances are refreshing.

Mayer attempts to explain Olson's motivation as an impulse to rebellion cultivated in him by the experiences of his youth. This is a very widely accepted notion, believed by some who had close associations with Olson during the sixteen years his star shown in Minnesota. To a newspaper reporter who covered his office during the years when Olson was county prosecutor of Minnesota's most populous county, and later watched him from a local city editor's desk while he refereed turbulent economic warfare, this explanation of Olson's motivation is not satisfying. The instinct that dominated Olson's character was not rebellion but an extraordinarily sure instinct for political power.

Mayer makes the error of accepting a very prevalent, but mistaken, estimate of the epoch in which Olson was a dominant figure. He appears to believe that the Farmer-Labor interlude in Minnesota politics was an aberration in the political continuity of the state, and that Olson's career was, therefore, an excursion over a political detour rather than a trip down the main line. One still hears Republican elders refer to Minnesota as a "Republican state in a normal year," and this opinion reflects the conviction that Olson was a political accident cast up by agrarian and proletarian revolts that had their flow and now have ebbed. The hard fact is that no Republican candidate for president has carried Minnesota since 1928, and that the governorship of the state has not in recent years been held by a political figure subservient to the GOP's old guard!

A profound change was taking place in the state's (and the nation's) political continuity at the time when Floyd Olson's experience had sufficiently ripened to make the step from Hennepin county attorney to governor of Minnesota possible. Olson understood this change, and was superbly ready to ride it into power. He was dead certain the Republicans were political losers; and Floyd Olson let no impulse of rebellion entrance him into backing losers. The legend, cultivated still as lanolin for old burns, that he was a winner because Republicans wouldn't accept him on their team (that the GOP's great error was in letting Olson get away from them) is rather pathetic. Olson's personality, for all his sociability, contained a wire-edge of arrogance. He could sneer at chumps, and on occasion

did. "The trouble with the Farmer-Laborites," he once told Dewey Johnson, a whilom congressman from Minneapolis, "is that they have too damn much Indian in them."

The paradox in Olson that puzzled the bleeders-for-causes that flocked to his camp—and who still warmly remember him as their knight in shining armor—was that they knew him to be a conservative at heart. This paradox still puzzles many of Olson's political associates, and it is interesting that Mayer, who talked to many of them, leaves the puzzle hanging in air. The same puzzle hangs over the story of Franklin Roosevelt, who for all his liberal vocalizing permitted precious few changes to be made in the political institutions he so successfully manipulated.

Mayer's biography of Olson contains most, if not all, the elements of the riddle of political power—a fascinating riddle that some men, Olson among them, solve by instinct, but no one solves without a sense of power. To anyone interested in politics, *The Political Career of Floyd B. Olson* makes good reading indeed.

Minneapolis, Minnesota

NAT S. FINNEY

THE CLOSING OF THE PUBLIC DOMAIN: DISPOSAL AND RESERVATION POLICIES, 1900-50. By *E. Louise Pepper*. [Publication of the Food Research Institute.] (Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1951. Pp. xi, 372. \$4.50.)

THIS is a highly useful and welcome study of federal land policies in the twentieth century, especially those relating to the old or original "public domain" and to the government controls instituted on the reserves. The author is primarily concerned with the adaptations in land distribution policies that were framed for the benefit of grain farmers in the humid Mississippi Valley to conditions in the semiarid areas where grazing was the highest and best possible land use. With great skill the reader is introduced to the complex political problems involving the efforts of powerful economic groups such as the cattlemen, the sheepmen, the real estate people, the homesteaders, and those who wanted to attract home builders to questionable regions no matter what the risks to secure legislation favorable to their interests. Some of the story is familiar, such as the treatment of the Roosevelt-Pinchot advocacy of conservation and the resulting policies introduced within the national forests, but other parts are fresh and all are well handled. Most useful is the involved but judiciously presented account of events leading to the adoption of the Taylor Grazing Act and subsequent amendments and administrative orders that placed practically all the remaining public land of any real value under organized government control, thereby bringing the era of free land to a virtual halt. Miss Pepper's study now takes its place along with those of Hibbard, Robbins, Ise, and Teele as an indis-

pensable monograph on the forces that have made American land policies and the pattern of land use.

While the political background and economic motivation of changing policies are so well handled, there is no quantitative examination of the functioning of the land system. We still have to rely upon congressional hearings and commission and departmental reports for our knowledge of the abuse of land laws by the "interests" including homesteaders. In 1934 the Department of Agriculture planned an extensive study of western homesteading to determine the groups and economic interests that were working through these laws contrary to their intent, but the adoption of the Taylor Act made further investigation unnecessary and the plan was dropped, unfortunately for the historian. With Miss Pepper's study establishing the groundwork for such an investigation, it is hoped some land economist or historian will undertake the intensive statistical work in the land entry books and deed, mortgage, and assessment records that will provide us with the facts concerning the distribution and concentration of ownership of land in the thirteen far western states.

A few corrections and suggestions may be in order. Land scrip and warrants issued prior to 1850 were either assignable or could be entered in the name of the warrantee as "feme covert" whose rights had previously been assigned. The land grant in sections per mile of the Northern Pacific Railroad was not less but was double that of the Union Pacific Railroad. The problem of federal participation in local government costs in areas where it takes or retains land from the tax rolls is a perennial one that did not originate in 1936. Sales of public land continued well after 1891 despite efforts to restrict them. I wished for more attention to railroad and land company efforts to hasten government support of reclamation, for more concern about the pressures that induced the adoption of ill-planned irrigation projects, for more careful consideration of the arguments in behalf of the Department of Agriculture's administering such major agricultural problems as range control and development in view of its responsibility for the improvement and welfare of the livestock industry.

Cornell University

PAUL W. GATES

THE NEGRO AND THE COMMUNIST PARTY. By *Wilson Record*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1951. Pp. x, 340. \$3.50.)

ALTHOUGH the American Negro has many reasons to question the democratic process, Wilson Record points out in his excellent *The Negro and the Communist Party* that the colored American has analyzed and rejected Communist appeals more accurately and promptly than any other segment of the population. Domestic and imported agents of the Soviet have spent more time, energy, and money in attempts to proselytize and capitalize on lynchings, segregation, job and educational discrimination, the ghetto, mob violence such as the brutal assault in

Cicero, Illinois, on a Negro veteran, and court injustices from the Scottsboro Case through that of Willie McGee than on any other failure of American democracy. Although a few Negroes, like Paul Robeson and Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., have listened to and followed the Soviet will o' the wisp, very few Negroes have emulated them except briefly during emotional reactions against particularly venomous cases of injustice.

Mr. Record has meticulously examined every available document dealing with the tortuous Communist line on the race question. He has studied each attempt to lure Negroes into the party before, during, and after it was made. The result is a fascinating, exciting picture of the failure of the Communists to obtain and hold any sizable following among Negroes. But Mr. Record gives no comfort to gradualists who smugly propose to "let the slow processes of education solve the race question." He effectively demolishes the dangerous and fatuous assumption of some American whites that Negroes, with the exception of a few "agitators," are reasonably well satisfied with their lot and thus may be expected to reject revolutionary philosophies like communism. He makes it crystal clear that the Kremlin's feeble progress in selling the American Negro on the virtues and values of proletarian dictatorship is due entirely to two factors: first, his faith in the democratic process with all its failures; and, second, his ineradicable distrust of any and all forms of dictatorship, however benevolent their claims, since the Negro's experience with the dictatorship of slavery and that which has kept him in second-class status as a citizen has been what it has been.

Finally, Mr. Record demonstrates that the chief bulwark against communism among Negroes has been the fight for freedom which the Negro's own organizations have waged over the years.

The adjective "definitive" has become so worn a coin through careless over-use, one hesitates to use it again. But if ever it has been justified to describe one of the most important battles for democracy, it can be applied confidently to Mr. Record's *The Negro and the Communist Party*.

New York, N.Y.

WALTER WHITE

BRAZIL: PORTRAIT OF HALF A CONTINENT. Edited by *T. Lynn Smith*, University of Florida, and *Alexander Marchant*, Vanderbilt University. [The Dryden Press Sociology Publications.] (New York: Dryden Press. 1951. Pp. viii, 466, plates. \$5.75.)

José Vasconcelos, the Mexican philosopher, once predicted that the Amazon valley would be the habitat of cosmic man. Mr. Vasconcelos may be right in the long view of things, but there does not seem to be any chance that his prophecy will be achieved in the foreseeable future. For the time being we will have to content ourselves with Brazil as it is. By this we do not mean to suggest that we

will have to be content with little, because Brazil, as even Mr. Vasconcelos insinuates, is a country of superlatives. Messrs. Smith and Marchant look upon Brazil as "a very important part of the world's surface," and they know what they are talking about.

Brazil [they write in their preface] is the largest country in the New World in terms of area, and the second largest in terms of population. It occupies one half the territory of the entire South American continent. Fully 50 percent of all South Americans are Brazilians; indeed, of all Latin Americans, one out of three is a Brazilian. In South America, Portuguese, the tongue of Brazil, is spoken by more persons than Spanish; and in all of Latin America, Portuguese is a close second to Spanish as a language in daily use by the people. Economically, culturally, strategically, or from the standpoint of one interested in a good vacation, play, and recreation, Brazil is a country to be reckoned with.

It must not be supposed, however, that the editors have allowed themselves to be carried away by these facts, and that their book is a manual put out under the auspices of the Brazilian chamber of commerce. On the contrary, their portrait of Brazil is a series of scholarly studies by several hands on history, geography, population, culture, economy, and institutions. Eight of the nineteen chapters are by Brazilians or by adopted Brazilians: Hilgard O'Reilly Sternberg (on geography), Arthur Ramos (Negroes), Carlos Borges Schmidt (rural life), José Arthur Rios (cities), Emílio Willems (immigration), Dorival Teixeira Vieira (industry), Antônio Cândido (the family), and J. V. Freitas Marcondes (social legislation). The remaining chapters are by American Brazilianists: Alexander Marchant (history), Preston E. James (geography), Charles Wagley (Indians), T. Lynn Smith (the Brazilian people), Anyda Marchant (politics, government, and law), Earl W. Thomas (literature), and Gerrit de Jong, Jr. (music and art). Needless to say, this is quite a venture in international co-operation, and, as things turned out, speaks well for the editors. How they were able to achieve so much unity in the midst of so much potential diversity is not the least of their accomplishments.

The emphasis in the book is on Brazil today, and the approach is generally that of the social sciences; but many of the problems of the country are seen in historical perspective, so that history is part and parcel of the whole. Several of the chapters are unusually good, notably those by Sternberg, Wagley, Ramos, Smith, Willems, and Bastide. Sternberg offers a new geographical division of Brazil which makes the natural regions of the country stand out more clearly: Amazonia, Nordeste, Meio-Norte, the central-western plateau, Pantanal, Serra do Espinhaço, the São Francisco Valley, the southern plateau, and the Atlantic seaboard. Bastide, though not himself a Catholic, handles the Catholic Church in Brazil with remarkable fairness. He also has something to say on the growth of Protestantism in the country. Willems stresses the power of cultural assimilation in Brazil. De Jong says that the *fado*, now identified with Portuguese music, was

invented in Brazil, but he gives no proof for his interesting remark. In his essay "The Unity of Brazilian history," Marchant makes certain statements which one might question, but his chapter is provocative in other ways too.

The book will find a distinguished place among the numerous books that have lately been appearing on Brazil. We hope that it will have many readers. Bibliographical references are given at the end of each chapter. The illustrations are handsome and to the point. Technical matters have been competently handled.

Catholic University of America

MANOEL CARDOZO

* * * *Other Recent Publications* * * *

General History

DROIT INTERNATIONAL ET HISTOIRE DIPLOMATIQUE. Documents choisis par *Claude-Albert Colliard*, Professeur à la Faculté de Droit. [Textes et statistiques, L'Université de Grenoble.] (2d ed., Paris, Domat Montchrestien, 1950, pp. xiii, 784.) French political science has for long assured itself an honorable place in world literature in the field of international law and politics. It has stemmed out of a centuries-old tradition of an active French interest in international affairs and it has appealed to the juridical mind of the French "man of thought" to devote systematic study to international problems and to organize the material of codified international law. Students of international relations have often found it technically difficult when digging for reference purposes in documentary materials to orient themselves to various texts scattered usually haphazardly as annexes to scores of books on international affairs. What was the last convention governing the regime of the Straits? What progress was made in this sphere from the London Convention of 1841 and the Paris Conference in 1856 to the Lausanne Treaty of 1923 and to the Montreux Convention of 1936? And did not the Big Three sign a declaration at Potsdam touching upon the question of the Straits? This is only one instance to illustrate what a student of international relations is up against if he wants to devote his interest to a systematic study of a concrete international problem. The editor of the volume under review, Professor Claude-Albert Colliard, had this need in mind when he was preparing the selected documents of his *Droit international et histoire diplomatique*. He faced the problem of space and should be therefore congratulated on the selection he made and on the method of organization of the documents published. By way of illustration, he cites treaties concerning the protectorates of the old colonial policy; the system of mandates pursued by the League of Nations; and the present-day international legislation of the United Nations through the system of trusteeship. He cites examples of international agreements about mediums of communications; as to the international organizations, he quotes documents concerning confederative, continental, and Commonwealth formations, including the examples of the most recent solutions of the problems of relations between the colonial powers (France and Holland) with former colonial nations and the world organization of the United Nations. He includes further some treaties dealing with the pacific settlement of international disputes, and the first section of the book is concluded with the Declaration on Human Rights. The second part is devoted to diplomatic history—texts of the most important agreements, conventions, and treaties of the last 150 years, with the aim of giving more detailed quotation of documents related to the events of the years since Munich. The student of international relations, and more particularly of international law, will find the book by M. Colliard of considerable value because of its source material. Yet, because of this specific value, one is at a loss to explain why some important documents are not published in their entirety, as, for instance, the agreements of Locarno; why others are missing, as, for instance, the Treaty of Friendship and Alliance of May, 1935, between the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia; why the date is not mentioned when the Declaration on Human Rights of the UN General Assembly was approved; why in a volume of official documents the word Czechoslovakia is not spelled correctly (la Tchéco-Slovaquie). These are critical

remarks which do not, however, diminish the high esteem the reviewer has for the work undertaken by M. Colliard.

JOSEPH KORBEL, *University of Denver*

THE AGE OF REASON. By *Frank E. Manuel*, Brandeis University. [The Development of Western Civilization.] (Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1951, pp. ix, 146, \$1.25.) This volume, covering the period from 1713 to 1789, is the second to appear in Cornell University's series of period studies, each of which is designed to furnish a week's reading for a college survey course. Professor Manuel's task, as set forth in the editor's introduction, was to "rewrite the basic narrative" of European history between Utrecht and the outbreak of the French Revolution in a form which "must be brief, well-written, based on unquestioned scholarship, and assume almost no previous historical knowledge on the part of the reader." At the same time, "each contributor has been urged to write for a mature audience." In carrying out his assignment, Professor Manuel first provides a general discussion of some important features of the European world of the eighteenth century. This he follows with a summary of dominant trends in scientific, religious, social, and political thought, proceeding thereafter to individual chapters on France, England, the Habsburg Empire, Prussia, and Russia. The concluding chapter deals with diplomatic and military history. It is inevitable that a compressed yet sweeping treatment of this nature should incur some criticism in matters of detail. For example, it was not Bernardin de St. Pierre, author of *Paul et Virginie* but the early eighteenth-century abbé de St. Pierre who sketched a plan for universal peace (p. 119). And to call Tocqueville simply a "nineteenth century moralist" (p. 62) or to credit the *philosophes* with "the first bold examination of reality since the Greeks" (p. 47) is to provide the enemies of synthesis with free ammunition. More important, religion deserved at least a few more pages, if only to warn the student that even in the age of the Enlightenment there was a Wesley as well as a Voltaire. Here the author appears to have been dominated by the title of his book. My personal feeling that, despite these shortcomings, Professor Manuel has presented a remarkably full and intelligent little volume derives in part from respect for his high degree of success in reconciling the not easily reconciled demands quoted at the beginning of this review. Particularly in his chapters on France and England, he has gone far beyond the degree of social and political analysis ordinarily available to the beginning history student. His use of well-selected quotations gives a quality of life all too rare in allegedly handy summaries. If supplemented by source readings, especially in the field of intellectual history, his work should be useful for teachers in a variety of courses.

FRANKLIN L. FORD, *Bennington College*

SOME ASPECTS OF THE HISTORICAL THOUGHT OF AUGUSTIN THIERRY (1795-1856). By *Kieran Joseph Carroll*. (Washington, Catholic University of America Press, 1951, pp. xi, 104.) The blind historian whom Chateaubriand called the Homer of history enjoyed great popularity and prestige in his day and long after. He was less a critical thinker than an artist, and later scholars discredited many of his theories while recognizing the charm of his style and his fruitful enthusiasm for the documents of French history. In this doctoral dissertation an introductory chapter discusses the more obvious influences on Thierry's youth; succeeding chapters examine his publications for light on his accent on liberty, his theory of "racial" conflict in French and English history, his ideas on the medieval communes and on the rise of the bourgeoisie, and finally his "observations" on the subject of history. Throughout the study attention is directed to the explicit rather than the

implicit. The analysis is not searching enough to make clear what was really distinctive in a mind that reflected so sensitively the prevailing currents of thought of its generation. The quality of Mr. Carroll's writing is uneven. The organization of data is sometimes unsatisfactory; contradictory or at least discrepant statements occur more than once; above all, too many pages are marred by a grievous lack of precision or correctness in the use of the English language. All the deficiencies noted, it should be added, are common to a great many doctoral dissertations.

ELIZABETH P. BRUSH, *Rockford College*

THE MODERN UNIVERSITY. Edited by *Margaret Clapp*, Wellesley College. (Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1950, pp. vii, 115, \$2.50.) This volume consists of three papers delivered at the 1949 Boston meeting of the American Historical Association on the subject of nineteenth-century universities. Paul Farmer examines the Continental universities, Charles C. Gillispie the English, and G. W. Pierson those of the United States. The editor, President Margaret Clapp of Wellesley College, has written a suitable conclusion for the volume. In his essay Professor Farmer sketches in broad strokes the rise of the Continental universities and seeks to show the position they had attained in the nineteenth century: they had become subordinate to the state; they served as the voice of the national spirit; they were dedicated to the increase of knowledge. It is not surprising therefore that he finds in this situation a part of the explanation for the success with which totalitarian governments after the First World War imposed their will upon the universities without encountering vigorous opposition. The surrender of the universities, under these circumstances, was not simply a surrender to superior power. "In some measure it has been the consequence of a previous surrender in principle." Professor Gillispie devotes his essay to tracing the various attempts of English reformers to alter the antiquarian, religious, and classical tone of the old English universities, demonstrating meanwhile how much more concerned these institutions were with the development of "character" than with the encouragement of learning. Professor Pierson ventured what in some ways was the most difficult task of all in seeking to bring together in brief compass a discussion of the immensely variegated universities of the United States. The nineteenth century, he declares, was for American universities "the period of trial and failure, of discovering the elements that were essential to universities, and then assembling them in various patterns or distinctive combinations." In his discussion of these processes he seeks an explanation for what he considers to be the slow development of universities in the United States. He is unwilling to accept the easy explanation that time and money were lacking although later in the essay he acknowledges the important role money had to play in developing institutions of first rank. His explanation of the slow rise of American universities—they were retarded by sectarian competition, disagreement on functions and objective, lack of public support, and the difficulties involved in transforming colleges into universities—is particularly applicable to the privately supported eastern institutions. It should be noted, however, that the competition between sectarian groups, which prevented Protestant sects, for example, from concentrating their funds and their energy on a relatively few institutions, was an element of considerable importance in making it possible for the western state universities to emerge to prominence. Some students, having the state universities prominently in view, will perhaps be more concerned with why these institutions grew and developed so rapidly rather than with Professor Pierson's explanation of the slow growth. Aside from such points of difference, it must be acknowledged that Professor Pierson handles his difficult and complicated

subject with engaging skill. These essays constitute an interesting and valuable contribution to the literature of higher education. The Cornell University Press is to be commended for having made them available in book form.

VERNON CARSTENSEN, *University of Wisconsin*

THE JEWS AND MODERN CAPITALISM. By *Werner Sombart*. Translated by *M. Epstein*. With an Introduction to the American Edition by *Bert F. Hoselitz*. (Glencoe, Ill., Free Press, 1951, pp. xlii, 402.) In his thoroughly documented volume, *Die Anfänge des modernen Kapitalismus* (Munich, 1916), Lujo Brentano called Werner Sombart's well-known work, *Die Juden und das Wirtschaftsleben*, "one of the most deplorable publications of German scholarship." Professor Hoselitz, in his introduction to the American edition of this work, arrives at a very similar conclusion: ". . . much of Sombart's *The Jews and Modern Capitalism* must be rejected or severely modified. His historical facts are often faulty or imaginary; his analysis based on them is often methodologically assailable; his social theory is defective, and his interpretation of Jewish religion, law, and philosophy deduced in considerable part from biased and incomplete sources; last but not least his views of national character and the 'racial' characteristics of Jews are derived from untenable theories or purely romantic speculation" (p. xxx). "Why then print a new edition of the book?" is the logical question of its most recent editor. Of the three reasons offered by him none seems valid to the present reviewer. Sombart's work cannot be placed on the same level with Max Weber's *General Economic History* or Carl Menger's *Principles of Economics*, classics in the best meaning of the term, of which new English translations were published in the same series of works on economic history and theory. In spite of the fine general refutation in the introduction, there is a very great danger of misunderstanding, misinterpretation, and misuse of Sombart's statements, many of which were definitively controverted long ago. If the new editor was convinced of the necessity of republication, a comprehensive apparatus of footnotes should have been added. Therein each individual problem could have been discussed extensively in the light of more recent research, and full references to the literature given. The editor's bibliographical note (pp. xxxii-xlii), despite its useful and interesting critical annotations, will afford the student merely limited guidance, for only the publications of the last fifteen years are listed, and important works such as Alfred Philipp's "anticritical-bibliographical" study, in which the entire polemical literature up to 1929 is fully discussed, are omitted.

GUIDO KISCH, *Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion*

AMERICAN MISSIONS IN EUROPEAN ARCHIVES. By *Roscoe R. Hill*. [Misiones americanas en los archivos europeos, II.] (Mexico, D. F., Instituto panamericano de geografia e historia, Comision de historia, 1951, pp. 138.) This booklet is divided into six parts concerned with the nineteenth century, the Carnegie Institution, the Library of Congress, Native Sons of the Golden West Fellows, university scholars, and twentieth-century programs. Presented in chronological order within the parts, this arrangement leads to some repetition. This account covers a long period of time and many countries and gives briefly for the numerous missions much factual information hitherto scattered in many published sources. No use was made apparently of manuscript materials. An attempt is made to deal with those missions which resulted in published bibliographical contributions, but not all such enterprises are included. The presentation is descriptive in character and does not always go into the circumstances under which the various missions originated. The space devoted to

descriptions of the records reproduced, which are already available elsewhere, could have been more usefully employed in expanding the histories of the missions. Bibliographical references in the text are supplemented by a bibliography of published materials. An index adds to the usefulness of this study as a reference work. Only a few errors were detected in this compendium. The date 1838 on page 13 should be 1828; the Poore transcripts mentioned in the second paragraph on page 19 were published by the Province of Quebec and not the State of Massachusetts. The reproduction activities of the Library of Congress in France were discontinued in 1936 (p. 74). Very few typographical errors were noticed. This study is not a complete history of reproductions from European archives relating to the United States. In all of the major archives concerned—those of England, France, and Spain—which have been the subject of a more intensive investigation by the reviewer, there were other projects. The Illinois Historical Survey of the University of Illinois has obtained many reproductions from the archives of all of those countries. James P. Baxter, of Maine, secured transcripts from England and France in 1885-1886. Transcripts from French archives have been obtained by Charles E. A. Gayarré, Lewis Cass, Clarence M. Burton, Frederick J. Turner, W. C. and P. L. Ford, the William L. Clements Library, and others. Important map reproductions were obtained from British archives by Archer B. Hulbert and from French, Spanish, and Portuguese archives by Louis C. Karpinski. Nevertheless this study will serve as a useful guide to students of American colonial and diplomatic history.

HENRY P. BEERS, *Washington, D.C.*

TWENTIETH CENTURY ECONOMIC HISTORY OF EUROPE. By *Paul Alpert*. (New York, Henry Schuman, 1951, pp. xiv, 466, \$6.00.) Until World War II defined a new period of modern European history, it remained common practice for courses in history and textbook writers to stop with the outbreak of war in 1914. Now the twentieth century, at least to 1939, has become by all accepted canons a delineated period, and historians somewhat grudgingly have come to recognize it as a legitimate field. Unfortunately, although the political historians have produced a number of textbooks to meet the need, the tendency of the economic historians has been to rest content with revising established works, usually by merely adding an extra chapter or two. Professor Alpert, who has devoted most of his study of twentieth-century economic history to the years after 1929 and over one third to the post-World War II years of confusion, deserves a measure of credit for attempting to remedy the situation. He has made an effort to provide the general reader—he addresses his book to the American public—with an understanding of contemporary economic history as seen from the vantage point of 1950, not 1750 or 1900. The chief virtue of the work is that mentioned above: it does supply the textbook reader with a complement to the twentieth-century political histories. He will find in it succinct treatments of the economic difficulties faced by Great Britain and France in the interwar years, of the Nazi war economy, of the Marshall and Schuman plans, pitched at a level he can comprehend. Professor Alpert also has the virtue, often lacking in economists, of giving full recognition to the influence of political and psychological forces in shaping the patterns of economic behavior of different European peoples. To the serious reader, however, the work has major weaknesses. Europe, for Professor Alpert, consists of Great Britain, France, Germany, and Russia, four independent entities which he treats almost *in vacuo*. Poland and the Balkan countries receive a few scant pages; the Scandinavian countries, Spain, Italy do not exist; nowhere does Europe emerge as a whole, nor does the reader ever see

it in its world setting, a vital necessity if one is to break the bonds of nineteenth-century conceptions. If financial problems, for instance, are dealt with at length, others, such as labor, receive short shrift. The resulting lack of integration and balance one can partly attribute to the fact that the work is based on a series of course lectures, but this does not excuse it, nor does it excuse the sloppy editing. Sources are cited for only a few of the statistical tables, and there are frequent malapropisms and misspellings. This reviewer also objects to statements based on misleading evidence, such as the remark that Germany may have won the war from a demographic point of view, which depends upon the citing of comparative vital statistics for only the years 1938-41. A careful rethinking of his lectures before they went to press would have made Professor Alpert's work a more substantial contribution to our need for good general works on the twentieth century.

JOHN BOWDITCH, *University of Minnesota*

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Medieval History

Bernard J. Holm¹

MÉLANGES D'HISTOIRE DU MOYEN AGE DÉDIÉS À LA MÉMOIRE DE LOUIS HALPHEN. Préface de *Charles-Edmond Perrin*, Membre de l'Institut, Professeur à la Sorbonne. (Paris, Presses universitaires de France, 1951, pp. xxiii, 713, 1.800 fr.) It was originally planned to present this impressive volume to Professor Halphen on the occasion of his seventieth birthday, when his friends and colleagues would gather to do him honor. His sudden death on October 7, 1950, prevented this and the essays appear now as a tribute to his memory. They are a worthy memento and surely they would have given him much pleasure and satisfaction had he been spared to read them. In all there are eighty essays, each limited to approximately eight pages, though in a few cases they exceed this limit set by the editors. Almost all the great names of contemporary French medieval historical scholarship appear in the list of authors, along with younger scholars as yet less well known and a few representatives of regions outside of France. It is not to be expected that all of the essays could be of equal quality or worth, but there are rewards for any medievalist who will examine the book with care. One is, however, eternally perplexed by such works. How their hidden treasures can be brought to light for the scholarly world presents a fundamental professional problem, emphasized visibly for the writer as he glances at a similar work: the *Studi in onore di Gino Luzzatto* lying nearby on his desk with its four volumes, 1,100 pages, and sixty-one essays! Henry F. Williams' new *An Index of Mediaeval Studies Published in Festschriften* helps of course. It stops, however, with 1946, but *Mélanges* and *Festschriften* still come from the presses. Ch.-Edmond Perrin, Halphen's colleague in the Faculty of Letters at Paris, writes a brief, graceful prefatory introduction, outlining in a few paragraphs the salient features of Halphen's career and evaluating his principal contributions to medieval scholarship. A classified list of Halphen's writings is provided and his portrait serves as a frontispiece. The essays are arranged in alphabetical order according to author. If classified according to chronology they cover fairly evenly the full sweep of the Middle Ages, from antiquity to the sixteenth century, with a somewhat obvious advantage given to the fields of Halphen's major interests—the early and the high Middle Ages. When grouped systematically there are about fifteen essays each for social and economic history and for the history of art and letters; somewhat fewer for political history, and about twenty for ecclesiastical affairs—monastic, institutional, legal. Among the writings attracting more than passing attention of the reviewer were: Bonnaud-Delamare on eleventh-century peace institutions, Boutruche's English and Gascons in Aquitaine, Cahen's Anatolian commerce in the early thirteenth century, Céliér on the murder of the duke of Orléans (1407), De Clercq on the influence of the rule of St. Pachomius in the west, Dhondt's survey of the reign of Henry I of France, Fliche's picture of religious life at Montpellier at the time of Innocent III, "Charlemagne and the Oath" by Ganshof, Higounet's discussion of the rivalry between the houses of Toulouse and Barcelona in the twelfth century, Latouche's fine "La commune du Mans (1070)," Le Bras's "rehabilitation" of Boniface VIII, Lestocquoy's "*Inhonesta mercimonia*," Lopez' highly informative "The Unexplored Wealth of the Notarial Archives in Pisa and Lucca," Maisonneuve on the interdict, Marc-Bonnet's essay on Richard of Cornwall and the Sicilian crown,

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

Mollat's important critique of pontifical diplomacy in the fourteenth century, Morel's story of an association of Gascon lords in the fourteenth century, Renouard on medieval highways between the Mediterranean and the Atlantic, and Terrasse's work on the Almoravides. The selection of these titles in no way reflects unfavorably on those not mentioned. It does indicate, however, something of the quality of the Halphen essays and shows the rich variety of subjects discussed.

GRAY C. BOYCE, *Northwestern University*

L'IMPERO DI GALLIENO: CONTRIBUTO ALLA STORIA DEL III SECOLO.

By *Eugenio Manni*. (Rome, Angelo Signorelli, 1949, pp. 117.) In this scholarly, well-documented monograph, the author seeks to evaluate the contribution of Gallienus to the solution of the more pressing problems that confronted the Roman government in the third century. In brief, Manni's conclusions are as follows. Gallienus did much to secure for the empire a respite from barbarian and Persian invasions by wisely acquiescing in the rule of Postumus in Gaul and by delegating the defense of the east to Odenathus of Palmyra, while he took charge of the Danubian and African frontiers. His development of a separate cavalry corps and his giving greater mobility to the army as a whole, were factors which played a large part both in repelling attacks from without and crushing rebellions within the empire. The toleration which Gallienus, anticipating Constantine the Great, accorded to the Christians won their loyalty and helped to secure internal peace and solidarity. Following his father's capture by the Persians in 259, Gallienus adopted a vigorous antisenatorial policy which deprived the senatorial order of their hitherto dominant political role. Here, his most important act was the exclusion of senators from all military commands. This robbed them of the power to revolt against an emperor of whom they disapproved. It also opened the way to the principate to generals of equestrian rank such as the Illyrian emperors. Fear of senatorial rivals and the need to make use of the best officers available are enough to explain the action of Galerius. Manni's view that this was part of a progressive, leveling policy appears less firmly substantiated. But we may agree that the break with the senate transformed the government of Gallienus into an open autocracy. The last third of the book is devoted to two appendixes; one on Dexippus and the *Vita Gallieni*, the other on political thought in the works of the Latin historians of the third century. Unfortunately there is no map to illustrate the campaigns and frontier rectifications of Gallienus.

A. E. R. BOAK, *University of Michigan*

THE PASTORAL CARE OF SOULS IN SOUTH-EAST FRANCE DURING THE

SIXTH CENTURY. By Rev. *Henry G. J. Beck*. [*Analecta Gregoriana*, Volume LI.] (Darlington, N.J., distrib. by author, 1950, pp. lxxii, 414, \$3.50.) The title of this ample volume does not adequately convey the wealth of information contained therein. For example, the introductory section comprises almost one hundred heavily footnoted pages on the ecclesiastical hierarchy, from bishops on down to acolytes and lectors. Next comes a detailed treatment of the sacraments based for the most part on contemporary sources. The discussion of the mass is thorough and scholarly. It corrects many minor inaccuracies in the traditional accounts of experts such as Mabillon and Leclercq, and calls attention to the importance of Byzantine influences (e.g., the *Kyrie* and *Trisagion*). The author makes his account interesting as well as informative; the sixth-century order of the mass is compared with that of today, and there is a vivid description of Bishop Caesarius' expedient of having the church doors locked in order to prevent the parishioners from leaving before his approxi-

mately half-hour sermons were completed. The other sacraments, especially baptism, public and private penance, marriage, and extreme unction (also preaching and saints' cults) receive careful scholarly treatment. Among the points of less academic interest are the following: the giving of communion in both kinds (wine as well as bread), baptism by triple immersion (preceded by a cleansing bath, and followed by foot-washing), clerical warnings against the use of contraceptives and abortants, and against men making light of sexual irregularities, advice on curing drunkenness by the tapering-off method, and remarks concerning the discomforts of hot, crowded, church services. By and large, this highly objective account reflects considerable credit on the sixth-century clergy. Without excessive apologies it shows that the general run of clergymen were honest and efficient in their handling of church funds, were moral though not celibate in their private lives, treated slaves and serfs humanely and did much to raise the level of civilization. There is an appendix on sixth-century Christian archaeology in southeastern France.

LOREN MacKINNEY, *University of North Carolina*

MARTINI EPISCOPI BRACARENSIS OPERA OMNIA. Edited by *Claude W. Barlow*.

[Papers and Monographs of the American Academy in Rome, Volume XII.] (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1950, pp. xii, 328, \$3.50.) This is a volume to warm the hearts of scholars. In it the works of Bishop Martin of Braga (in the Galician, northwestern corner of Spain) have been edited with scientific precision. After a concise sketch of the career of the sixth-century bishop, Professor Barlow presents, in successive chapters, nine of Martin's theological treatises, plus three short poems, his minutes of two Councils of Braga, and his Latin translation of eighty-four Greek canons. Martin's authorship of various of these works is analyzed and confirmed. A final chapter on "Lost and Spurious Works" is followed by a series of appendixes containing Latin texts concerning Martin's life and writings. Martin's nine principal works are short treatises dealing for the most part with the vices and virtues. The longest (concerning the four cardinal virtues) occupies only portions of fifteen printed pages, over half of each page being devoted to textual apparatus. By reason of its textual dependability, this volume replaces the "Martini Opera Omnia" in Migne's *Patrologia* and numerous earlier editions. Each text is preceded by a brief discussion of the treatise, its sources and importance, previous editions and manuscripts (including *stemma* diagrams). We were particularly impressed by the detailed, scholarly descriptions of manuscripts, often running to almost a page each. Professor Barlow has combed the manuscripts and printed sources with indefatigable thoroughness. For example, in the case of the treatise on the four virtues, he has notes concerning 635 manuscripts; those prior to the twelfth century (twenty-one in all) are described in detail; from later centuries he has collated thirty-six, and has examined over fifty others. The spade work for the volume, in manuscripts, early editions, and specialized literature, covered almost a quarter of a century, including research on a master's thesis and a Ph.D. dissertation, also extensive travel in Europe as a fellow of the American Academy in Rome and as a Guggenheim fellow. The scholarly value of this volume is obvious. It is a definitive work on a narrowly restricted subject. None the less, Martin's writings have broad connotations. They illustrate the fact that monastic theologians were much influenced by classical antiquity. The influence of Seneca was outstanding in the *De ira* and the *Formula vitae honestae*, which the late Middle Ages confused with Seneca's *De quattuor virtutibus cardinalibus*. "In fact [says Barlow], we have the curious situation of a writing of Seneca whose original was lost and whose content was pre-

served only in an epitome (the *Formula*) by St. Martin; but the epitome in turn still preserved so well the content of the original that anyone could tell that it was from Seneca and he was generously rewarded with it by medieval tradition." Other less philosophical treatises (e.g., *De trina mersione*, *De Pascha* and *De correctione rusticorum*) reveal heavier reliance on the Bible, Cassian, Augustine, etc., and reveal medieval concern over heresy, immersion, the date of Easter, and other such matters. In general, the life and works of Martin provide a valuable cross section of the religious life of an outlying section of a marginal region of Western Christendom, the Sueve corner of Visigothic Spain.

LOREN MACKINNEY, *University of North Carolina*

THE LUSIGNANS, IN ENGLAND, 1247-1258. By *Harold S. Snellgrove*, Assistant Professor of History, Mississippi State College. [University of New Mexico Publications in History, No. 2.] (Albuquerque, University of New Mexico Press, 1950, pp. 96, \$1.00.) This scholarly little monograph sets forth the methods by which Henry III advanced his half-brothers in England, accounts for the king's indulgence, and proves that the resentment of the English barons was justified. The facts are well known. The main contribution here lies in the amassing of impressive evidence from the records (such as *Patent* and *Close Rolls*), itemizing grants of money, lands, gifts and "intangibles." Chapter 1 sets the stage by tracing the career of Henry's widowed mother, Isabella, her return to France and marriage with Hugh de Lusignan the Younger, and the problems which devolved upon the pair in providing for their nine children. Four were established in France, but opportunities were curtailed by the "increasing weight of French supremacy." Hence the arrival at Dover in 1247 of Guy, William, Aymer, and Alice, Geoffrey to follow. Two made profitable marriages which placed them among the great English nobles. The youngest, Aymer, was showered with benefices and ultimately forced on an unwilling cathedral chapter as bishop-elect of Winchester. The others, not permanently resident, came and went, loaded with gifts at each exodus. Following an account of the expulsion, 1258, the conclusion assesses the king's motives: the Lusignans were descended from royalty, served as the nucleus of a powerful court party, were useful as envoys and soldiers, may possibly have been intended for appanages on the French model. Except for noting how Henry's generosity transgressed the Charters, the author disclaims going into the "complexities of constitutional history." However, the account of the grants of wardships, escheats, and other lands, "which brought forth the bitterest complaints from the nobility" (p. 55), throws interesting light on the complexities of feudal tenures. Further it becomes obvious that the Englishman's appreciation of the "rule of law" was intensified by the royally sanctioned lawlessness of the Lusignans: official exemptions to them and their tenants from serving on assizes and juries and other obligations, even pardons to "their followers and servants for such crimes as debt, counterfeiting, homicide, trespass and theft" (p. 76).

FAITH THOMPSON, *University of Minnesota*

THE COMMENTARIES OF PIUS II, BOOKS VI-IX. Translated by *Florence Alden Gragg*, Professor Emeritus of Latin, Smith College. Historical Notes by *Leona C. Gabel*, Professor of History, Smith College. [Smith College Studies in History, Volume XXXV.] (Northampton, Mass., Smith College, Department of History, 1951, pp. 413-613.) Students of the Renaissance will welcome this fourth installment of the *Commentaries of Pius II*, which consists of Books VI to IX, leaving four still to come. With each installment the value of the work undertaken by the translator and editor

becomes more clearly apparent. The Renaissance produced few books as revealing as this, few that tell us so much about contemporary attitudes toward the church, religion, politics, and culture, in short, about the whole mental atmosphere of Rome in the days of the humanist popes. As a factual narrative, the *Commentaries* must be treated with a certain amount of caution, for the pope was too busy a man to verify every event he recorded, and his memory was sometimes faulty. Miss Gabel's notes rectify most of the errors of fact, but they can, of course, do little to correct the more subtle forms of distortion that are the result of the author's somewhat subjective view of events in which he himself was involved. Except for the first book, the *Commentaries* remained a rough draft, which the busy pope set down at odd moments, and they leave the impression of having been written off the top of the head. But if they lack something of objectivity and the sobering effect of second thought, they are for that no less valuable to *Kulturgeschichte*, which, as Burckhardt observed, "lives chiefly on what the sources and monuments indicate unintentionally, despite themselves." Students may well be grateful to the editors who have made this work available in English and who promise eventually to publish the Latin text in its original form, the more so since the only editions published hitherto have suffered from much discreet expurgation. The books included in this installment are perhaps less personal than some of the earlier ones, and there is rather less apologetic defense of the author's official acts. A good deal of space is taken up with sketches, more or less accurate, of the history of various foreign countries in the fifteenth century: France, Burgundy, Aragon, Savoy, Cyprus, and Rhodes. Introduced with total disregard for chronological sequence, these sketches, interesting though they are in themselves, tend rather to impede and confuse the flow of the central narrative. The story of the pope's negotiations with the king of France for the abrogation of the Pragmatic Sanction, on the other hand, is a notable contribution to the history of papal policy, as is also his candid account of the creation of a group of foreign cardinals, of the methods he used to secure the acquiescence of the various members of the college, and of Nicholas of Cusa's futile but heart-felt protest.

WALLACE K. FERGUSON, *New York University*

CHAPTERS ON MEDIAEVAL AND RENAISSANCE VISITORS TO GREEK LANDS. By *James Morton Paton*. [Gennadeion Monographs III.] (Princeton, American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1951, pp. xii, 212.) This book was published posthumously from material which its author had collected "in preparation [for] an extensive work on the mediaeval history and monuments of Athens" (p. vii). It is to be greatly regretted that Dr. Paton, well known through his archaeological researches and his monograph *The Venetians in Athens, 1687-1688* (Cambridge, Mass., 1940), could not complete his project before his death in 1944. Actually there exists no work in any of the Western languages which covers the whole history of Athens from late antiquity to the restoration of Greek independence in the nineteenth century, except the now rather dated works of Léon de Laborde, Carl Hopf, and Ferdinand Gregorovius. Only the era of the Western domination of the duchy of Athens under the French, the Catalans, and the Florentine family of the Acciaioli, i.e., the period from 1205 to 1456, has become the subject of modern critical investigations and has been competently described by such scholars as William Miller, Antonio Rubió y Lluch, and Kenneth M. Setton (see the excellent bibliography in the latter's book *Catalan Domination of Athens, 1311-1383* [Cambridge, Mass., 1948], pp. 261-301). The main part of Dr. Paton's last book consists of a collection of descriptions of the city of Athens, which were given by writers and

travelers of the Western world from the Carolingian period to the early eighteenth century. A few of these accounts were hitherto unpublished and others were edited in somewhat remote places or in a rather unsatisfactory fashion. Since Dr. Paton based his own publication of the texts in most cases on the best extant manuscripts and added explanatory footnotes and introductions, the material presented by him will certainly "prove of service to future investigators in the same field," as the editor (L.A.P.) of the volume hopes. One omission may be noted. Dr. Paton did not restrict himself entirely to the accounts of actual travelers. He might have included quite legitimately, therefore, in his collection the very interesting remarks which Pope Innocent III made about Athens in a letter addressed to Archbishop Bérard of Athens on February 13, 1209 (Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, CCXV, 1559-60). Dr. Paton's book also contains a brief essay on "Turkish Athens" and a biography of the French adventurer Rinaldo de la Rue who wrote fairly elaborate reports about his traveling experiences in Martinique and in Athens between 1681 and 1688.

THEODOR E. MOMMSEN, *Princeton University*

MAIZE IN THE GREAT HERBALS. By John J. Finan. With a Foreword by Edgar Anderson. (Waltham, Mass., Chronica Botanica, New York, Stechert-Hafner, 1950, pp. xvi, 149-91, \$3.00.) This is an investigation into the history of the arrival of maize in Europe as reflected in the Renaissance herbals. The book consists of a reprint from the *Annals of the Missouri Botanical Garden*, XXXV, together with introductory matter, including a foreword by Edgar Anderson, a leading authority on the maize plant, who directed the study. The author was aided also by an art historian, who taught him the limitations which the process of woodcutting imposed upon the illustrators of the herbals, and how to interpret woodcuts. Also, from experts in the several languages and from historians of Spanish exploration, he learned the intricacies of historical interpretation of sixteenth-century records. Would that all theses, including doctoral dissertations, made a contribution as substantial as this master's thesis of thirty-seven closely printed pages. It is a worthy companion to the growing literature about maize that recently has been revolutionizing our understanding of the role of maize in history and removing any excuse, if such there has been, for minimizing the Indian contribution to American history.

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Modern European History

THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH

Leland H. Carlson¹

MONMOUTH'S REBELLION. By William Richard Emerson. [Undergraduate Prize Essays, Yale University, Volume VIII.] (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1951, pp. ix, 98, \$2.00.) The death of Charles II on February 6, 1685, came as a cruel blow to his natural son, the duke of Monmouth, then an exile in the Netherlands. Realizing that he was likely to remain an exile as long as James II reigned, Monmouth allowed himself to be drawn into a plot for concerted risings in Scotland, London, Chester, and Dorset. By May 31, 1685, arrangements had been completed, and he set sail with approximately eighty followers for Lyme Regis, Dorsetshire. Welcomed as the Protestant duke by the townspeople, Monmouth soon had an army of three thousand raw recruits. Proceeding to Taunton, Bridgewater, and Keynsham,

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

he planned to march upon Bristol, but was dissuaded from that plan because of the fear and timidity resulting from a minor skirmish. This proved to be a major mistake. Without the aid of Bristol's manpower, the army wandered about for two weeks, without a plan, disorganized, and lacking in explicit orders. This delay enabled the royal forces to take up positions on the plain of Sedgemoor. Here the armies met, and on July 6, after a night battle of four hours, Monmouth's forces were defeated. Mr. Emerson has described these events with clarity and brevity. He believes that Macaulay has erred in exonerating William III from any complicity in Monmouth's rebellion. In the best tradition of diplomacy, William III was able to reconcile his self-interest with rectitude, as well as to aid Monmouth and warn James II at the same time. Mr. Emerson believes that despite the detailed and formal protests of the English ambassador, Sir Bevil Skelton, the Dutch officials permitted Monmouth's ship to leave the Texel without opposition. The author has given us an interesting essay on Monmouth's rebellion, in a style that is clear and direct. Although he has not added materially to the accounts given by T. B. Macaulay and G. Roberts, he has put his subject into clear focus. He should have given his readers an index, but two maps and 414 notes help to compensate for this lack. It is a very creditable first publication by an undergraduate.

L.H.C.

A CYCLE OF CATHAY: THE CHINESE VOGUE IN ENGLAND DURING THE SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES. By *William W. Appleton*. (New York, Columbia University Press, 1951, pp. xii, 182, \$3.00.) This admirable little volume brings together the results of much original research as well as the scattered studies of other scholars to give us the first relatively comprehensive study of the influence of China on England during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It is a concise, well-written, and beautifully printed and illustrated study which will undoubtedly remain the standard work on the subject for some time. By emphasizing the idea of the "Chinese vogue" in England, the author focuses his attention on the influences which flowed from conscious interest in and deliberate borrowing from China. No effort is made to describe or evaluate the less conscious influence of the China trade on the development of economic life and institutions; also no effort has been made to discuss China's influence on the plant and animal life of England. After an initial chapter on "Merchant and Missionary" the author traces the development of English interest in Chinese as the possible primitive language (John Webb, 1669) and in Chinese political and moral ideas. He also discusses Chinese influence on dramatic performances and deals with English *chinoiserie* and the use of the device of a Chinese traveler as critic of the local scene, which latter practice is best represented in Goldsmith's *Chinese Letters*, begun in 1760. English interest in Chinese ethical and political ideas reached its height in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries in the writings of Sir William Temple and Matthew Tindal, but, everything considered, the Chinese vogue probably reached its apogee between 1750 and 1760 with English *chinoiserie*. The Chinese vogue was never so strong in England and did not last so long as on the Continent, and there were always critics, but even so the extent of this influence will no doubt come as something of a surprise to many readers. English attitudes toward China shifted from a "medieval one of wonder" to one of "realistic appraisal" during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries and then to one of "calculated adulation" during the late seventeenth and first sixty years of the eighteenth century, in which first Chinese government and then moral and ethical ideas, antiquities, and arts and sciences were admired. The popularity of Chinese things collapsed rapidly during

the last forty years of the eighteenth century, which ended with the not very flattering appraisals arising out of the Macartney embassy. England produced no Sinologists during the period and few Englishmen traveled in interior China, and the author is undoubtedly correct in emphasizing that the picture of China held in Europe and England was incomplete, idealized, and unrealistic in many respects. However, he perhaps attributes too much of this to Jesuit propaganda and too little to the writers of the Enlightenment who were only too willing to find in relatively unknown China, which obviously had a highly developed civilization, a living example of their own ideals. Two slips in details should be corrected. Le Comte and the first French missionaries did not reach China by Macao (p. 38), but went rather from Indochina by junk to Amoy, and the Macartney embassy did not sail across the Pacific (p. 165) but traversed the conventional route via the Cape and the Indian Ocean.

EARL H. PRITCHARD, *University of Chicago*

ADDINGTON, AUTHOR OF THE MODERN INCOME TAX. By *A. Farnsworth*.

(London, Stevens and Sons, 1951, pp. xii, 140, 21s.) As most readers will probably surmise, this monograph relates almost entirely to the British income tax. Few references are made to the income tax of the United States and almost none to those of other countries. Students of taxation will recall that William Pitt introduced his famous income tax in 1799, but that he resigned as Prime Minister and Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1801 because George III would not accept his plan for Catholic emancipation. He urged Henry Addington, then speaker of the House of Commons, to accept appointment as his successor, "promising both support and counsel." These friendly relations were not always maintained. Pitt's income tax act provided for self-assessment of one's entire income as a lump sum with no specific details as to component parts and very inadequate provision for verification by administrators who might question the accuracy or completeness of the return. The tax yields were all far below the estimates. Addington's tax act of 1803 introduced collection at the source and classified income under five schedules—A, B, C, D, and E—with rules for administration that were so effective that the revenue yields equaled estimates and brought in 80 per cent as much as Pitt's tax although the rate was only 5 per cent as compared with 10 per cent in Pitt's law. Every British income tax since then, including Peel's revival in 1842 and the acts of 1918, 1919, and later years, have followed very closely Addington's act of 1803, though, of course, there have been minor modifications. Dr. Farnsworth says that Pitt and particularly many of his political adherents opposed Addington's proposals, belittled his abilities, and heaped ridicule upon his administration, though Pitt and all of his other successors retained Addington's fundamental principle of collection at the source which uniquely characterized the British income tax, thus distinguishing it from all others and accounting for its great success. Though giving great credit to Pitt for the first British income tax, the author criticizes numerous British and other historians for giving nearly all the credit for this tax to Pitt when in fact its fundamental feature was introduced by Addington over the opposition of Pitt and his adherents who tried to heap odium upon what was a really very remarkable financial administration of a political opponent. This monograph is a well-documented, valuable contribution though the author indulges in much repetition to emphasize his thesis. Some will probably say, even after reading it, that its title is hardly justifiable, that Pitt was the real author of the British income tax, and that Addington merely developed an improved administration of Pitt's great innovation, though nearly everyone will admit that Addington's service was very great indeed.

ROY G. BLAKEY, *University of California, Los Angeles*

A SHORT HISTORY OF THE BRITISH ARMY. By Major *Eric William Sheppard*, Royal Tank Corps. (4th ed.; London, Constable; New York, Macmillan, 1950, pp. xvi, 505, \$6.00.) If this work had been called a history of the British Army's wars on the title page instead of on one of its very last pages, there would be little quarrel with the author. But his title raises larger expectations that seem justified but are unfulfilled: the politics of this Army, including its parliamentary history; such episodes as Ulster 1914 or Lloyd George's conflicts with the generals, such figures as Sir Henry Wilson are hardly mentioned, nor are the British-French general staff conversations before 1914 and 1939, nor the institution and activities of military attachés. The treatment of the General Staff, its introduction, organization, and functioning, is scanty in the extreme and so is that of the relations with what is in Britain the senior service, the Navy, except Fisher's dubious simile of the Army as a projectile fired by the Navy. But wars, campaigns, and battles—the Army on active duty—are described concisely and evaluated fairly, and there are various features that make the book more than a mere epitome of Fortescue's thirteen-volume *History of the British Army* (which ends with the year 1870). Criticism is not spared where it is due—Haig's generalship, for example, or the dismal campaign in the Italian winter of 1943-44—and is made with "civilian courage" rather than the usual hushing up of military comradeship. This is wholesome enough, for military textbooks are not wont to be composed on the principle that faults and errors of the past might teach the soldier of today and tomorrow. The scholarship, so-called, is not always in keeping with the latest findings. Townton (1461) might still be "the greatest battle ever fought in England" (p. 7) but it was probably only one fourteenth as great as the author says: instead of the 70,000 men who fought there according to him, the most recent history of medieval warfare (Ferdinand Lot, *L'art militaire et les armées au moyen âge* [Paris, 1946], II, 140) puts the number of combatants at no more than 5,000. That Bavaria after Blenheim sought and obtained peace from the victorious allies (p. 25) is incorrect; she had no peace until ten years later. And Americans will hardly agree that the United States was brought into the War of 1812 by skillful French diplomacy (p. 158). At least two of the maps contain errors: Kloster Zeven is shown as far to the west of the Weser as it ought to be to the east (Map 3) and Luneberg should read Lüneburg (Map 47).

ALFRED VAGTS, *Sherman, Connecticut*

THE VALLEY OF THE LOWER THAMES, 1640 TO 1850. By *Fred Coyne Hamil*. (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1951, pp. xi, 390, \$5.00.) This is a piece of local Ontario history. Though the title indicates a time span of two centuries, the short opening chapter disposes of the 150 years between the first known visit of a European to the valley of the lower Thames in 1640 and the government's purchase of the land from the Indians in 1790 so that whites could occupy it. All the rest of the book is devoted to the next sixty years and is a detailed account of the development of this part of the country until the coming of the railway ended its isolation and undermined its dependence upon the unifying river. The author is a native of the valley, in which his family roots go back to two great grandfathers; and he has written its history with the meticulous care of a trained scholar who has spent years in collecting his material, much of it from official records in various archival collections and from newspaper files of the period. For a dozen years he has been publishing learned articles on the subject, and this well-documented work confirms his reputation as an authority upon it. In his treatment of the early settlers, Mr. Hamil seems to have fallen a victim to the confusion that early blurred the

distinction in Upper Canada between those who were genuine loyalists and those who were not. He is open to more serious criticism for his almost exclusive concentration upon local facts. The result is that he has commonly failed to see their broader setting, particularly in the politics of the day. This defect will limit the appeal of the book; and so will the style, which is generally dull and occasionally careless. There are good maps and some interesting illustrations.

A. L. BURT, *University of Minnesota*

ARCHIVES YEAR BOOK FOR SOUTH AFRICAN HISTORY. Published by authority of the Minister of Education, Arts, and Science, and edited by *Coenraad Beyers, et al.* (Cape Town, Cape Times for Government Printer.) Twelfth Year: 1949. Volumes I and II (1950, pp. xvii, 381, xxiv, 597, £2. 2s. ea.) Thirteenth Year: 1950. Volumes I and II (1951, pp. 449, xxvi, 453, £2. 2s. ea.) Of the three monographs in the year book for 1949, two are in English and one is in Afrikaans; the seven in the 1950 year book all are in Afrikaans. The most substantial of these studies are two in the 1949 publication: Dr. H. E. Werner Backeberg's "The Relations between the South African Republic and Germany till after the Jameson Raid, 1852-1896" (I, xvii, 1-302), in Afrikaans, and Dr. John Franklin Midgley's Ph.D. thesis, "The Orange River Sovereignty, 1848-1854" (II, xxiv, 594), in English. Seven of the other monographs are M.A. theses submitted at the universities of Pretoria, South Africa, and Stellenbosch and the University College of the Orange Free State. One is a brief account, with numerous plates, of the coat of arms of the South African Republic. All the authors have made good use of South African archival material and of printed British documents. In the case of topics which required examination of a wide range of books and articles the coverage is less complete. Dr. Backeberg sheds much light on the activities and influence in South Africa of German Lutheran missionaries and of President Kruger's right-hand man, the Netherlander Dr. W. J. Leyds. He also presents a fairly detailed account of German financial connections with the Transvaal. Dr. Midgley discusses very fully the political history of the Orange River Sovereignty as a British colony and events connected with its abandonment by Britain in 1854. His bias seems to be favorable to those who opposed this action. Extensive use is made of information from *The Friend*, the newspaper at Bloemfontein which was subsidized by the British officials. A careful examination of the manuscript material at the Public Record Office would probably have modified the author's point of view on many topics. The masters' theses are of a high quality for this type of research effort. They deal with South African topics. However, two of them will be of interest to scholars outside South Africa. Miss Eileen Attree's study of closer union movements in South Africa, 1838-1863 (1949, I, 303-77), brings into focus some aspects of the British colonial policy of that period. And Mr. D. J. Kotze's thesis, "Die Eerste Amerikaanse Sendelinge onder die Matabeles" (1950, I, 129-318), will be useful for students of American activities abroad in the second quarter of the nineteenth century. The monographs have good bibliographies and are well indexed.

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SOUTH AFRICAN ARCHIVAL RECORDS. Published, under the supervision of the Archives Commission, by the Publication Section of the Archives of the Union of South Africa, by order of the Minister of Education, Arts, and Science. TRANSVAAL, Nos. 1 and 2. (Cape Town, Cape Times for Government Printer, 1951? pp. xxviii, 400, xxxviii, 602.) Archivists and historians in the Union of South Africa

show great zeal in making available the historical records of their country. The material (all in Dutch) in these two volumes relates to the formative period in the history of the South African Republic, 1844-1853. This material is both rich and varied. It contains reports of the proceedings of the *Volkstraad*, memorials, petitions, state accounts, state papers, etc. These documents throw much light on the activities and problems of the Boers—their efforts to establish an orderly government, their financial difficulties, and their relations with British authorities, with Portuguese, and with natives. From April, 1844, to April, 1849, the minutes are labeled *Volkstraad* at Potchefstroom and Ohrigstad. Beginning with May of the latter year they refer to "*Die Volkstraad van die Suid-Afrikaanse Republiek*." The people called themselves or were called "*Emigrante Boeren Noord van den Vaal Rivier*" or "*ge emigreerde Hollandsche Afstammelingen gevestigd ten Noorden van de Vale rivier*." But it is significant that in November, 1853, Commandant Generaal M. W. Pretorius wrote: "*het publiek want wy niet Hollanders maar Africaan genoemd worde*." The Boers wished to be recognized as a distinct nationalist unit, as Afrikaners.

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FRANCE

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THE ESTATES GENERAL OF 1560. By J. Russell Major. [Princeton Studies in History, Volume VI.] (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1951, pp. viii, 146, \$2.50.) In this monographic study Dr. Major has shed light on many details concerning electoral and convocational procedures of the Estates General in France under the Old Regime. Measured by conventional standards of research, the work is beyond criticism. It reveals, nevertheless, what frequently happens when the scholar trained to examine the tree attempts to describe the forest. According to the prospectus on the jacket the purpose of the author is to answer the question why national representative government failed to develop in France "by a careful analysis of a single meeting of the Estates General." The author himself is more modest for he states, "one should not hope to find a conclusive answer from the study of a single meeting" (p. 115). Despite this expressed restraint, Dr. Major challenges somewhat reck-

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

lessly the views of former French constitutional historians who have argued that the Estates General failed because the three orders were seldom able to agree and because the French kings could not adapt the institution to the principles and policies of paternalistic autocracy. Professor Major emphasizes the generally recognized opinion that French kings encouraged the Estates General as a counterweight against provincialism but contends further that the institution "was the creation of the monarch and *became one of his most effective tools*" (p. 10, italics mine). A few pages later the statement is made that the crown was unable to convoke a "complete" Estates General until 1484 at which time the assembly criticized rather than supported the administration with the result that "the French kings for the next seventy-five years seem to have regarded the Estates General as being useless and at worst a threat to royal authority" (p. 14). In 1560 the Estates General which serves as the central subject of the author's work "refused to make any important concessions to the crown and hence were rarely convoked thereafter" (p. 114). On those subsequent rare occasions, 1576, 1589, 1593, 1614, and 1789, the altercations between the Estates General and the respective kings were even more pronounced. The question which bedevils Professor Major's hypotheses is precisely *when* did the institution become one of the monarch's *most effective tools*? There are answers to the question why representative government failed to develop in France as it did in England, but it is the opinion of this critic that the author has not found them and is, in fact, farther from them than were some of the historians whose views he opposes. The study is an excellent and valuable piece of descriptive research, but it appears limited in insight.

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MORELLY: CODE DE LA NATURE, OU LE VÉRITABLE ESPRIT DE SES LOIS, 1755. Edited with an Introduction and Notes by *Gilbert Chinard*. (Paris, Raymond Clavreuil, 1950, pp. 335.) What we are offered here is really a pair of books, Morelly's *Code de la Nature* (last published in 1910) and Professor Chinard's scholarly introduction. Both make it clear that the eighteenth-century utopian socialist deserves more serious attention than he has generally been given. Morelly of course speaks for himself, without much style, except for the fine title, but with fervent expression of an interrelated set of ideas about religion, psychology, moral standards, society, education, and politics. See, for example, his refutation of the utility and inevitability of social stratification (pp. 189 ff., 231-33), his denial of Montesquieu's assertions concerning the stability of various forms of government (pp. 225-30), his clear statement of the eighteenth-century faith in a natural moral order (p. 184 n.), or his advanced definitions of liberty (pp. 219-21) and progress (pp. 251-52). Part IV of Morelly's book describes in detail his communistic utopia, drawn in large part, as Professor Chinard tells us, from Thomas More and from Garcilasso de la Vega's *Histoire des Incas*. To the student of the history of ideas, however, the preceding sections are perhaps more interesting, for they contain all the steps of the author's argument, from his deistic religious premise (pp. 282-83) through his psychology (pp. 164 ff.) and onward to his contract theory of government (pp. 233-36) and to the other views already mentioned. Professor Chinard's introduction, 146 pages in length, is more than its title indicates, for in addition to a study of Morelly's seven most important publications it sketches the history of the author's reputation from the eighteenth century to the qualified recognition granted him today by Soviet theorists. Professor Chinard does not claim to have dealt with all the influences of others on Morelly or of Morelly on others, but the reader will not fail to see the

place of the *Code de la Nature* as a landmark in the history of socialism, or its author's relation to the other *philosophes* of the Enlightenment.

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THE LOW COUNTRIES

B. H. Wabeke

LES ORIGINES DU CATHOLICISME LIBÉRAL EN BELGIQUE (1789-1839). By *Henri Haag*. [Université de Louvain, Recueil de travaux d'histoire et de philologie, 3^e série, fascicule 36.] (Louvain, E. Nauwelaerts, 1950, pp. 300, 175 fr.) The union of Catholics and Liberals in 1828 has long been recognized as an important link in the chain of events leading up to the Belgian revolution of 1830. As an example of the acceptance in practice, if not in principle, by a clerical party of such fundamentals of modern political democracy as the separation of church and state and freedom of education and the press, the Liberal-Catholic coalition of 1828 has additional significance for the history of the adjustment of the Roman Catholic Church, long allied with the forces of reaction, to the increasingly democratic temper of the nineteenth century. It is with this aspect of the union and especially with its ideological implications for Roman Catholicism that Dr. Haag is concerned in his study of the origins of liberal Catholicism in Belgium. The book opens with a discussion of the political and social doctrine of the Belgian Catholics and their dependence upon such non-Belgian exponents of traditionalism and ultramontanism as Burke, De Bonald, De Maistre, and Lamennais. Next the author traces the history of the idea of Liberal-Catholic co-operation from the first unsuccessful appeal by the Catholic baron De Gerlache before the lower house of the States General in 1825 to the consummation of the union in 1828. Dr. Haag emphasizes the opportunistic character of this coalition, in which neither side meant to sacrifice any of its basic principles. Subsequent chapters deal with the part played by the clerical element in framing the Belgian constitution of 1831 and the struggle of left-wing Catholics against the reactionary policies of King Leopold I and Pope Gregory XVI. Throughout the book the relationship of the Belgian Catholics with Lamennais and Rome is discussed in considerable detail. The author concludes that practical considerations rather than the ideas of Lamennais or any other writer guided the political actions of the Belgian Catholics throughout this period. This conclusion, while probably correct, seems inconsistent with the author's earlier preoccupation with matters of doctrine and principle, and suggests that a more sociological and less strictly ideological approach to the subject might have been more appropriate. It is difficult to see, for instance, why it should have been necessary to devote two whole chapters to a discussion of the

influence of traditionalist and ultramontane philosophy on the Belgian Catholics if their "liberalism" sprang mainly from a recognition that the interests of the church in Belgium demanded an adjustment to the realities of the local political situation. Neither is the argument altogether convincing that because of its opportunistic character this liberalism of the Belgian Catholics is entirely consistent with their acceptance of the teachings of men like De Bonald and De Maistre, whose names one would hardly associate with liberalism except in the most negative sense. The book contains, furthermore, certain defects of organization which are likely to confuse the general reader who is not already thoroughly familiar with the subject. For instance, not until page 202 does the author give a clear definition of the terms "unionism" and "liberal Catholicism," as he understands them. Although he condemns the use of the term "unionism" when applied to the period after 1830, Dr. Haag himself discusses events of the years 1831-33 under the heading "L'Unionisme." In spite of such weaknesses in argumentation and organization, Dr. Haag's study will undoubtedly be welcomed by students of church history as well as by anyone interested in the intellectual history of the early nineteenth century. The book is obviously the result of painstaking research among the written records of the period, many of which had thus far remained unexplored. The book is also well written. These two qualities and the importance of the subject combine to give it an uncommon interest. B. H. W.

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GERMANY, AUSTRIA, AND SWITZERLAND

Ernst Posner¹

LUTHER'S PROGRESS TO THE DIET OF WORMS, 1521. By Gordon Rupp. (Chicago, Wilcox and Follett, 1951, pp. 109, \$2.00.) Ernest Gordon Rupp is a Methodist minister and a professor of church history at Richmond College, a divinity school in the University of London. He is one of a number of promising young British scholars who are seeking solutions to the perplexing spiritual problems of our day by a study of the dynamic forces of the Reformation, the Catholic as well as the Protestant. Attracted a number of years ago to the study of Luther, in whose behalf he wrote the widely read defense, *Martin Luther: Hitler's Cause or Cure*, he came to the conclusion that the German Reformer had much to say that "may be of value for the healing of the nations" and "the mending of the Church" (p. 8). In his attempt to arrive at a better understanding of Luther, Rupp not only mastered much of the recent research concerned with the Reformer's early theological development but checked his findings with the primary sources. He presented the results of his studies first in a series of lectures delivered at Trinity College, Cambridge, England, and finally in this fascinating, well-written book. The author correctly concludes that one cannot understand Luther without recognizing that his primary concern was of a theological nature. Accordingly he analyzes the *via moderna* of the Nominalists which dominated the thinking of the theologians at the University of Erfurt, as well as Luther's objections to it. He follows this with a discussion of the Reformer's enthusiasm for the works of St. Augustine, the salutary influence of the *via antiqua* of Staupitz, and the encouragement gleaned from mysticism, especially that of the *devotio moderna*. Then he traces the development of Luther's own theological solutions from the "tower experience" to the Diet of Worms in 1521. He concludes with a brief epilogue in which he urges Reformation scholars to re-examine Luther's dependence upon medieval theology and expresses his belief that the Reformer would today welcome a "Reformation of Reformation" in which Catholic and Protestant churches would co-operate in meeting the crying needs of our century (p. 107).

HAROLD J. GRIMM, *Ohio State University*

KAUFLEUTE ZU HAUS UND ÜBER SEE: HAMBURGISCHE ZEUGNISSE DES
17., 18., UND 19. JAHRHUNDERTS. Gesammelt und erläutert von Percy Ernst

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

Schramm. Band I: DER VERÖFFENTLICHUNGEN DER FORSCHUNGSSTELLE FÜR HAMBURGISCHE WIRTSCHAFTSGESCHICHTE E. V. (Hamburg, Hoffmann und Campe, 1949, pp. 596.) "*Hamburg ist ein Compendium mundi. . . Die Schifffahrt macht, dass Hamburg ist Klein-Spanien, Klein-Portugal, Klein-Frankreich, Klein-Engelland, Klein-Holland, Klein-Schweden, Klein-Dänemark und Norwegen.*" This rich collection of materials, some never before published, some printed but inaccessible, goes far to confirm the boast quoted above from seventeenth-century Pastor Schupp. The papers span three centuries, from the late sixteenth to the late nineteenth, ending with a survey of the commerce of Bremen and Hamburg from the Thirty Years' War to the formation of the German Empire in 1871. They begin in the sixteenth century with a broad introductory setting which explains the growth of Hamburg, aided by the shortsighted and destructive policy of Spain in Amsterdam. The extrusion of Protestant merchants and artisans therefrom sent many able families as refugees to Hamburg. The tension between Spain and England during the reign of Elizabeth hampered the Anglo-Netherlands trade and increased opportunities for the German city; the Merchant Adventurers were given ten-year privileges in Hamburg in 1567. The collection includes a wide variety of family letters, business correspondence, memoirs, balance sheets, and shipping tables; accounts of trading conditions in Spanish America, China, West and East Africa, and the South Seas. The documents chosen for presentation are enhanced in value by the brief and well-written introductions of Dr. Schramm, which place each group in its proper setting. The book gives valuable insight into the personalities, methods, and character of Hamburg's business and her world-wide trade. A few portraits, views, and facsimiles of documents add to the general interest; firm balance sheets and tax lists give detailed information; the *Personenregister* and the *Sachregister* enhance this source book's reference value.

FRANKLIN D. SCOTT, *Northwestern University*

DER JOSEPHINISMUS: QUELLEN ZU SEINER GESCHICHTE IN ÖSTERREICH, 1760-1790: AMTLICHE DOKUMENTE AUS DEM WIENER HAUS, HOF-, UND STAATSARCHIV. Volume I, URSPRUNG UND WESEN DES JOSEPHINISMUS, 1760-1769. By *Ferdinand Maass*. [Fontes rerum Austriacarum. Zweite Abteilung: Diplomataria et acta. 71. Band.] (Vienna, Verlag Herold for Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, 1951, pp. xxiii, 395, plates, \$4.50.) This seventy-first volume of the *Diplomataria et acta* makes its appearance eleven years after the publication of volume seventy in 1940. The latest publication confirms a welcome determination on the part of the editors to depart from their traditionally heavy emphasis in the series on the medieval period. The schedule henceforth calls for increasing attention to documents which may throw some light on a few of the many unsolved problems and unanswered questions in modern Austrian history. It seems appropriate, moreover, that the new trend should be strengthened with a volume on Josephinism. For during the past decade or so there have been great interest and activity in this field, with much controversy and several conflicting interpretations. The more the subject is studied, the farther back the origins of Josephinism seem to be pushed, and Dr. Maass's scholarly work adds force to this view. The author plans to cover the period from 1760 to 1790 in three volumes, each devoted to one decade of these thirty years. In an earlier publication on the origins of Josephinism, Dr. Maass compiled the official correspondence of Chancellor Kaunitz with Governor General Count Firmian of Lombardy. This work served as useful background for the more ambitious project now launched with the volume under review. The volume contains a brief but excellent foreword, which sum-

marizes the chief current interpretations of Josephinism, a 100-page documented essay on Prince Kaunitz' views and activities in the matter of church-state relations particularly in the province of Lombardy which was his especial concern in the 1760's, and the texts of 160 documents and letters, most of them written by or to Kaunitz. Dr. Maass shows convincingly how Kaunitz gradually came to the conclusion that church affairs not merely needed reform per se but should be made subordinate to the policy of the state; how he achieved such an arrangement in Lombardy; and how, by 1769, Maria Theresa crowned his efforts by laying the official groundwork for a similar development in other parts of the monarchy. The volume ends with a good index and with sixteen photostatic illustrations of documents referred to in the text.

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ITALY

*Gaudens Megaro*¹

GIUSEPPE MAZZINI: SAGGI E RICERCHE. By *Emilia Morelli*. [Quaderni del Risorgimento, I.] (Rome, Edizioni dell'Ateneo, 1950, pp. 99.) The publication of this volume announces the beginning of a new series of studies devoted to the Risorgimento. In his preface to the *Quaderni*, Alberto M. Ghisalberti indicates that their primary purpose will be to encourage publication by young scholars. While in the first place an outgrowth of the work of those who have gathered round the chair of Risorgimento history at the University of Rome, the *Quaderni* will also be open to scholars from elsewhere, provided they be young. The five studies in the present volume are based in large measure upon unpublished materials. The largest, and that which will be of most interest to students of nationalism, reflects recent interest in the position of Sicily. By an exhaustive examination of the *Scritti editi ed inediti*, the author has reconstructed Mazzini's views on the Sicilian question. The second part of this study is based upon unpublished documents concerning Nicola Fabrizi in Rome's *Museo centrale del Risorgimento*. In the opening essay, on "Mazzini in Recent Historiography," the author places herself squarely with those who regard the Risorgimento as above all a moral, rather than a purely diplomatic, phenomenon. The biographers are considered first: Bolton King, Luzio, Griffith, Stringfellow Barr, Codignola. Other views on Mazzini include those of Salvemini, Levi, Gentile, Salvatorelli, and Hans Kohn. Of particular interest is the author's indication of the places where fresh studies are needed. The latter days of the Roman Republic were made more difficult by differences between Mazzini, who demanded an attack on the enemy, and Garibaldi, whose refusal to carry out the promised attack brought Mazzini's well-known denunciation. The author comes to the defense of Garibaldi's reputation by the publication of a hitherto unknown letter from Colonel Manara, which gives a military explanation for Garibaldi's behavior. Another essay corrects Mazzini's version of the secret session of the Roman Constituent Assembly of June 30, 1849. The final study presents an Italian translation of five open letters to Mazzini, published by Antonio Gallenga (Luigi Mariotti, pseud.) in a London republican weekly in 1851. The "traitor" to the principles of Mazzini urged him in the interests of national unity to support the House of Savoy, and to place his reliance on the intellectual bourgeoisie rather than on his "people."

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RUSSIA AND SLAVIC EUROPE

Sergius Yakobson

THE WORLD OF THE SLAVS. By *Albert Mousset*. Translated from the French by *Margaret Lavenau*. [Library of World Affairs, Number 14.] (Rev. ed., New York, Frederick A. Praeger, 1950, pp. ix, 204, \$3.00.) This slim volume possesses topical and historical interest and is written with a sure touch and discernment. It is a very considerable expansion of a first edition which appeared in 1946, and carries inter-Slavic relationships through the Titoist breach with the Kremlin. The author, who has an established reputation as a writer on Slavic themes, devotes well over half his space to the 1940's. The most original section integrates sensitively the religious factors in the broad Slavic pattern; otherwise the ground covered will be familiar to students of East European affairs. From a stalwart Slavic point of view it is permissible doubtless to dismiss Pan-Slavism as a political force before 1914 as a myth, a superstition. But to do that disregards the suspicion and distrust which the phenomenon recurrently aroused among policy-makers in central Europe. With the resurgence of individual nationalisms after 1918, Russian influence upon the Slavic peoples dropped sharply, only to rise to an unprecedented pitch after the enthronement of the Nazis. Conditions in the smaller Slavic states at selected periods during and after the Second World War are swiftly surveyed. There are conscientious accounts of general Slavic conferences in Europe and America during the late war, which thoroughly demonstrated the solidarity of the Slavs. The curious Orleans mission receives passing comment. Upon liberation from the Axis yoke Slavic solidarity yielded to unity on Marxist foundations, until the Yugoslav deviation, which is rightly attributed to sturdy national pride and repugnance to economic enslavement. Yugoslavia stands out as a country which has adopted communism but will not bend to domination by Soviet oligarchs. This book is a useful addition to the literature on eastern Europe in the recent past, though scarcely a "must" for the scholar. There are occasional cumbrous, puzzling passages, evidences of a certain amount of haste in proofreading, and annoying use of the terms "race" and "racial" implying "blood" affinity, it appears. The author errs in suggesting that the Soviet population bounded upward faster than India's, for example, and in describing Danilewsky as anti-Darwinian in orientation. There is a serviceable index, but the merits of the book would have been increased if it had been equipped with a bibliography.

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Near Eastern History

Sidney Glazer

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Far Eastern History

E. H. Pritchard¹

THE BUDDHIST WAY OF LIFE: ITS PHILOSOPHY AND HISTORY. By F. Harold Smith, Professor of Comparative Religion and Philosophy of Religion in the University of Manchester and Fellow of King's College, London. [Hutchinson's University Library, World Religions.] (New York, Longmans, Green, 1951, pp. vii, 189, trade \$2.00, text \$1.60.) In this modest volume Professor Smith has written an excellent brief statement of the development of Buddhist philosophy. The difficult problem of organizing the historical and doctrinal material is admirably resolved by a happy combination of the two. There is, however, little new here, nor does there purport to be, for the book is based on standard works which are listed in a selected bibliography at the end of each chapter. Beginning with a sketch of the Vedic and Brahmanic milieu in which Buddhism originated, Dr. Smith recounts the primitive tradition, explains the central doctrine, and touches on the influence of Asoka. "What St. Paul was to Christianity," he writes, "so, in his way, was Asoka to Buddhism." He goes on to trace the differentiation which took place resulting in the Hinayana school (Ceylon, Burma, Thailand) with its search for individual sainthood and the Mahayana school (India, China, Japan) with its object of universal salvation. There follow chapters showing how in China, because of the decay of Indian Buddhism and the strength of Confucianism, Buddhism permanently colored but did not dominate the civilization. In Japan, however, coming upon a primitive culture it was able fully to naturalize itself, although it was eventually rejected for

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

Buddhized Shinto. It is regrettable that the author could not suggest in his concluding chapter the significance as well as the fact that, in contrast to Western thought, Buddhism teaches the illusory nature of mundane things. Not intended for the specialist, this book will be a useful supplement for anyone primarily interested in the secular aspects of Asian history.

MARK NAIDIS, *Washington, D.C.*

THE GRAND PEREGRINATION: BEING THE LIFE AND ADVENTURES OF FERNÃO MENDES PINTO. By *Maurice Collis*. (London, Faber and Faber; New York, Macmillan, 1949, pp. 313, \$4.50.) The usual interpretation of the author of the *Peregrinação* is summed up in the lame pun on his name: "*Fernão, mentes? Minto.*" (Fernão, dost thou lie? I lie.) Indeed, almost every writer who has sought to use his work as a historical source has either been severely criticized as a historiographical innocent for doing so or has given up Fernão's account as a tissue of only possibly true and certainly irreconcilable tales. Mr. Collis suggests another interpretation, and it is an attractive one. According to him, as he summarizes the *Peregrinação* and gives a brief account of what we know of Fernão's own life (incidentally, his is the first full-length English summary), Fernão sought to create a synthesis of the Portuguese of his time overseas. For this purpose, he wrought his own acquaintance with the East into a prose epic with a great number of tales, relations, and other accounts, many by the actors or the eyewitnesses, and gave them artistic coherence by casting them all into the first person singular. It was not his intention to deceive the reader into supposing that here was an authentic and reliable source all ready to be tucked tidily into footnotes; instead, he sought to convey some sense of what the hardships and the glory of the conquest of the East had been. Mr. Collis feels that in this Fernão succeeded, and that he produced one of the great artistic monuments of the sixteenth century. I am inclined to agree with Mr. Collis as to Fernão's intention and the measure of his success. Mr. Collis deserves our thanks for setting Fernão in a perspective in which his great work makes sense. His summary is easy reading for those who do not use Portuguese and forms a sound basis for evaluating the *Peregrinação*, which I, for one, am willing to class among our great historico-literary syntheses, along with *The Anatomy of Melancholy* and *Black Lamb, Grey Falcon*.

ALEXANDER MARCHANT, *Vanderbilt University*

TRADE THROUGH THE HIMALAYAS. By *Schuyler Cammann*. (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1951, pp. x, 186, \$3.50.) Concerned mainly with Anglo-Tibetan relations, this monograph skillfully integrates a great deal of scattered material and should prove rewarding to students of British expansion and of India in particular. Dr. Cammann, using both Occidental and Oriental sources, has produced a clear picture of the British efforts to open Tibet to trade in the late eighteenth century. He begins by showing how after 1750, under Manchu suzerainty, Tibet became a "forbidden land," and how the conquest of Nepal by the Gurkhas in 1769 tended to strangle trans-Himalayan trade with northern India. The great famine of 1770 stimulated efforts to extend the trade of Bengal and led indirectly to the first English mission to Tibet. This study centers around the missions of George Bogle in 1774 and Samuel Turner in 1783, both commissioned by Warren Hastings. Bogle's reconnaissance resulted in a full report fascinating to scholars, but he failed to gain permission for European agents to visit Lhasa. Turner, his successor, did not fare much better as a diplomat, but his account of rich trade possibilities encouraged British interest. Nevertheless, when the Manchus finally expelled Gurkha invaders later,

the Chinese persistently refused to permit trade between Bengal and Tibet. Professor Cammann succeeds admirably in recreating the pattern of Anglo-Tibetan relations, which, after all, is his major problem, but in the final chapter he also suggests a continuity between Bogle and Younghusband that is rather inadequately supported. A few pages elaborating the author's views on this point would have been appreciated. Included in appendixes are a brief comment on the company's war with Bhutan in 1773, a translation of the Panchen Lama's first letter to Warren Hastings, the principal articles of the treaty of peace with Bhutan, and a summary of Turner's list of articles in the Tibetan trade in 1782. An annotated bibliography of principal sources cited adds further to the usefulness of the work. Extraordinarily well written, this unpretentious little book deserves more than casual consideration.

MARK NAIDIS, *Washington, D.C.*

SPECIAL BUSINESS INTERESTS AND THE OPEN DOOR POLICY. By *Charles S. Campbell, Jr.* [Yale Historical Publications, Miscellany, LIII.] (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1951, pp. 88, \$3.00.) American business was only remotely concerned with the China trade until near the close of the last century. Then the "bogey of the surplus" arose. Foreign commerce, from debit balances, showed disconcerting surpluses within a few years. Europe threatened discriminatory measures against the destructive competition of the American "pike in a carp pond." Dr. Campbell discloses how American businessmen turned to China and prepared the ground for the Open Door policy. Primarily interested were the cotton exporters and investors in railway concessions. The kerosene, flour, and metal industries saw large opportunities as well. But if China were split up into spheres of interest, America would be eliminated from "the greatest market of the world." A Committee on American Interests in China got under way, representative of big business. Russian designs in Manchuria and North China, main areas of American trade, brought Britain and the United States together. How Hoppisley and Rockhill shaped John Hay's thinking up to the issue of the famous notes to the Powers in September, 1899, is well enough known. Generally overlooked is that President McKinley, with an election due, was politically dependent on businessmen such as supported the American Asiatic Association. The powerful association is further credited with inspiring the July, 1900, circular guaranteeing as an integral part of the Open Door policy China's territorial and administrative entity. Dr. Campbell's thesis that the continued pressure of special business interests played a decisive part culminating in Hay's action appears amply substantiated. Though contributing little that is new, this concise study brings out how a half-century ago American business was overwhelmingly preoccupied with the prospects of the China trade. It is also a reminder of how American diplomacy in late years has failed to sustain American business in an area in which it won striking success. The book is well documented, with a valuable bibliographical note.

ESSON M. GALE, *University of Michigan*

THE RISE AND FALL OF THE JAPANESE EMPIRE. By *David H. James.* (New York, Macmillan, 1951, pp. 409, \$5.00.) In the preface of his book Captain James announces that his intention is "to meet the needs of the general reader who wishes to obtain an outline of Japanese history in addition to the major factors contributing to the debacle of 1945." That the author had long years of diversified contacts and experience in the Far East and was keenly observant of events as they took place rapidly before his eyes is without question. There is a certain soundness of interpretation of these events; also, Captain James for the most part reveals an open mind,

for he sees the universality of human endeavor and institutions, whether it be in Buddhism, Christianity, the feudalistic shogunate, modern Gumbatsu, Atlantic Charter, Yalta agreement, British "Brass," or the atom bomb. He falls only occasionally into traditional prejudices and uncritical generalizations. As regards his treatment of Japanese history, however, the author must have had some doubts himself, for he says, "Any inaccuracy—regarding facts—is due to the historians who placed it on paper in the first instance and not to any bias on my part" (p. 80). He may not have had a "bias," but of inaccuracies, both of facts and of language, there are many. Even the general reader should not be told that early national histories of Japan were compiled by individual Fujiwara shoguns, that the history of Christianity in Japan commenced with the contact of Japanese and Portuguese in India at the end of the thirteenth century, nor that the Washington Conference handed over to Japan the responsibility for peace in the Orient. Any student of Far Eastern history could easily make a list of such inaccuracies, particularly when the author indulges in almost unrelated excursions into Chinese history and politics. The Chinese classics, the *Shu-king* and the *Shi-king*, are taken to be persons (p. 53); Sun Yat-sen, as leader of the 1898 reform movement (p. 139); Yuan Shih-k'ai is described as a wily "Manchu" (p. 140); the young emperor is jailed in the "Temple of Heaven" (p. 140), and Li Hung Chang, almost the only persona grata from the North to the Allies, is given as one of the two arch supporters of the Boxers (p. 134)! Inconsistent romanization of Chinese names, exaggerated use of Japanese terms and irrelevant materials such as the history of the Mongols and of the Chinese dialects, make the book less impressive and valuable than it otherwise could have been. As a whole, the author has portrayed very clearly the birth-pains of modern Japan, her golden opportunities and planned achievements, and finally her "dream" and the debacle. Had he begun with the "raising of the bamboo curtain" and Meiji restoration and substituted more of his valuable personal observations for irrelevant materials, there would be no question that Captain James would have done greater justice to himself. We hope that he will revise this edition so that the full worth of his account may be realized.

YU-SHAN HAN, *University of California, Los Angeles*

KOREAN-AMERICAN RELATIONS: DOCUMENTS PERTAINING TO THE FAR EASTERN DIPLOMACY OF THE UNITED STATES. Volume I, THE INITIAL PERIOD, 1883-1886. Edited, with an Introduction, by George M. McCune and John A. Harrison. (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1951, pp. viii, 163, \$2.50.) This is a useful addition to the growing body of materials on Korean-American relations. It is the first of a projected three volumes, to cover 1883-1905. It might have been well to have extended coverage back a bit, to include the Shufeldt treaty negotiations; but the dates chosen are defensible, as spanning the years when the United States had a legation in Seoul. Some may ask: why such a collection as this? After all, microfilm copies of all these documents, and more, may be obtained from the National Archives for \$16 (*List of File Microcopies in the National Archives*, 1950, pp. 6, 11). Scholars working on specialized problems in American diplomacy or Far Eastern history will want to use the microcopies, or the originals. But students working on broader subjects will welcome this publication as a time-saver; and all, specialists included, will be interested in the arrangement of documents into meaningful categories: (1) general legation activities; (2) Korean efforts to secure American advisers, to counteract influence of other foreigners in Seoul; (3) Russian and British activities (Russia secured much influence in Korea, Britain

countering by temporarily seizing Port Hamilton); (4) the Sino-Japanese struggle, featuring an 1884 revolution backed by Korean progressives, Japanese, and American Naval Attaché George Foulk. Also useful is a nineteen-page introduction, which ties the documents together, and stresses American blunders. The introduction and selection of documents will not please everybody. The key to the story, say the editors, is the fact that Minister Lucius Foote and his assistant Foulk, ill-supported by their home government, failed in efforts to "keep Korea independent"; hence "the United States had fumbled an opportunity that would not again be offered." Many will feel that the opportunity was very limited, and that, all things considered, even an efficient State Department could have done little in 1883-86. Another point may be in order. As the subtitle indicates, this volume is designed partly to explain American policy in the Orient. The editors concentrate, however, on the international crises in Korea. This is understandable, considering Korea's importance in Asia, then and now. Yet this emphasis tends to obscure the fact that the primary purpose of nineteenth-century American diplomacy in the Far East was to advance American interests. In the years here covered (1883-86) American diplomats helped their nationals establish the first permanent Protestant missions in Korea and aided merchants interested in building Korean-American trade. Neither of these developments receives attention in this collection. It is to be hoped that Volumes II and III will include such subjects. It might be further suggested that a collection of documents on Korean-American relations would be more valuable if it went beyond State Department instructions to and dispatches from the American legation in Seoul. Dispatches from the American legation in China, and letters in the Foulk Manuscripts, to mention only two easily accessible American sources, would enrich the collection. In other words, those editing documents in American diplomatic history would do well to use the broad coverage of David Hunter Miller's *Treaty Series* as a pattern. The present volume is attractively designed and well printed. The work of checking was carefully done, and scholars can use the documents with confidence that the printed text is a true copy of the original. But, sad to say, there is no subject index. Undoubtedly there will be one for the three volumes. But, since Volumes II and III appear not to be scheduled for publication in the near future, Volume I should have one of its own.

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United States History

Wood Gray¹

GENERAL

A RAIL SPLITTER FOR PRESIDENT. By Wayne C. Williams. (Denver, University of Denver Press, 1951, pp. xiii, 242, \$3.00.) "Who is Lincoln?" questioned bewildered citizens in May, 1860, when they learned that the Republican National Convention at Chicago had nominated a relatively unknown Illinois politician for President. In the next five months there would be many attempts to answer that question. "A giant in intellect as well as stature," Senator Lyman Trumbull called him, but James Gordon Bennett assured his *Herald* readers that Lincoln was "a third-rate western politician." "One of the ablest if not the very ablest political debater on the whole continent," "a sublime obscurity," "the man for the times," "an uneducated man—a vulgar village politician," "a man of tried ability and conservative ideas," "an abolitionist of the reddest dye"—so asserted the politicians, the party hacks, the newspaper pundits. In the light of Lincoln's later fame it is difficult to remember his obscurity in 1860, when even enthusiastic Republicans were uncertain whether their candidate's name was "Abram" or "Abraham." In *A Rail Splitter for President* Wayne C. Williams attempts to show "Lincoln as he was before greatness came to him" by presenting scores of contemporary opinions, culled from more than fifty newspapers published during the campaign summer. Mr. Williams lets his quotations speak for themselves; they are arranged in a roughly topical order and are linked with the tinnest thread of narrative. This little book is not, and does not pretend to be, a major work of historical scholarship. It does not discuss the relation between the newspaper stories here collected and public opinion. Weighty issues of intra-party strategy find little place here. Mr. Williams does not attempt a careful appraisal of social and economic factors affecting the election and does not even refer to major serious studies by Randall, Luthin, Crenshaw, and Nevins. Instead, *A Rail Splitter for President* is a pleasant supplement to all these, and if its well-selected quotations prove no major thesis, they do at least evoke something of the frenetic tone, the feverish atmosphere, the frenzied enthusiasms of one of our most unusual and crucial elections.

DAVID DONALD, *Columbia University*

BERNHARD EDUARD FERNOW: A STORY OF NORTH AMERICAN FORESTRY. By Andrew Denny Rodgers, III. (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1951, pp. 623, \$7.50.) The author of this volume began his writing career with a biography of his grandfather, William S. Sullivant, a distinguished bryologist (expert on mosses). He has gone on apparently to cover the history of botany in the United

¹ Responsible only for the lists of articles and documents.

States through biographical studies of the leaders in the science. This volume on the founder, or at least organizer and promoter, of forestry is a worthy addition to the volumes before and shares their excellences and limitations. Mr. Rodgers is an enthusiastic but somewhat undisciplined historian. This volume overwhelms both subject and reader with an outpouring, or indiscriminate ingathering, of everything and everybody that touches the subject. The subtitle submerges the main title. Fernow came to this country in 1876 as a rather stiff Prussian, a veteran of the Franco-Prussian War, with a sound training in forestry and forest economy. His older brother, who had come to this country earlier, left a creditable record as a historian of colonial New York and as a contributor to Winsor's *Narrative and Critical History*. The younger Fernow was actually not following his brother but rather an attractive young American girl, and the hunch that the new land would offer a career for one with his training. It is true that the late seventies of the nineteenth century reveal a growing awareness of the necessity of forest reservation and preservation. Young Fernow with missionary zeal and a professional training possessed by few in America was soon an attendant and program participant at every gathering where forestry was discussed. Cultured, forceful, and physically commanding, he was the natural leader come at the right time. His career as chief of the division of forestry in the Department of Agriculture, as head of the New York State College of Forestry (Cornell), at Pennsylvania State College, and the University of Toronto gave him an exceptional opportunity to shape policies and a new profession. His influence was multiplied by books, articles, and a guiding hand in every important organization touching his field. He was truly the father of forestry in North America. Around no other figure could one so properly attempt to crystallize the history of the science and the art of forestry. Perhaps one should not be too critical if the writer's span seems sometimes greater than his literary grasp.

G.S.F.

CHARLES SUMNER: AN ESSAY BY CARL SCHURZ. Edited by *Arthur Reed Hogue*. (Urbana, University of Illinois Press, 1951, pp. 152, \$2.50.) In 1894 Carl Schurz began to write a biographical essay on Charles Sumner. His source of information was his own memory of their long association in politics and Edward L. Pierce's four-volume biography, the last volume of which had just come off the press. Schurz's first draft of the essay was a rough, sketchy, sixty-eight-page manuscript. Here and there flights of eloquence relieved its raw character. Schurz next took this first draft and began to polish it. Eventually he had ninety-six pages of a highly readable second draft. It failed, however, to complete Sumner's career. For years this known, but incomplete, second draft lay unused in the Library of Congress. The existence of the first draft was not even suspected until 1948 when Hogue discovered it in a Chicago real estate office. The discovery prodded Hogue to forsake his own English law field temporarily for a fling at a bit of Lincolniana. He spliced the two drafts and produced this book. Four fifths of the published text is from the Library of Congress manuscript; one fifth is from Hogue's manuscript. For his part, Editor Hogue has done a masterful job, both in transcribing the holographs and in collating these drafts with Pierce's biography. Except for a short preface and the reference notes to Pierce, Hogue has chosen to leave this bifurcated essay unadorned. The result is a fascinating little biography, whose value, once its attraction is admitted, is hard to determine. It is interesting to read the analysis of one of Sumner's more discerning contemporaries. Yet from the point of view of both information and interpretation, Schurz's effort adds nothing to what is

now known or believed about Sumner. All the biographies of Sumner were produced between 1875 and 1910, and this essay belongs to that era. No really modern scholarship has been brought to bear on Sumner since G. H. Haynes wrote for the "American Crisis" series. Time might show that this essay, inadvertently, is more significant for what it reveals about Schurz than about Sumner. If properly analyzed, this document could be used to gain insight into the knowledge, thinking process, and philosophy of Carl Schurz.

ROBERT J. RAYBACK, *Syracuse University*

GEORGE FOSTER PEABODY: BANKER, PHILANTHROPIST, PUBLICIST. By *Louise Ware*. (Athens, University of Georgia Press, 1951, pp. x, 279, \$4.00.) George Foster Peabody was an investment banker who believed in government ownership of railroads; a heavy investor in Mexico who supported Wilson's "watchful waiting"; a practical politician who would abolish armies and navies; an energetic businessman who retired in his fifties; and a romantic idealist who, having lost the one love of his life to another man, ultimately became her second husband just before she died. To explain such a personality is a challenge to the biographer, but the necessary materials were apparently unavailable. For the first forty-eight years of Peabody's life, which covers the period of his business success, there are no letters. For the remainder of his long career there are letter files, but, judging from the results, Miss Ware found them of limited value. The ones cited are of a formal character, and reveal relatively little of Peabody's inward problems. Under the circumstances it might have been better to have concentrated on a more thorough treatment of Peabody in his roles of educational leader, political adviser, pacifist, and philanthropist rather than attempt "to review Mr. Peabody's life in its entirety." To compensate for lack of intimate manuscript material Miss Ware based the biography upon interviews with or letters from Peabody's friends. Such material is a valuable aid to historical research, and one generally slighted by historians who prefer the peaceful atmosphere of libraries to the psychological problems of extracting information from cautious contemporaries. But it is best used as a supplement to the customary types of evidence. An account such as this, that in many sections relies largely on what people have told the author, is almost bound to be thin and highly generalized. To take a fairly typical example, Pierre Jay says that on the Board of the New York Federal Reserve "Peabody made an important contribution to the discussions." Does this remark add much to our understanding of either Peabody or of central banking? The chapters dealing with the last twenty years of Peabody's long life, are, as one might expect under the circumstances, somewhat stronger and richer than those on his earlier career.

THOMAS C. COCHRAN, *University of Pennsylvania*

JOSIAH WILLARD GIBBS: THE HISTORY OF A GREAT MIND. By *Lynde Phelps Wheeler*. (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1951, pp. viii, 264, \$4.00.) Josiah Willard Gibbs (1839-1903) was one of the few American scientists of the nineteenth century to rank with the best of his European contemporaries. His great papers on thermodynamics in 1873 and 1878 laid the bases of modern physical chemistry. His important volume on *Statistical Mechanics* of 1902 has grown in stature through the years despite revolutionary changes in physics. Gibbs also published significant work in mathematics (vector analysis) and optics (theory of light). Yet his outward life was singularly uneventful. He was born and raised in New Haven, was educated at Yale, and taught there from 1871 to 1903. Study in Europe from 1866 to 1869 represented his only venture away from his home town.

Lynde Phelps Wheeler was well equipped to undertake the present biography. Formerly an associate professor of physics at Yale and now associated with a firm of engineering consultants, he was a student of Gibbs and later helped edit a volume of Gibbs's early works. He has made admirable use of his limited sources, critically evaluating Gibbs's correspondence and using reminiscences with restraint and intelligence (pp. 84, 109). If he supplements meager evidence with speculation, his speculation is shrewd and well considered (pp. 54 ff.). He has presented his results in a readable if not especially distinguished style. Mr. Wheeler throws light on several interesting aspects of Gibbs's work and character. He points out Gibbs's early shift from applied to theoretical mechanics. He emphasizes Gibbs's power "of abstract reasoning from the fewest possible basic assumptions" (p. 160) and points out that, because of this approach, Gibbs's work remained valuable despite changing ideas of the nature of matter. While Gibbs had very few students, the best of them recalled him as an excellent if demanding teacher. Mr. Wheeler rightly stresses Gibbs's correspondence with some of the leading scientists of his day but also notes that he was never active in scientific societies. Mr. Wheeler's picture of Gibbs as a man shows that his characteristic serenity and happiness came through individual intellectual pursuits and without extensive social contacts. The value of Mr. Wheeler's analysis of Gibbs's scientific contributions will vary with the scientific background of the reader. It makes difficult reading for anyone lacking a sound background in physics, although his discussion of the background to Gibbs's contributions is admirably lucid and relatively nontechnical. Unfortunately, the treatment of Gibbs's influence is very sketchy. While other writers have dealt with this subject, a fairly detailed, nontechnical presentation here would have made the present biography much more useful to the general historian. Mr. Wheeler has done a difficult job well. It is a reflection on the very abstract nature of Gibbs's work and his essentially solitary working habits that this biography will probably be of interest more to the historian of physics than to a person interested in American science as an aspect of American social history.

KENDALL BIRR, *University of Wisconsin*

MY FIRST EIGHTY-THREE YEARS IN AMERICA: THE MEMOIRS OF JAMES W. GERARD. By *James W. Gerard*. (Garden City, N.Y., Doubleday, 1951, pp. xi, 372, \$3.50.) It is to be regretted that James W. Gerard, ambassador to Germany during the First World War, did not write his memoirs many years earlier and that he did not dip more deeply into his frequently mentioned diaries, which probably contain information of greater historical value than he has here given. In this book are to be found a plethora of trivia, some errors in fact, and, one suspects, important omissions. Almost half the pages are devoted to Gerard's life in the artificial and expensive New York society of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries—a society in which the rich, he says, "avoided ostentation." Mr. Gerard's informal, anecdotal, and slyly humorous narrative does not always compensate for his monotonous recital of his social activities, his empty honors, and his meetings with distinguished people. A competent lawyer, a shrewd businessman, and a life-long Democrat of the conservative brand, this son-in-law of the silver king, Marcus Daly, was an important party man when campaign funds were to be contributed or raised. Yet throughout the ascendancy of Bryan, Wilson, and Franklin D. Roosevelt, he was usually on the periphery of political power. If he influenced party policy, or if he was seriously interested in doing so, his memoirs do not show it. He was evidently out of step with the principles of his party during its periods of victory. The historian who

expects to find new material on Gerard's ambassadorship to Germany, his most important public experience, will be disappointed. He tells little of significance not already told in his *My Four Years in Germany* (1920). That he was a competent ambassador in handling the mountain of duties dumped upon him when war broke out in Europe is not to be doubted. But it is doubtful that he was always the clear-headed, consistent, and farsighted diplomat who emerges from the book under review. In general Mr. Gerard deals tolerantly with personalities, and his convictions seem honest. He likes Hearst and MacArthur, and regards Woodrow Wilson and Franklin D. Roosevelt with some admiration. He dislikes most New Dealers but thinks that "if, today, the mass of the well-to-do people are being taxed to death," they themselves were to blame for having permitted a "band of predatory men in big business" to ignore the rights of stockholders and the public. The House of Morgan receives severe treatment. Mr. Gerard's story of how Morgan men abetted the crash of the Knickerbocker Trust Company will be of real value to scholars of the 1907 panic.

EDWARD YOUNGER, *University of Virginia*

HISTORY OF UNITED STATES NAVAL AVIATION. By *Archibald D. Turnbull*, Captain, USNR, Deputy Director of Naval Records and History, and *Clifford L. Lord*, Lieutenant Commander, USNR, Formerly Head of the Naval Aviation History Unit. (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1949, pp. xii, 345, \$5.00.) The authors have written a useful and scholarly work, complete but not cumbersome. They have steered a true course between a book too full of names and statistics and one too lacking in detail to be serviceable for reference. They have no axes to grind and have written objectively and fairly. Their history of naval aviation treats the subject fully from its unconsidered beginnings through its development up to World War II. The war years are treated briefly, but enough is said to complete the story and indicate the extraordinary expansion and exploits of naval aviation during the conflict. The book is without footnotes but has an excellent bibliography and index; these aids and the detail of the book itself would be adequate to assist anyone doing further research. The work is not an operational history but a story of development: plans, boards, committees, and appropriations. But the authors have skillfully brought in enough of technological detail and of plain human hard work and intrepidity to make it well rounded and readable. Without being dramatic about it, the authors have written a good story of a change from small beginnings to big things. All the elements so familiar to students of any phase of military or naval development are there: the men of vision, seeing a new striking arm for exercising sea power; the conservatives who understandably wanted to go slow; the enthusiastic and the apathetic; the unwilling legislatures; the independents who wanted autonomy and those who thought the old organization would serve new needs; and the inventors who by 1912 had the prototypes of nearly everything which we consider modern. The story of the Navy-Curtiss pioneer seaplane flight across the Atlantic in 1919 is well told, as is that of the famous bombing tests on old battleships in the General Billy Mitchell era, 1921-24. The authors have rendered their best contribution in keeping green the memory of the men who took the risks, to life and to career, of flying museum-pieces and working for small rewards in a new service.

HARDIN CRAIG, JR., *Rice Institute*

FEDERAL RECORDS OF WORLD WAR II. Volume I, CIVILIAN AGENCIES. Volume II, MILITARY AGENCIES. [National Archives Publications 51-7 and 51-8.] (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1950, 1951, pp. xii, 1073, iii, 1061. \$2.50 ea.) Never before so soon after the end of a world war has there been pub-

lished a comprehensive guide to the records of that war for one of the major participating governments. Never before, indeed, has there been published anywhere or at any time so thorough and so complete a guide to any very large body of records. Most of the credit for this splendid achievement must rightly go to Dr. Philip M. Hamer of the National Archives staff, who, according to the introduction to the guide, "was responsible for planning, supervising, and directing the work," heading a staff that at one time or another included no less than thirty-seven professional employees, in addition to several clerical workers. The project may be compared to the old WPA Survey of Federal Archives (also headed for a time by Dr. Hamer), except that fortunately this one was staffed by professionals rather than by relief workers, was concentrated in Washington, and did not have to contend with the endless red tape of WPA. Volume I covers the so-called civilian agencies, Volume II the military agencies. The method followed is to describe the organizational setup and functions of the various agencies, including each component part. Since the primary concern is with the records, there is for each subdivision a separate section on that subject. The volumes will prove useful to government employees and unofficial researchers needing data on government agencies that took part in the war program and especially to those researchers who are to make use of the records of those agencies. Throughout, appropriate references are included and a detailed and apparently thorough index at the end of each volume (the latter index covering both volumes) enhances the value of the work.

CHRISTOPHER CRITTENDEN, *Raleigh, N.C.*

PUBLIC OPINION, 1935-1946. Edited by *Hadley Cantril*. Prepared by *Mildred Strunk*. (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1951, pp. lix, 1191, \$25.00.) The title of this enormous volume is rather misleading, though only a cynic, perhaps, would suggest that it reflects the congenital characteristic of institutes of public opinion polls to make exaggerated claims for their "scientific tool," such, for example, as that of equating "public opinion" with "public opinion polls." A more proper title would have been "Public Opinion Polls, 1935-1946," for, excluding the elaborate index and the few pages of prefatory and introductory material, the volume presents the results of innumerable public opinion polls, on almost "everything under the sun," collected from twenty-three organizations in sixteen countries during that period. Comforting as this compilation may be to the pollsters, it will, in all probability, strengthen the case of their critics.

GAUDENS MEGARO, *Queens College*

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NEW ENGLAND AND MIDDLE COLONIES AND STATES

EARLY NEW ENGLAND POTTERS AND THEIR WARES. By *Lura Woodside Watkins*. (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1950, pp. x, 291, plates, \$10.00.) This is probably as nearly definitive a volume, relative to its subject matter, as will be written. Mrs. Watkins has told the story of the several hundred potters who thrived in New England during the first three centuries of its growth. She points out that in colonial days a potter's shop was to be found in nearly every town of any consequence. The average social and economic historian would not have supposed this, for the historical records make little mention of them. Furthermore, collections of New England antiques are full of woodenware and pewter, and we have been misled by the survival of these more durable pieces into supposing that they monopolized the field of craft production and domestic use. The author, however, has compiled a list of more than 250 potters working before 1800, and 500 before 1850. The volume is exhaustive—and for the reader (as distinct from the researcher or collector) often exhausting. It is not primarily for the general reader, whose interest begins to lag shortly after the first chapters as he bogs down in the somewhat repetitious accounting of the growth and decline of the many potters. The text would have been helped, from his point of view, by more synthesis in the various segments of the book. But the weight of detail which bears so heavily on the reader will make the volume an authoritative one for the researcher and collector. The principal criticism of the volume may be leveled not against the author but the publisher (a university press, at that). In perhaps no other kind of a book is the close association of textual and pictorial material more important. The publisher, with cavalier disregard of this rather obvious fact, has lumped all the illustrations in the back of the book. It is true that the text seems to be printed by letterpress and the illustrations by offset, but even so it would have been possible to intermix the signatures and even perhaps manage a few wrap-arounds. But it would be better if publishers would select one process or the other and then lay out the book to put the illustrations immediately alongside the text descriptive of them. Apart from this reservation, however, the volume is a handsome one, with a wealth of illustrations, an important check list of potters, a complete bibliography, and an extensive and careful index.

EARLE W. NEWTON, *Old Sturbridge Village, Massachusetts*

DEMOCRACY FIGHTS: A HISTORY OF NEW HAMPSHIRE IN WORLD WAR II. By *Philip N. Guyol*. (Hanover, Dartmouth Publications for the State of New Hampshire, 1951, pp. xix, 309, \$3.00.) This volume may be briefly characterized as a model among histories of state participation in World War II. The Dartmouth College Publications has given it a format of which any press might well be proud. G.S.F.

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SOUTHERN COLONIES AND STATES

THE COLONIAL RECORDS OF SOUTH CAROLINA. Volume I, THE JOURNAL OF THE COMMONS HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY, NOVEMBER 10, 1736-JUNE 7, 1739. Edited by J. H. Easterby. (Columbia, Historical Commission of South Carolina, 1951, pp. xii, 764.) This stately volume inaugurates the program of the South Carolina Historical Commission, under Mr. Easterby's energetic direction, to publish all the colonial records of South Carolina in a form commensurate with their importance. Those records are remarkably complete, but "less than five per cent" have been made available since the commission was empowered to print them early in this century. About fifty volumes of the present size, it is estimated, will be required to do the job, and the commission can then turn to the records of South Carolina as a state. The plan is to begin with the journals of the lower house of the legislature at the point where the journals already issued by the commission, in a somewhat irregular session-per-volume series, stop; to carry the new series to the Revolution; and then to go back and republish the earlier journals, filling in the gaps that were left and making the entire run of Commons House Journals available in a uniform style. These will be followed by the journals of the council or upper house, the

voluminous South Carolina documents in the British Public Record Office, and other surviving manuscript records. "The format of *The Colonial Records*," says the editor, "has been designed with a view to durability, economy of space, ease of use, and appropriateness to the subject matter." This first volume fulfills these requirements admirably. Users will be grateful for the sensible styling of the text itself, which does not try to simulate the manuscript and presents an uncluttered, readable page. They will be grateful also for the restrained but helpful annotation and the carefully prepared index. They will agree, in short, that the editing is exemplary. The contents of the volume for 1736-1739 will not startle anyone who has worked with the records of other colonies at this period. Measures of defense and finance, the improvement of land and water communications, relations with the Indians—these are the dominant matters of legislative concern. Most engrossing in 1736-1737 were the contentions with Georgia over that new colony's attempt to monopolize the trade with the Creek Indians. And in the spring of 1739 the commons house engaged in a protracted dispute with the council on the question whether the latter had a right to alter a money bill. In the messages exchanged between the two houses that spring, sarcasm reached a high degree of refinement in South Carolina, and there were also moments of eloquence that foreshadowed the great debate preceding the Revolution.

L. H. BUTTERFIELD, *Institute of Early American History and Culture*

THE PAPERS OF WILLIE PERSON MANGUM. Edited by *Henry Thomas Shanks*.

Volume I, 1807-1832. (Raleigh, N.C., State Department of Archives and History, 1950, pp. lx, 613.) Along with the unabated reworking and publishing of the records of the American presidents there should be parallel attention to the papers of the secondary political figures. There has been too little of the latter. Historians should commend the editor and the publisher for undertaking the publication of the Mangum papers, and should encourage them to complete the task. Professor Shanks is carrying on the studies on Mangum started by several others whose projects were halted by death, including those of Stephen B. Weeks and William K. Boyd. Willie P. Mangum (1792-1861) was a distinguished political leader of North Carolina, a national leader of the Whig party, and twice was offered but declined that party's nomination for the vice-presidency. After breaking with Jackson he received the electoral vote of South Carolina for President in 1836. Member of the Senate for three terms, he was president *pro tempore* of that body in Tyler's administration and thus was in line for succession to the presidency. This volume, the first of an anticipated four, covers the period from 1807 through 1832. The editor draws on the collections of Mangum papers in the Library of Congress, the libraries of Duke University and the University of North Carolina, and those of Mangum descendants. Included are letters from Lewis Cass, Louis McLane, James Iredell, Nathaniel Macon, Romulus M. Saunders, William Polk, Bartlett Yancey, and others of contemporary prominence. No letters are found in this volume from the presidents or from Calhoun, Clay, and Webster, although there is much comment in other letters on all these men. Some insight may be gained about the presidential elections of 1824, 1828, and 1832, while the attitudes of various groups and persons on such issues as the tariff, the Bank, and nullification are revealed. The volume contains a biographical sketch of Mangum; a chronology of his life; a list of documents reproduced in the volume; a calendar of documents omitted; several illustrations, including maps; a good index; and footnote identifications. The editorial work appears to have been painstakingly careful. The regrettable fact, which the editor himself points out, is the paucity of letters from Mangum; in this volume they represent only about one seventh of the total. Those

that are printed have much interest and value, including some of those to his wife. Professor Shanks avows his hope of discovering more Mangum letters before the later volumes are completed. CULVER H. SMITH, *University of Chattanooga*

THE HISTORY OF RANDOLPH-MACON WOMAN'S COLLEGE: FROM THE FOUNDING IN 1891 THROUGH THE YEAR OF 1949-1950. By *Robert D. Cornelius*. (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1951, pp. xviii, 428, \$6.00.) This volume deserves mention among the many of its kind now appearing as one of the better and more detailed college histories. For all but alumnae and patrons of Randolph-Macon Woman's College it is too detailed. To them, however, the trivia of each passing year and its functions will undoubtedly revive some pleasant memories. The volume properly gives high place to two fine scholars and gentlemen and devoted servants of the college, William Waugh Smith, first president and founder, and Theodore H. Jack, who came as president in 1933 and is now closing his distinguished career. In its sixty years the college has maintained high standards and a place among the better colleges for women in the country. The volume is a credit to the institution, the author, and its publishers. G.S.F.

COLLEGE LIFE AT OLD OGLETHORPE. By *Allen P. Tankersley*. (Athens, University of Georgia Press, 1951, pp. xiv, 184, \$3.00.) Old Oglethorpe played no very great role in the ante-bellum South. It was a small, hide-bound Presbyterian institution with a small, poorly paid, or unpaid faculty. The struggle to survive was the chief concern of trustees and officers. It did have at times such staff members as Joseph Le Conte and Dr. James Woodrow and, briefly, Sidney Lanier. The value and interest of this volume is derived from the picture of student and campus life and customs in a typical ante-bellum denominational college. This was the task the author set himself, and he has achieved it. G.S.F.

JAMES HARROD OF KENTUCKY. By *Kathryn Harrod Mason*. [Southern Biography Series.] (Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University Press, 1951, pp. xxii, 266, \$4.00.) James Harrod, one of a dozen children, was born in the Shenandoah Valley, probably about 1745. At least he was old enough to take part in the French and Indian War. Subsequently he fought in Lord Dunmore's War and in numerous engagements with the Indians before, as well as after, going to Kentucky, where he started the first English settlement, Harrodsburg, and played an important part in establishing the commonwealth. Not as well publicized in his time as were Daniel Boone and George Rogers Clark, he was nevertheless equally as important in the development of this new West. He was distinctly a product of the frontier, a hunter, a woodsman, and an Indian fighter. Like Boone he was not much interested in statecraft; like Boone he became much entangled in conflicting land claims; but unlike Boone he was able to maintain ownership in large Kentucky holdings. The lure of the forests had an inexorable hold on him to the end; for it was on one of his journeys into eastern Kentucky, in search of the elusive Swift's Silver Mine as well as for beaver pelts, that he disappeared, never to be heard from again. Probably he was murdered by an old enemy. Around Harrod clusters much Kentucky history, from the time he founded Harrodsburg to his death in 1792. Mrs. Kathryn Harrod Mason, a descendant of the Harrod family, has worked with skill through the voluminous Draper Collection, the Durrett Collection, and in other manuscript materials, and has used effectively most of the related printed sources. In this book she has made a valuable contribution to the literature on the westward movement in American history, but she has not suc-

ceeded in bringing James Harrod to life, though she became familiar enough with him to call him Jim most of the time. So much of the book is concerned with James's brothers, as was fitting, that it seems the title might better have been "The Harrods of Kentucky."

E. MERTON COULTER, *University of Georgia*

THE UNIVERSITY OF KENTUCKY: ORIGINS AND EARLY YEARS. By *James F. Hopkins*. (Lexington, University of Kentucky Press, 1951, pp. ix, 305, \$4.00.) This history of public higher education in Kentucky down to 1911 has certain defects, but it is infinitely superior to the college "histories" prepared by amateurish alumni, uneducated publicity agents, and uncritical emeriti. The author is a trained and discriminating scholar whose sincerity and purposefulness create a clear image of an institution. Professor Hopkins has performed a useful service in tracing summarily the history of predecessor institutions, public and private, in Kentucky. The story is significant for the light it throws on the complex relationships of church and state and on sectarian competition. Not until 1879 did the state completely separate the land-grant college from the denominational institution with which it had been affiliated. Kentucky State College before 1910 was typical of the primitive state colleges. The parsimony of the legislature, the apathy of the farmers, and the hostility of some sects conspired to keep it a weak and timid institution. Staffed by recruits from the classical colleges, and headed for forty-one years by a bigoted autocrat, the college during the nineteenth century was little more than a facsimile and competitor of the church-related schools. Its officers were incredibly slow in grasping the simple reality that to escape from this vacuity the college needed thorough research to develop a program of teaching that would respond to other needs of the state. President Patterson often complained that few would study agriculture, but it seems not to have occurred to him that the course offered was not worth taking. Veterinary medicine, for example, was neglected and in animal husbandry (an industry not unknown in Kentucky) the college did nothing until 1905. This reviewer has said elsewhere that the history of a college is properly intellectual history, and that the historian should attempt to reconstruct the ideas and values held on a particular campus. Mr. Hopkins has essayed, instead, the biography of an institution. It is only fair, however, to say that the shallowness of his subject gave him little occasion for intellectual analysis. His is an honest book and a valuable case study for the ultimate synthesis of the history of higher education in America.

THOMAS LEDUC, *Oberlin College*

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WESTERN TERRITORIES AND STATES

IRON FACE: THE ADVENTURES OF JACK FRAZER, FRONTIER WARRIOR, SCOUT, AND HUNTER: A NARRATIVE RECORDED BY "WALKER-IN-THE-PINES" (HENRY HASTINGS SIBLEY). Edited, with Introduction and Notes, by Theodore C. Blegen and Sarah A. Davidson. Foreword by Stanley Vestal. (Chicago, Caxton Club, 1950, pp. xxiii, 206, \$7.50.) This well-printed volume is the result of the conjunction of four favorable factors. The first is an exceptional territorial governor, the second, an intelligent half-breed Sioux warrior and scout, and the other two are skillful editors and the Caxton Club of Chicago which sponsored it. The edition is limited, but it is to be hoped is so distributed that it will be accessible to students of frontier life. It is the story of a fierce Indian warrior, Jack Frazer (Iron Face), as he told it later in his life to Henry Hastings Sibley, a redoubtable frontiersman and fur trader and state builder. It is a story of ruthless Indian warfare and equally unending struggles to win a living by trapping in a land whose climate was at times as unrelenting as the natives. Iron Face's hatchet had twenty-eight notches for the scalps he had taken and lacked one he wanted, that of his own father, who had broken his promise to bring him up as a white man. But, foregoing his warrior ways and repenting his bloodiest excesses, Jack Frazer did take on the white man's ways and cause. In the Sioux outbreak of 1862 he fought and scouted against his former tribal fellows. The perspicuity of Sibley in extracting the story in 1857-58 and publishing it in a St. Paul newspaper in 1866-67 is another evidence among many of his own con-

sciousness of history. The editors and publisher have done well to give the story of Iron Face to a wider public.

G.S.F.

A MERRY BRITON IN PIONEER WISCONSIN, A CONTEMPORARY NARRATIVE REPRINTED FROM *LIFE IN THE WEST*. (Madison, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1950, pp. vii, 108, \$2.00.) In 1841 an Englishman, whose identity remains unknown, visited the Wisconsin frontier. After returning to England he published his impressions under the title *Life in the West: Back-wood Leaves and Prairie Flowers: Rough Sketches on the Borders of the Picturesque, the Sublime, and the Ridiculous. Extracts from the Note Book of Morleigh in Search of an Estate*. The State Historical Society of Wisconsin has now reprinted the last five of the eighteen chapters found in the original narrative. Very few aspects of pioneer life escaped the keen eye of this observant Englishman. Utilizing all forms of transportation he worked his way northward from Racine to Green Bay, constantly amazed at both the abundance of the pioneer table and the inferior quality of his lodgings. He vividly described the early centers of population, especially the frontier society found in the capital city of Madison and the occupations and customs of the various national groups in Milwaukee. Since this traveler's special interest was the Indians of the area the high point of the narrative concerns his journey to a site on Wolf River where the Menominee Indians had gathered to receive their annuities from the federal government. The detailed description of the proceedings including the part played by the famous Chief "Osh Cosh" is excellent. This narrative combines interesting reading and valuable historical background.

WALTER F. PETERSON, *State University of Iowa*

A SELF-GOVERNING DOMINION: CALIFORNIA, 1849-1860. By *William Henry Ellison*. (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1950, pp. xi, 335, \$4.50.) In this fifth volume of the "Chronicles of California" series William Henry Ellison deals principally with the political history of the state from the making of the first constitution to the eve of the Civil War. *A Self-Governing Dominion* is really a group of related essays whose theme is the persistent attitude of Californians that they were "a people unto themselves," not accountable to any constituted authority except at their own convenience. Yet the work is comprehensive; it is at once a thorough political history and a series of informative articles. The author has drawn upon recent historical scholarship and contributed his own to rewrite, and especially to reinterpret, the history of the centennial decade from the standpoint of today. The professional boldness of Professor Ellison in not hesitating to pass judgment upon Californians, their leaders, and their actions is well placed and altogether commendable. The reviewer is of the opinion that it is these carefully weighed judgments that make this work one of the better contributions to recent Californiana, a literature so rich in narrative but often devoid of evaluation. Beginning with an epitome of the pertinent historical background, the author thoughtfully and interestingly presents the making of the first constitution, which he frankly admires; the performance of the first legislature, which he conditionally approves; admission to statehood, in which the emotions of Congress in 1850 are skillfully recaptured; the redistribution of land, a depressing account of injustices; the liquidation of the Indian, which demonstrates that Californians were determined to solve their problems without outside assistance; the movement to divide the state, an account of local differences, not the slavery issue; lynch law and vigilantes, which reflect both independence and lawlessness; and state politics, a story of personal and local ambitions rather than of national issues.

Throughout the book the author maintains sound perspective, sifting and weighing carefully and accurately. His sense of proportion might be questioned since he devotes so much attention to Senator William Gwin in his lengthy final chapter, but who better understands Gwin and state politics in the fifties than Professor Ellison? Certainly this is a work of high caliber, useful and provocative to historian, student, and general reader; the authors of the forthcoming volumes in the series will be pressed to equal it.

RAYMOND A. RYDELL, *Los Angeles State College*

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Latin-American History

James S. Cunningham¹

GENERAL

HANDBOOK OF LATIN AMERICAN STUDIES. No. 13: 1947. Prepared by the Hispanic Foundation of the Library of Congress. *Francisco Aguilera*, Editor. *Charmion Shelby*, Assistant Editor. (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1951, pp. x, 239, \$8.50.) There are some changes in this most recent volume of the *Handbook*. Professors Manoel Cardozo, Watt Stewart, and Dr. George Wythe have replaced Professors Alexander Marchant, Sanford Mosk, and Clarence Haring as section editors, although Professor Haring remains as chairman of the advisory board; the section on libraries has been dropped and its material has been distributed to other appropriate sections; the volume's 2,781 items, through various misfortunes, do not include sections on art, Spanish American prose fiction, and economics ("South America, except Brazil, Colombia, and Venezuela"), but this material will be incorporated into Volume XIV; a new section, on Haitian literature, edited by Dr. Mercer Cook of Howard University, is added. J.S.C.

FOREIGN RELATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES: DIPLOMATIC PAPERS, 1934. In five volumes. Volume IV, THE AMERICAN REPUBLICS. [Department of State Publication 4089.] (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1951, pp. lxx, 640, \$2.75.) The public papers of 1934 as they pertain to foreign relations with the American Republics are generally concerned with the ratification of the Saavedra Lamas antiwar pact, but most of the volume (pp. 32-389) deals more extensively with the two great intra-American wars: the Chaco and Leticia conflicts. Yet, if the matter of war is given importance in terms of space, current factors of economics, dollar exchange, Argentine and Brazilian trade opportunities are also illustrated even if the documents here are fewer. The general relationship of national pride to the outbreak of the Leticia and Chaco disputes is well revealed by telegrams, memorandums, and other documents. Inter-American, United States, and League of Nations diplomacy was brought to bear upon the outbreaks in order to internationalize the questions and make arbitration and peaceable intervention possible and acceptable to all parties. In a somewhat different way, United States policy in 1934, then administered by Cordell Hull and Sumner Welles, confronted for the first time the rising and widespread tide of economic nationalism in Latin America, contemporary with the fiscal and monetary unilateralism then appearing in Europe at the same time. In this connection there appears the special report of the representative of the Department of State and Federal Reserve Bank of New York—Dr. John H. Williams—who was chiefly concerned with Latin-American exchange controls. Dr. Williams reviewed this problem as he saw it in Argentina, Brazil, Chile, and Uruguay early in 1934. To some degree this special mission preceded the series of preliminary discussions for a trade agreement between Argentina and the United States (pp. 510-38) and the more successful pact between Brazil and the United States (pp. 542-623). These economic discussions are

¹ Responsible only for the lists of articles and documents, except where otherwise indicated.

followed by apparently unrelated documents which close the volume. The documents which come after those of the economic exchanges have to do with United States Navy assistance in the staffing of the Argentine War College. The Brazilian trade agreement is followed by the agreement of 1934 to send an Army mission to Brazil. Thus, as the volume on the American Republics in 1934 opens on the note of the inter-American peace pact, it closes the year with the pattern of inter-American defense. The other published documents in the volume are not related to the main economic and military themes: they deal with Central American conferences, the Inter-American Highway, and the aftermath of the Havana Convention.

HARRY BERNSTEIN, *Brooklyn College*

INDIAN ART OF THE AMERICAS. By *Le Roy H. Appleton*. (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1950, pp. xii, 279, \$15.00.) It is not entirely clear just what the author was attempting to do in writing this book. It may be inferred from statements in the preface that he was endeavoring to produce a basic guide to the art of the American Indian which could serve as a standard text for the student of that subject. If that was his object he has not succeeded. After a general introduction the author proceeds to discuss and illustrate the art of the Americas, region by region. For his purpose he has divided North and South America into seven regions. These regions have neither geographic, historic, linguistic, cultural, nor any other apparent unity. They seem to be purely arbitrary. For example, northern Labrador is classed with northern California, southern Labrador with Florida, the lands about Lake Huron with the coast of Texas, the highlands of Colombia with Tierra del Fuego. This division of the subject is the fundamental defect of the work and from it stem many others. The text contains many erroneous statements and highly dubious generalizations. For example: "He [the Indian] came from Siberia by way of the Aleutian Islands to Alaska," "The telling of myths and legends, even children's stories, was rarely for amusement," "The how and when of a Mexican invasion [of the Ohio Valley] may some day be told," "The eastern seaboard was the most densely populated region of [pre-Columbian] North America," "... textile design influenced all Indian art," "... the Indian languages were not equipped to employ abstract terms," "No people in the history of fabric-making have ever achieved such technical skill [as the Incas]," "In evaluating Indian art we should keep in mind that each family manufactured for its own use the things they needed." This last statement is later contradicted three times explicitly or by implication. Following the text and preceding the plates there are 136 pages of selections of Indian folklore and ritual. They seem to be extraneous to the purpose of the book. There are 79 plates on which representations of works of art of many diverse kinds and dating from the earliest archaeological periods to the present day are all jumbled together higgledy-piggledy in colors harsh and crude. It is frequently difficult and sometimes impossible to determine what they are intended to portray. The sole explanatory note increases the confusion. It is to be regretted that so much time and effort resulted in the publication of such an unsatisfactory book.

JOSEPH C. GREEN, *Washington, D.C.*

A new periodical is: *Historia* (Capitulo Beta Delta de la Sociedad Nacional del Honoraria de Historia, Phi Alpha Theta), I, no. 1, April, 1951. It is published biannually at the University of Puerto Rico.

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COLONIAL PERIOD

NORTH AND CENTRAL AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN

DON JOAQUÍN GARCÍA ICAZBALCETA: HIS PLACE IN MEXICAN HISTORIOGRAPHY. By Manuel Guillermo Martínez. [The Catholic University of America Studies in Hispanic-American History, Volume IV.] (Washington, Catholic University of America, 1947, pp. x, 127, \$1.50.) In this essay of slightly more than a hundred pages, the reader finds not only a sketch of the life and work of Mexico's greatest historian of the nineteenth century, Don Joaquín García Icazbalceta but observations on historical scholarship in Mexico as well. García Icazbalceta, 1825-1894, belonged to the landed gentry. His father, who had migrated to Mexico from Andalusia as a merchant of some wealth, had married a Mexican girl who owned an estate in Morelos and inherited another. At her early death, Don Joaquín devoted himself to his responsibilities as *hacendado*, though his avocation was the study of Mexican history and in particular that of the sixteenth century, which he considered the most important in the country's annals. As his first historical project, Icazbalceta translated Prescott's *Conquest of Peru*, partly because he was impressed with it, partly to establish contact with its famous author. Though Lucas Alamán brought the two men together before Icazbalceta had finished the translation, Prescott helped him to obtain possession of many important documents which the Mexican scholar published in the first volume of his *Colección de documentos para la historia de México*, in 1858 (the second appeared in 1866). From then on, Icazbalceta's work emphasized the collecting and printing of original sources for the history of sixteenth-century Mexico. Though the collection of such records was perhaps his greatest achievement, he prepared a significant monograph on *Don Fray Juan de Zumárraga* (1881), always recognized as an important contribution. Numerous other books and articles came from his pen, enriching the known facts of the colonial period. He discovered and published Mendieta's *Historia eclesiástica indiana* (1870), began to publish the *Nueva colección de documentos para la historia de México* (1886), and in the same year finally issued his celebrated *Bibliografía mexicana del siglo XVI*. In his research, Icazbalceta reflected the growing scientific attitude of his time, insisting on a strict

presentation of the facts and on their logical interpretation. When, for example, the archbishop of Mexico demanded his expert opinion on the tradition of the appearance of the Virgin of Guadalupe in 1531, he rejected it as historically unsound because of the lack of historical proofs. The author has written a pleasing, if unpretentious, volume, which focuses on his subject at all times. Some errors in proofreading mar the typography, but the book is informative and useful.

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NATIONAL PERIOD

NORTH AND CENTRAL AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN

MEXICO DURING THE WAR WITH THE UNITED STATES. By *José Fernando Ramirez*. Edited by *Walter V. Scholes*. Translated by *Elliott B. Scherr*. [University of Missouri Studies, Volume XXIII, No. 1.] (Columbia, University of Missouri Press, 1950, pp. 165, \$2.50.) This annotated translation of José Fernando Ramirez' *México durante su guerra con los Estados Unidos* is offered in the well-warranted hope that its "publication will help Americans understand Mexico in the period of the 1840s." The basic material is the contemporary correspondence of Sr. Ramirez and the opinions given are those of that scholarly public figure in Mexico who was both observer of and participant in the affairs discussed. The correspondence starts in December, 1845, in the last days of the Herrera government, and continues, with interruptions and lapses, until after the occupation of Mexico by Scott's army. It is concerned primarily with political affairs at the capital but sheds light on national conditions, including military operations, as they were affected by the Paredes revolution which overturned the Herrera government and was, in turn, overthrown by the return to power of Santa Anna. Sr. Ramirez' repeated opinion is that much of the misfortune which came to his nation was due to the fact that its people were "trained neither in theory nor in practice" for the operation of a "well-regulated system of representative government." Speaking of the civil war in the capital which followed Santa Anna's return to power, described as "an absurd uprising," he declared that "everyone, without exception, behaved in such a manner that we richly deserve the scorn and derision of all cultured people." There were "plenty of funds to finance uprisings," he wrote, while "the few troops were eating their meagre little loaves." Summing up the situation as the Mexican War drew to a close, he described the Congress as "without prestige, without power, and without ability," with "a vocal enthusiasm for waging war, but a *mental* and even a *moral* sluggishness in seeing it through to the finish," adding that "it is obvious that not one of these advocates of war shows the slightest inclination to shoulder a musket or to put money into the public treasury." Such words written in the bitterness of defeat may have been unduly critical of ineptitude and unreadiness, but they give insight into the situation as it appeared to at least one educated and patriotic Mexican and do much to explain both why the war was brought on and why it was, from a Mexican standpoint, such a failure despite the individual gallantry of the Mexican soldier. In presenting this excellent edition of the work, editor and translator have achieved their aim of enlarging our understanding of the causes and course of a war which so profoundly affected the development of the United States.

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★ ★ ★ ★ *Historical News* ★ ★ ★ ★

American Historical Association

The annual meeting of the Association will be held this year in New York on December 28, 29, and 30. Headquarters will be the Statler Hotel. The meeting of the Council will be held December 27.

Chairman Harrington of the program committee for the 1950 meeting reports the following corrections to his report in the April issue of the *Review*: In the report of the joint meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association and the American Historical Association, the name of the chairman, J. Fred Rippy, of the University of Chicago, was by error omitted. Frank Owsley and Margaret Coit were unable to attend the joint meeting of the Southern Historical Association and the A.H.A. In Professor Owsley's absence, Fred Cole of Tulane University presided. Miss Coit's paper was read for her.

In a recent issue (April, 1951, p. 752) a somewhat vague reference was made to a questionnaire that might be submitted to members of the Association by the American Council of Learned Societies in behalf of government agencies assessing the specialized manpower of the nation. Arrangements are now completed to mail a questionnaire to all members of this Association. It is hoped that all members in the professional ranks will respond promptly.

Four Japanese universities wish to complete their files of the *American Historical Review*. They are: Tokyo Metropolitan University, Fusumamachi, Meguroku, Tokyo (from 1940); Hiroshima Women's Junior College, Ujinamachi, Hiroshima (1943-48); Ehime University, Mochidamachi Matsuyamashi (1940-50); Osaka University, 4-chome, Nakanoshima, Kitaku, Osaka (1940-50). Dates refer to issues needed. Any member of the Association not wishing to keep his file for these years can do a service by donating them to one of these institutions.

Other Historical Activities

The fifth Anglo-American Conference of Historians was held at the Institute of Historical Research, University of London, July 9-14, 1951. This was the first plenary conference since 1936, although interim meetings lasting only two or three days have been held annually since the war. Over five hundred persons attended, including eighty-eight from the United States and forty-six from the countries of the British Commonwealth. The conference opened with a reception by the vice-chancellor of the university (Professor Dame Lillian Penson) on Monday afternoon and there was a government reception that evening. The

archbishop of Canterbury received delegates at Lambeth Palace on the afternoon of July 12. There were twenty section meetings during the week, dealing with ancient history, medieval European, medieval English, modern European, modern English, and colonial and American history. Three general meetings were addressed respectively by the Master of the Rolls, Sir Raymond Evershed, on "History and the Law," by Professor L. B. Namier on "Collective Research," and by Sir Frank Stenton on "The History of Parliament." This last paper was a particularly important statement of the plans for the new scheme sponsored by the Houses of Parliament. The offices of the "History" will be at the Institute of Historical Research and the editorial board will consist of Sir Frank Stenton and Professors J. G. Edwards, L. B. Namier, J. E. Neale, and T. F. T. Plucknett. The social side of the conference included section dinners in Bloomsbury hotels and a general conference dinner at the Waldorf Hotel, at which the speakers were the vice-chancellor, Sir Edward Bridges (Permanent Secretary to the Treasury), Admiral C. R. Brown (USN), and Professor Conyers Read. There were also a number of whole-day or half-day excursions to places of interest in and near London. This was the largest assembly of historians to meet in Britain for many years and the conference seems to have been greatly enjoyed, not least by the American participants.

An interim Anglo-American Conference of Historians will be held at the Institute of Historical Research July 10-12, 1952. American and Canadian historians who expect to be in England at that time are asked to communicate with the Secretary of the Institute, Senate House, London, W.C.1, who will send them full particulars.

The papers of John Campbell Merriam, distinguished paleontologist and educator, have been presented to the Library of Congress by his sons. An extensive general correspondence, covering the years from 1920 to 1938, is supplemented by correspondence concerned more specifically with his work as chairman of the National Research Council, as president of the Carnegie Institute of Washington and as regent of the Smithsonian Institution, as well as by manuscripts of a number of Dr. Merriam's lectures, speeches, and articles.

Another large collection of twentieth-century manuscripts, the papers of Robert Wickliffe Woolley, have been received as a gift from Mr. Woolley. They are mainly concerned with his activities for the Democratic National Committee in the 1912, 1916, and 1932 campaigns, and with his service as Director of the Mint, 1915 to 1916, and as member of the Interstate Commerce Commission, 1917 to 1921, but they contain also a considerable body of later correspondence and include letters from Franklin D. Roosevelt and Cordell Hull.

Smaller groups of special interest include about thirty papers of the Johnston family of Fairfax County, Virginia, containing letters from Robert H. Harrison and George Johnston, aides to George Washington; a splendid series of about

150 letters, dated 1902 to 1910, from Chief Justice Melville Weston Fuller to Henry Crittenden Morris, who represented the Chief Justice's extensive private interests and who acted as his secretary in the Muscat Dhows case; seven long letters from Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes to Dr. Thomas Wayland Vaughan, distinguished geologist and oceanographer, 1908 to 1920; four letters to Dr. Vaughan from Sir John Murray, leading oceanographer of his time, 1907 to 1911; and a ten-volume set of typewritten transcripts of the journal of W. Cameron Forbes, governor general of the Philippines and ambassador to Japan, which covers the years 1904 to 1946. Materials of literary interest include two scrap-books containing manuscript and printed poems and articles by Charles Desmarais Gardette, and letters and typescripts relating to Catherine Cate Coblentz's "Martin and Abraham Lincoln."

The Library has added to its George Washington Papers photostatic copies of Washington's diaries for 1795 and 1798, from the originals in the Columbia University Libraries, and, to its Abraham Lincoln Papers, a photostat of a "Muster Roll of Captain Abraham Lincoln's Company of the 4th Rgt. of the Brigade of Mounted Volunteers," May 27, 1832, from the original holograph document in the Brown University Library. Recent additions to the Library's collection of reproductions of foreign manuscripts of American interest include microfilm copies of twenty-two volumes of Foreign Office records in the Public Record Office in London, containing correspondence of the British minister to the United States, 1879 to 1881; and of nine volumes and thirteen cartons of consular correspondence and records, mainly of the eighteenth century, in the "Affaires Etrangères" series of the Archives nationales in Paris.

The Department of the Army, desiring to encourage historical research in its records, has issued a statement regarding their availability for unofficial research by qualified scholars. The records under consideration are those of the War Department and the Army only, and for the period from 1940 to the conclusion of World War II, September 2, 1945. Most of the records of the War Department and the Army for the period before 1940 have been transferred to the National Archives and are subject to the regulations of that agency, which, for this collection, follow generally those of the Department of the Army. A detailed description of the Army records may be found in *Federal Records of World War II*, prepared by the National Archives and recently published by the Government Printing Office (see p. 250 above).

Practically all the records here under consideration are collected in two large centers: The *Departmental Records Branch*, AGO, Alexandria, Virginia, contains the records of agencies of the War Department and the Army located in the Washington area during the war. It also includes the operations reports (and supporting documents) that originated during the war in such field units as armies, corps, divisions, regiments, and separate battalions and companies. The

Kansas City Records Center, AGO, Kansas City, Missouri, contains the internal administrative records of such units and the retired records of posts, camps, stations, and major commands.

The memorandum issued in 1947 by General Eisenhower, then Chief of Staff, is still the basis for the Army's policy relating to the use of its World War II records (see *AHR*, LIII [April, 1948], 699). In brief the policy provides for: (1) the accreditation for access to students whose applications indicate trustworthiness and serious purpose; (2) the access of such accredited scholars to unclassified records; (3) the declassification whenever practicable of classified documents needed for historical research; (4) the clearance of accredited scholars for a restricted use of records which cannot be declassified.

The official restrictions on accessibility which apply to all records whether clear or classified are neither startling nor unreasonable. Access will not be given to records in the following categories: (1) individual personnel records, including loyalty records and records of disciplinary action, including trial by courts martial; (2) "unsubstantiated allegations concerning individuals"; (3) "reports of investigation by the Inspector General"; (4) "records upon which a claim against the United States might be based"; (5) records that would reveal or compromise sources of military intelligence; (6) records regarding weapons and plans still kept secret; (7) records "of a nature to jeopardize the friendly relations of the United States with other nations." Certain records of the Army and certain others that are in the custody of the Army are controlled by agreements with other services or other governments. An important example is the captured records of the German Army. This collection is subject to the joint authority of the United States and British governments, and is not subject to the rules of the Army regarding access. At present it is not accessible to any individual not acting as the accredited agent of a government.

The foregoing statements are not intended to discourage research but to encourage the scholar to plan research in materials that are accessible and thus to avoid disappointments and delays. The field in which the scholar will find the least difficulty on account of the wartime security classification of documents is also perhaps the largest field of research in military history—namely, that of the operations and the administration (but not the strategy) of the U. S. Army. Many aspects of economic and social history are also reflected in military records. It should not be forgotten that in time of war the Army operates industries, railroads, and ports, at home and abroad, governs occupied areas, and within its own vast wartime household has to take the place of the butcher and baker, the doctor, the judge, the lawyer, the educator, the preacher, and the psychiatrist, not to mention the athletic coach, the social worker, and the theater manager. In all these fields downgrading is largely accomplished and the declassification of most of the remainder can be accomplished by the asking.

As a preparatory step to research in the Army's records it is suggested that

the scholar go as far as possible in published works and in other readily accessible materials. The General Reference Branch of the Office of the Chief of Military History has a collection of some 5,000 volumes of historical manuscripts and reports prepared during the war and bearing on it, the great majority of which are unclassified. A cumulative inventory of this collection is being prepared for distribution. The scholar would also do well to consult the footnotes in the published volumes of *The U. S. Army in World War II*.

Formal procedure for obtaining access to the records is as follows: Write to the Public Information Division, Department of the Army, requesting a blank application for access. Return this, accompanied by credentials and a specific description of the nature and purpose of the inquiry, *by mail* to the Public Information Division. If a preliminary inquiry about the records is necessary, the scholar should write directly to the Adjutant General, Department of the Army (Attention: Chief, Departmental Records Branch), Washington 25, D. C. The letter should be as definite as possible in regard to the scope and purpose of the project, and the specific needs which can be satisfied from Army records. All preliminaries, both gaining clearance for access to the records and determining the physical existence and location of records needed for a research project, can be handled most expeditiously by mail. The scholar will conserve his own time and that of the custodians of the records if he comes to examine the records *only after these steps have been taken*.

The Bibliography of American Literature in the library of the University of Pennsylvania offers its facilities to scholars. The 1,300,000 entries are fairly complete from the beginnings of American literature up to 1942. Entries are by author only. Open Monday afternoons, from 1:30 to 5:30, and Tuesday evenings, from 7:00 to 10:00, the center will also answer mail inquiries and provide typed bibliographies at one dollar an hour (minimum one dollar) plus one cent a page for carbons. Microfilmed cards (3 x 5) can be furnished for four cents per frame of nine cards (minimum one dollar). Address: Bibliography of American Literature, University of Pennsylvania Library, Philadelphia 4, Pa.

The recent publication by the Institute of Early American History and Culture at Williamsburg of an *Index* in two volumes of all the extant numbers of the *Virginia Gazette*, 1736-1780, provides a valuable tool for students of social and intellectual history in the colonial period. The *Index*, edited by Lester J. Cappon and Stella F. Duff, of the Institute staff, is highly detailed and includes both news and advertisements. It lists names, persons, places, and a wide variety of subject matters extending from "Abnormal persons" to "Zinc." In the preparation of the *Index*, a microfilm copy of the *Virginia Gazette* was assembled, including not only William Parks's original *Virginia Gazette* but later and rival papers with the same name. The runs are as complete as can be made; a few gaps occur where

the issues are no longer extant. A positive microfilm copy of the paper and the *Index* will be supplied by the Institute for \$85.00. The *Index* alone can be had for \$60.00, and the microfilm alone for \$50.00.

Edwards Brothers, Inc., of Ann Arbor, Michigan, announces the publication of the *Union List of Microfilms*, revised, enlarged, and cumulated edition, compiled by the Philadelphia Bibliographical Center and Union Library Catalogue. A lithoprinted volume of 1,000 pages, it contains approximately 25,000 entries, including the 18,400 entries recorded in the Basic List and five supplements issued 1942-46, with the addition of 6,600 new entries submitted from 1946 through June, 1949. Additional manuscripts in American and foreign libraries and many runs of foreign and scientific periodicals are listed for the first time. The price of the volume is \$17.50.

On July 16 an exhibition was held at the University of Illinois to mark the publication of one million pages of the *British House of Commons Sessional Papers, 1801-1900* in microprint edition. This project of a committee of the Association is in charge of Professor Edgar L. Erickson.

As one of its first services, the National Historical Publications Commission has prepared and issued a *List of World War II Historical Studies made by Civilian Agencies of the Federal Government*. A limited number of copies of this bibliography are available on request to the Executive Director of the Commission, Dr. Philip M. Hamer, the National Archives, Washington 25, D.C.

A combination of three French societies interested in military history is sponsoring a new quarterly periodical *Revue d'histoire de la deuxième guerre mondiale*. The periodical will be international in its coverage of all phases of the war and in the reviews of books on the war. The editor is Henri Michel, and the board of editors includes such well-known names as P. Renouvin, E. Labrousse, L. Febvre, P. Caron, and M. Baumont. The subscription price outside France is 800 francs. The publisher is the Presses universitaires de France.

A new monthly periodical called *History Today* has appeared this year in London. Edited by Peter Quennell and Alan Hodge, it contains illustrated articles intended for the general reader. Among its contributors are eminent historians and men of letters on both sides of the Atlantic. Subscriptions (United States and Canada, \$5.00 per year including postage) should be sent to the Circulation Manager, *History Today*, 72 Coleman Street, London, E.C.2.

The well-known publishing house of Duncker and Humblot announces a forthcoming revised and shortened edition of the *Allgemeine Deutsche Biog-*

graphie with added material on leading figures in business and technology. The Bavarian Academy of Sciences is in charge of the revision, which will be entitled *Neue Deutsche Biographie*. Twelve volumes of eight hundred pages each are in preparation.

The Hansischer Geschichtsverein of Lübeck, Germany, a historical society founded in 1870 and concerned with the study of various phases of the history of the Hanseatic League, including the social, political, and economic history of all northern Europe, has resumed the publication of its *Hansische Geschichtsblätter*. Volume LXIX of this journal appeared in 1950. American historians and libraries are invited to become members of the society and subscribe to the journal. The cost is \$2.00 annually for individuals, \$4.00 for institutions.

Among the recent foundations for scholarly research in history, the Institut für Europäische Geschichte in Mainz, Germany, may be of wide interest. It consists of two departments, one in the history of religions under the direction of Professor Lortz, the other in universal history under the direction of Professor Martin Göhring. The institute is independent, although it collaborates closely with the University of Mainz. Professor Göhring, who has written one of the important recent studies on the history of the French Revolution, hopes to concentrate on modern and contemporary history, especially on the relationships between Germany and the western European countries. To use the term coined by the U.S. High Commissioner for Germany, John J. McCloy, a "Schuman Plan of historiography" is the goal. A number of research fellowships for German and foreign scholars will make possible co-operative research and discussions.

Clarence H. Faust, president of the Fund for the Advancement of Education of the Ford Foundation, has announced the award of 250 faculty fellowships for the current year. The following appointees are in the field of history: Carl Bruce Cone, University of Kentucky; Harold S. Smith, Kentucky State College; John R. Betts, Tulane University; John Duffy, Northwestern State College, Natchitoches, Louisiana; Emil R. Platig, Millsaps College, Jackson, Mississippi; James W. Silver, University of Mississippi; William Edward Livezey, University of Oklahoma; Thomas T. Hammond, University of Virginia; Howard A. Mowen, Western Michigan College of Education; Albin T. Anderson, University of Nebraska; William DeM. Starnes, University of Connecticut; Malcolm Stearns, Jr., Wesleyan University, Middletown, Connecticut; John A. Munroe, University of Delaware; Moses I. Finley, Rutgers University; Daniel S. Allen, Hartwick College, Oneonta, New York; William Korey, Long Island University; John A. Nichols, Skidmore College, Saratoga Springs, New York; Alfred Brooks Rollins, Jr., State University Teachers College, New Paltz, New York; Ralph W. Cordier, State Teachers College, Indiana, Pennsylvania; James A. Field, Jr.,

Swarthmore College; Vincent H. Learnihan, Pomona College; Donald W. Peters, Glendale College, Glendale, California; Lloyd R. Sorenson, University of Oregon; Thomas J. Pressly, University of Washington.

The faculty fellowship program was established last April by the Fund for the Advancement of Education for the purpose of enabling younger faculty members to improve their competence in undergraduate teaching. The requirements were that applicants have assurance of employment for the academic year beginning in September, 1952, and that their applications be supported by their institutions. Officers of the fund are considering the possibility of continuing the plan for 1952-53. The committee on administration of the program was under the chairmanship of President Victor L. Butterfield of Wesleyan University and included: Chancellor Harvie Branscomb, Vanderbilt University; President Mary A. Cheek, Rockford College; Dean Fred C. Cole, College of Arts and Sciences, Tulane University; Chancellor Arthur H. Compton, Washington University; President Arthur G. Coons, Occidental College; President Albert W. Dent, Dillard University; Dean William C. DeVane, Yale College, Yale University; Dean Paul A. Dodd, College of Letters and Science, University of California at Los Angeles; Dean Eldon L. Johnson, School of Liberal Arts, University of Oregon; Dean Francis Keppel, Graduate School of Education, Harvard University; President Nathan M. Pusey, Lawrence College; President Gilbert F. White, Haverford College; President Goodrich C. White, Emory University; Dr. Payson S. Wild, Jr., Vice-President and Dean of Faculties, Northwestern University; Dean O. Meredith Wilson, University of Utah.

The Institute of Early American History and Culture announces that it is prepared to provide a limited number of grants-in-aid of research to individual writers or scholars who are carrying on studies in the field of American history prior to the year 1815. Early application for the grants will be advantageous; candidates must file their applications not later than March 15, 1952. Announcement of awards will be made May 15, 1952. Requests for application forms and other information should be addressed to the Director, Institute of Early American History and Culture, Goodwin Building, Williamsburg, Virginia. The Institute announces grants-in-aid to the following scholars for the year 1951-52: Elisha P. Douglass, Elon College, North Carolina, for his study of democracy in the American Revolution; Suzanne K. Sherman, Williamsburg, Virginia, for her study of the theater in the colonial South; Malcolm Freiberg, Boston, Massachusetts, for his biography of Thomas Hutchinson.

The following paragraph gives the essentials from a recent announcement of the Office of Education:

The United States Office of Education, in cooperation with the Department of State, announces the availability of fellowships to United States graduate stu-

dents as provided under the Convention for the Promotion of Inter-American Cultural Relations. Two graduate students are exchanged each year between the United States and each of the republics signatory to the Convention. The participating countries, other than the United States, are as follows: Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru and Venezuela. During the next academic year, the following countries probably will receive students from the United States: Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, Haiti, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru and Venezuela. . . . Transportation to and from the receiving country is paid by the United States Government. The receiving government pays tuition and a monthly maintenance allowance. In some cases a small sum is allotted for books and incidental expenses. It may be necessary for the student to supplement his maintenance allowance from other sources to meet the cost of living expenses. Students desirous of making application should write to the Division of International Educational Relations, American Republics Section, U. S. Office of Education, Washington 25, D.C. . . . Applications must be received by the Office of Education not later than January 15, 1952.

The Conference Board of Associated Research Councils in charge of Fulbright awards at the faculty level announces that it will receive applications for 1952-53 for Turkey and Greece. It has prepared two booklets describing the whole program and its present status. These booklets and application blanks may be obtained on request to the Committee on International Exchange of Persons, 2101 Constitution Avenue, Washington 25, D.C. The new secretary of the committee is Francis A. Young. Gordon Bowles, who has carried the program so ably through its initial stages, has accepted appointment as visiting professor at Tokyo University.

The Institute of the History of Medicine, the Johns Hopkins University, announces the award of three fellowships in the history of science and of medicine for the academic year 1951-1952. The awards, each of which carries a stipend of \$3,000, involve no formal obligations other than residence and provide for association with appropriate staff members of the medical institutions and of the School of Higher Studies. Those receiving the fellowships for next year are Mr. John B. Blake, of Harvard (in the history of public health); Mr. R. Gordon Gilbert, of the University of California (in the history of basic scientific concepts); and Mr. Rashi Fein, of Johns Hopkins University (in medical economics).

The winners of the 1951 Bancroft prizes awarded by Columbia University for the "best books published in the preceding year in American history in its broadest sense, American diplomacy or American international relations" are Arthur N. Holcombe, professor of government at Harvard University, and Henry Nash Smith, professor of English at the University of Minnesota. Professor Holcombe received the award for his book *Our More Perfect Union* and Professor Smith for his *Virgin Land*.

Karl W. Deutsch, associate professor of history in the School of Humanities and Social Studies of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, was awarded the 1951 Sumner Prize of Harvard University for the manuscript of a book on "Nationalism and Social Communication."

The Alexander Prize of the Royal Historical Society for 1951 was awarded to Mr. K. G. Davies for an essay on "The Origins of the Commission System in the West India Trade." Essays competing for the 1952 prize must be sent by January 31, 1952, to the Secretary, Royal Historical Society, 96, Cheyne Walk, London, S.W.10.

The Naval War College at Newport, Rhode Island, announces the establishment of a chair of military history, a position to be filled by civilian scholars. Appointments will be made for short periods such as one semester or one year in order that the historian may maintain his association with his parent university. Professor Thomas C. Mendenhall of Yale University is giving part time this fall semester to the duties of the new chair.

Ian H. C. Fraser (34 Chandos Road, Redland, Bristol, England) is making a study of Sir Robert Heath (1575-1649), sometime chief justice of the King's Bench in the reign of Charles I. He would appreciate information concerning the whereabouts of a collection of manuscript letters and papers relating to Sir Robert which were sold, through an agent, to an American collector sometime after 1920.

The Berkshire Historical Conference held its annual meeting this year May 19-20 at South Egremont, Massachusetts. Twenty-five women, teaching in the field of history and representing fifteen colleges and universities, attended. Informal discussions concerning the teaching of advanced courses in history followed reports by Vera Brown Holmes and Jean Wilson of Smith College, by Carolyn Clewes of Wheaton College, Dorothy L. Thompson of Bard, and Helen Máude Cam of Harvard. Vera Brown Holmes was elected president and Grace H. Larsen, of Swarthmore, secretary-treasurer. Retiring officers were Margaret Judson of New Jersey College for Women as president and Joanne Neel of Vassar as secretary-treasurer.

Personal

APPOINTMENTS AND STAFF CHANGES

Robert Livingston Schuyler, president of the American Historical Association this year, retired on July 1 from Columbia University, where he was Gouverneur Morris professor of history and senior member of the faculty of political science.

Solon J. Buck, head of the Manuscripts Division of the Library of Congress, has been made Assistant Librarian of Congress. David C. Mearns succeeds Dr. Buck in the Manuscripts Division.

Paul B. Cares has been promoted to a professorship in history at Allegheny College, Meadville, Pennsylvania.

John J. Van Nostrand has been granted a leave of absence from the University of California, Berkeley.

Herbert J. Clancy, S.J., is now on the staff of Canisius College, Buffalo, New York, where he is teaching United States history.

Oliver H. Radkey of the University of Texas is visiting professor of Russian history at the University of Cincinnati during the current academic year.

The department of history of the University of Colorado announces the appointments of Vincent W. Beach, formerly of East Tennessee State College, as assistant professor and Robert P. Browder, formerly of Stanford University, as instructor.

Fred A. Cazal, Jr., assistant professor of history in the University of Connecticut, has been granted the Bissing Fellowship by the Johns Hopkins University and has gone to England for the current academic year.

Eric C. Kollman has been granted sabbatical leave by Cornell College (Mount Vernon, Iowa) for the first semester this year. He is to be in both Germany and Austria, doing research and lecturing at the United States Information Centers in Germany. He has also been invited to give some lectures at the University of Göttingen.

Wilbur D. Jones has been promoted to assistant professor of history in the University of Georgia.

Arthur M. Lee has accepted an appointment as associate professor of history and acting head of the social science department at Grand Canyon College.

Charles H. Hunter and Arthur J. Marder have been promoted to full professorships in the department of history of the University of Hawaii.

Beatrice F. Hyslop of Hunter College has received a Fulbright fellowship and has gone to France for the year to do research.

Frederic C. Lane is on leave from the Johns Hopkins University for two or three years to serve with the Rockefeller Foundation as European representative for the social sciences division. He has resigned the editorship of the *Journal of Economic History* and Thomas C. Cochran of the University of Pennsylvania has been elected editor.

Alexandre Koyré of L'Ecole pratique des hautes études, Paris, has been appointed visiting professor in the history of science at the Institute of the History of Medicine in the Johns Hopkins University for the first semester, 1951-52.

George M. Beckmann has been appointed instructor in history in the University of Kansas. He will give courses in Asiatic history. Edward F. Grier has been appointed assistant professor of English at the same institution and will teach courses in American literature.

Clement Eaton of the University of Kentucky has been awarded a Fulbright fellowship and is lecturing during the current year at the University of Manchester, England.

George W. Kyte has been promoted to associate professor of history in Lehigh University.

Horace S. Merrill has been assigned to the University of Maryland European program for 1951-52 and Herbert A. Crosman remains in the program for the year. Gordon W. Prange, who has been on leave as deputy chief of historical research of G2 in Tokyo, returned to his duties in the University of Maryland in September. Charles A. Johnson, instructor in American history in the same institution, has been recalled to active duty as a captain in the United States Air Force.

Sidney Fine has been promoted to assistant professor of history in the University of Michigan.

Austin L. Moore, professor of history in Michigan State College, has been awarded a Fulbright fellowship and is lecturing on the history of civilization at Farouk I University, Alexandria, Egypt, during the current year.

Donald Beatty and John Bowditch have been promoted to associate professors of history in the University of Minnesota. John B. Wolf of the same institution is in France on a Fulbright fellowship.

The department of history of the University of Missouri sends the following

announcement: Elmer Ellis, dean of the College of Arts and Sciences, is lecturing in American history at the University of Amsterdam during the current year under the provisions of the Fulbright Act. Charles F. Mullett will be on leave of absence the second semester to do research in England. Walter V. Scholes is on leave of absence during the first semester to do research in Mexico. David H. Pinkney has been promoted to associate professor.

Ray W. Irwin has been promoted to associate professor of history in New York University.

Wallace E. Caldwell was appointed chairman of the department of history in the University of North Carolina as of April 1, 1951, following the resignation of A. R. Newsome (see RECENT DEATHS). James L. Godfrey of the same university has been awarded the President's Fellowship of Brown University for the current academic year. He is on leave of absence to do research in England on the Labor government. John Beeler and Lawrence Graves, instructors in history at the Woman's College, have been called to active duty as reserve officers in the United States Army.

Albert Norman has accepted an appointment as assistant professor of history at Norwich University.

Gordon Wright, professor of history in the University of Oregon, is acting chairman of the department and will serve until a successor to Dan E. Clark, retired, can be named. Kenneth W. Porter is visiting professor of history in the University of Oregon during the current academic year.

Conyers Read has become emeritus professor of English history in the University of Pennsylvania. He will serve as special lecturer in the graduate school of the university for 1951-52. F. Hilary Conroy, formerly of the University of California, has been appointed assistant professor of Far Eastern history at the University of Pennsylvania.

Charles Sellers, formerly of the University of Maryland, has accepted an instructorship at Princeton University.

Henry David, associate professor of history in Queens College, has been granted leave of absence, at the request of General Eisenhower, to serve as executive secretary of the National Manpower Council recently established in the Graduate School of Business, Columbia University.

Edward Hake Phillips has been promoted to assistant professor of history in the Rice Institute.

The department of history and political science at Rutgers University has been divided into two separate departments. L. Ethan Ellis has been elected chairman of the new department of history. Also at Rutgers, Richard P. McCormick and Robert F. Byrnes have been promoted to associate professorships in history.

Benjamin Franklin Gilbert was appointed instructor in history in San Jose State College, California, in September, 1950.

James Miller Grimes has been promoted to professor of history at the University of the South (Sewanee).

William P. Hotchkiss has been appointed chairman of the department of history at Syracuse University. Murray G. Lawson, assistant professor of American and Canadian history in Syracuse University, has been granted leave of absence to accept a post with the State Department's Office of Intelligence Research.

At Temple University, Philadelphia, John S. Kramer has been promoted to the rank of associate professor of history and Lawrence O. Ealy to the rank of assistant professor.

R. John Rath, formerly of the University of Colorado, has accepted a professorship at the University of Texas.

D. G. Brinton Thompson, associate professor of history in Trinity College, Hartford, has been named Northam professor of history and political science and chairman of the department.

Mark Naidis has joined the staff of the *United States Quarterly Book Review* in the Library of Congress.

Evalyn A. Clark, professor of history in Vassar College, has been appointed associate dean of the college.

Winfred A. Harbison, professor of history in Wayne University, has been named chairman of the department. He succeeds Raymond C. Miller, who has asked to be relieved of administrative duties but will continue in his professorship.

In Western Reserve University, Arvel B. Erickson, Harvey Wish, and John Hall Stewart have been promoted to the rank of full professor of history.

Paul Samuel Smith, chairman of the department of history in Whittier College, has been chosen president of the college.

In the department of history in Yale University David M. Potter has been named William Robertson Coe professor of history and chairman of the department of American studies, Ralph E. Turner is chairman of the editorial committee of UNESCO's Scientific and Cultural History of Mankind, Sherman Kent is still on leave for service with the Central Intelligence Agency, and Archibald S. Foord has been promoted to an associate professorship. Dudley W. R. Bahlman, William R. Emerson, Kermit E. McKenzie, and Rowland L. Mitchell, Jr., have been appointed instructors.

Ernest G. Schwiebert, recently cultural adviser at Erlangen University, Germany, is now command historian of the Air Research and Development Command at Baltimore, Maryland.

RECENT DEATHS

Louis Knott Koontz, professor of history in the University of California at Los Angeles, died August 7 at the age of sixty-one. Dr. Koontz's career was divided between service in educational institutions on both the Atlantic and the Pacific coasts. Wherever he was he made lasting friendships, and students and colleagues past and present held him in high esteem and will remember with gratitude his unselfish helpfulness. Dr. Koontz graduated at eighteen from Washington and Lee College and the next year, at nineteen, was a teacher and president of the little institution that later became Hood College. Alternating teaching and study, he took his master's degree at the Johns Hopkins University in 1914 and his doctor's degree in 1920. His teaching career included three years at Davis-Elkins, where he was also dean and for one year acting president. A year in editorial work on the San Francisco *Chronicle* (1921-22) preceded his first appointment at U.C.L.A. Here he rose through the various grades to a full professorship with responsibility for the work in his chosen field of colonial history. He taught in the summer sessions of many institutions in both East and West, traveled on research missions to Europe, and served on educational and historical projects in Washington and the Philippine Islands in World War I. He was for a time managing editor of the *Pacific Historical Review* and was the author of *The Virginia Frontier, 1754-1763* (1925) and *Robert Dinwiddie* (1941). He later took over the editing of the latter's correspondence and of the collected essays of his late colleague, Professor Parish. Wherever there was a task to be done Louis Koontz was one of the first names suggested, and he gave of his time cheerfully. Such generous and truly amiable spirits are all too rare.

Edward Maslin Hulme died at his home in Palo Alto, California, on July 10,

1951. He would have been eighty-three years of age had he lived until his birthday, September 17. Born in London and coming to America as a boy, he graduated from Stanford with the class of 1897. He carried on graduate work at Harvard University and at Cornell University and was for nineteen years a member of the faculty of the University of Idaho. Returning to Stanford as professor of medieval history in 1921, he remained there until he reached emeritus status in 1937. He taught in the summer sessions of universities in the East and the South as well as the West. Always an unusually inspiring teacher for the large classes in his subject, he also led a band of devoted and productive scholars, particularly in the field of the Renaissance. His first volume, published in 1914, was *Renaissance and Reformation*, followed in 1924 by *The British People* and the well-known text, *The Middle Ages*, first published in 1929. A traveler of keen insight, he published *Wintering in France* in 1941, and in 1942 he summarized the work of many years' thought and study in *History and Its Neighbors*. Occasionally the poet, always the artist, he was first of all the teacher of history to thousands of students. As one distinguished medievalist has written in proposing a fund for a purchase of books in his memory, he was "a great teacher."

David Duncan Wallace died in Spartanburg, South Carolina, on April 29, lacking less than a month of being seventy-seven years of age. A graduate of Wofford College and in 1899 the first person to be granted the Ph.D. degree in history by Vanderbilt University, he was professor of history and economics at Wofford for forty-eight years. For brief periods he was a visiting professor at the University of Michigan, Emory University, and the College of Charleston. He was an exceptionally able teacher of undergraduates, and many of his students continued their study of history in the graduate schools of American universities. Despite a heavy teaching schedule, which included at times courses in political science and sociology as well as history and economics, he was actively engaged in research and writing for many years. Especially noteworthy productions were his *Life of Henry Laurens* (1915) and his three-volume *History of South Carolina* (1934). His *History of Wofford College* was in press when he died.

Albert Ray Newsome, professor of American history and head of the history department of the University of North Carolina, died on August 5, 1951, at the age of fifty-seven, after a prolonged illness. Born at Marshville, North Carolina, in 1894, he was educated in the public schools and university of his native state. He graduated from the University of North Carolina in 1915 with highest honors, as president of the local chapter of Phi Beta Kappa. After teaching in the public schools of North Carolina and at Bessie Tift College in Georgia, and the University of North Carolina, he completed his work for the Ph.D. degree at the University of Michigan in 1929. His dissertation, *The Presidential Election of 1824 in North Carolina*, was published by the University of North Carolina Press in 1939.

He also published (in collaboration with Professor Hugh T. Lefler) *The Growth of North Carolina* (1940) and edited *The North Carolina Manuals* (1927, 1929), *The Preservation of Local Archives: A Guide for Public Officials* (1932) and *Social Science Maps* (1938). At the time of his death he had completed a large part of a volume on the history of North Carolina. Among his shorter research studies were numerous articles on archives and on the history of North Carolina, published in the *North Carolina Historical Review*, the *American Archivist*, the *Southern Magazine*, the *Dictionary of American Biography*, *Public Documents*, and *Illinois Libraries*. He edited the *James Sprunt Studies in History and Political Science* (1939).

Much of Professor Newsome's contribution to the advancement of historical study was administrative. He was secretary of the North Carolina Historical Commission (now the State Department of Archives and History) and also editor of the *North Carolina Historical Review*, from 1926 to 1935, at which time he became head of the history department of his alma mater. In 1938-39 he served as president of the State Literary and Historical Association of North Carolina. He was a charter member and first president of the Society of American Archivists (1936-39) and took an active part in professional organizations such as the American Historical Association, the Southern Historical Association, and the Historical Society of North Carolina.

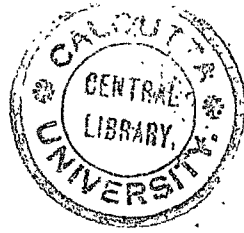
George F. Zook, director emeritus of the American Council on Education, died in Washington, August 17, at the age of sixty-six. Although most of his active life was spent in educational administration he was trained as a historian at the University of Kansas and Cornell University. After serving as a teaching assistant at Cornell, where he received his doctorate in 1913, he began his teaching career in Pennsylvania State College, where promotion came promptly. He came to Washington in 1917 to do research and writing for the Committee on Public Information. The rest of his career, except for eight years as president of the University of Akron, centered in Washington where he was Commissioner of Education before his sixteen years as director of the American Council on Education. Under him, and with the liberal support of the great foundations, the council became a nation-wide institution serving education at all levels and carrying on and publishing elaborate investigations of educational problems. Dr. Zook's character and tempered judgment gave him a place of leadership whenever educational problems were a matter of major concern by any government agency from the White House down. He served on the educational program in Germany and played an active part as a member of the United States delegation to UNESCO. He was in Paris at its June meetings when his last illness came. Through all these years he had kept his interest in history and his membership in the American Historical Association. When he accepted a place as consultant to the Library of Congress he planned to return to his studies of African slavery,

the subject of his doctoral dissertation. He lived to see his services to education recognized by honorary degrees and by the acclaim of the educational profession whose larger purposes he championed at home and abroad.

Clive Day, professor of economic history, emeritus, in Yale University, died July 27 at his summer home in Greensboro, Vermont, in his eighty-first year. Clive Day was as wholly a Yale man as one could well be. He was a descendant of Yale men, one of whom had been president of the university. From Yale he received his bachelor's degree in 1892 and his doctorate in 1899. He spent two of the intermediate years in study in Berlin and Paris and three as an instructor in economics in the University of California. In 1898 he returned to New Haven, there to spend the rest of his active life except for his service with the American peace delegation in 1918. His field of specialization was the history of commerce, and for his interest in Dutch history he was made a corresponding member of the Batavian Academy of Arts and Sciences. He was also a fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. Tall, spare, modest, retiring, yet friendly, he found his satisfaction as a teacher whose restrained and clear-cut presentation was based on mastery of his subject. His volumes on *Policy and Administration of the Dutch in Java* (1904), *History of Commerce* (1907), *History of Commerce of the United States* (1925), and *Economic Development of Modern Europe* (1933) made his scholarship available beyond the Yale campus: He had been retired since 1936.

Arthur H. Clark, publisher and bibliophile, died in Glendale, California, May 15. His specialization in the printing and direct sale of original narratives of early American history gave his firm a very special place as a producer of source material and of substantive histories in the same area. He made profit on manuscripts that other publishers thought "too scholarly." He put his imprint on the seventy-three volumes of the *Jesuit Relations* and C. W. Alvord's *Mississippi Valley in British Politics*, which was awarded the Loubat Prize. While at Cleveland, where he began business in 1902, he helped in founding the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* and later in California the *Pacific Historical Review*.

Robert W. Seton-Watson died at his home on the Isle of Skye on July 25 at the age of seventy-two. For forty years he had devoted himself to the study of the history and politics of Balkan countries. He served the British government in intelligence work in the two world wars. He was author and editor of nearly thirty volumes in the field of his special interest. He taught in Kings College from 1915 to 1922 and from 1922 to 1945 was Masaryk Professor in the University of London. From 1922 to 1949 he was joint editor of the *Slavonic Review*. He was the deserving recipient of honors from institutions in many lands.



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The Historical Spirit Incarnate:
Frederic William Maitland*

ROBERT LIVINGSTON SCHUYLER

THE hundredth anniversary of the birth of Frederic William Maitland fell in 1950. There is, however, a better reason than belated centennialism for pausing to consider what he stood for as a historian because what he stood for, unless I am much mistaken, needs to be emphasized today. Maitland has a message not only for professional students, teachers, and writers of history but for everybody who aspires to balance and sanity in his attitude toward the past. If a confession of historiographical faith on my part can be found in what I am going to say about him, this is something that will not greatly concern anyone but me. Yet it should perhaps be stated explicitly at the outset, rather than left to be inferred by you later, that Maitland has meant more to me than any other historian—not primarily for the subjects he dealt with, but for his methods, his insights, and his superb historical sense. He was a lawyer, and his specialty was the history of English law, though he did original and important work in other branches of history.

*Presidential address read at the annual dinner of the American Historical Association in New York on December 29, 1951.

But it would be wrong to think of him as just a lawyer who happened to become interested in the history of his subject. He was, rather, what his intimate friend and collaborator Sir Frederick Pollock called him, "a man with a genius for history, who turned its light upon law because law, being his profession, came naturally into the field." As a professor of legal history at Cambridge, he used medieval law as a tool to "open . . . the mind of medieval man and to reveal the nature and growth of his institutions," as one of his students, George Macaulay Trevelyan, has told us. I doubt whether any medievalist has ever made a more earnest and sustained effort to get inside the medieval mind.

The only one of Maitland's forebears who needs to be spoken of here is his grandfather, the Reverend Samuel Roffey Maitland, who was librarian to the archbishop of Canterbury at Lambeth Palace and wrote a number of books, mainly on medieval religious history. As a boy Frederic William visited from time to time at Maitland House, his grandfather's home in Gloucestershire, and later he came to have a great admiration for his historical writings. There were, in fact, striking resemblances between grandfather and grandson considered as historians.

The elder Maitland was never content to stop short of the most reliable available original sources for his historical knowledge, and he was distinctly critical, exceptionally so for his day, in handling historical evidence. He was, therefore, skeptical in his attitude toward historical traditions. As a medievalist he had a strong feeling for the general cultural context in which the institutions of the Middle Ages were embedded, and he was keenly sensitive to the differences between it and the cultural milieu of his own day—which is to say that he was historically-minded, and, being so, he was repelled by anachronism. He liked the medieval in the Middle Ages but not in modern times. Thus he had good things to say about medieval monasticism, but its merits in its own day were not, in his opinion, a valid reason for reviving the monastic system in nineteenth-century England, as had recently been proposed. Indeed, he did not believe that the *medieval* monastic system could be revived.

We have been hearing so much of late about subjectivity and objectivity in historianship, about the historian's "frame of reference" and "controlling assumptions," about history as faith *versus* history as science, that we may be in some danger of supposing that thought on such subjects is an exclusively twentieth-century form of cerebration. Samuel Roffey Maitland lived long before the term "historical relativism" had been coined, but in his

historical outlook he was a thorough relativist. He understood quite clearly that the institutions of the past could be comprehended only when viewed in their context, and he knew equally well that a man of the nineteenth century, even if he was a historian, could not become absolutely and consistently medieval. Here is a remark of his that could serve as a text for a discourse on historical relativism at a meeting of historians today: "Do what he may, no man can strip himself of the circumstances, and concomitants, which it has pleased God to place around him." Frederic William Maitland's indebtedness to his grandfather's critical methods and historical point of view was undoubtedly very considerable. A private letter of his, written early in his career as a historian, tells us as much.

As a student at Cambridge, where his earliest interests—in music, mathematics, and athletics—had little enough obvious relation to what was to be his lifework, Maitland before long came under the influence of the eminent philosopher, and professor of philosophy, Henry Sidgwick, with results of importance for his intellectual development. He read widely in various branches of philosophy, and to such good purpose that he came out at the head of the first class in the Moral and Mental Science Tripos of 1872. He acquired a reputation as a humorous and brilliant talker and an extremely effective public speaker, and already as an undergraduate he gave more than a hint of that flair for pointing an argument with an epigram that was to characterize his lecturing and writing in after years.

Maitland entered Lincoln's Inn in 1872 and was called to the bar in 1876. In the law chambers of Benjamin Bickley Rogers, who is still remembered in classical circles for the translations of the comedies of Aristophanes with which he beguiled his leisure hours, the young barrister specialized in conveyancing, and his familiarity with that highly technical branch of English law served him well in his later study of early English land deeds and charters. The testimony of Mr. Rogers is eloquent as to Maitland's extraordinary legal talents: "he had not been with me a week before I found that I had in my chambers such a lawyer as I had never met before. . . . his opinions, had he suddenly been made a judge, would have been an honour to the Bench."

Many lawyers have written history, and often, in sorrow be it added, quite untruthful history. The time-honored method of studying law, in English inns of court and American law schools, has not made for historical-mindedness. The lawyer is concerned with precedents, to be sure, but usually not with the context of his precedents. If, to quote some penetrating words that I have seen ascribed to my old friend Reed Powell, who has devoted his years

of discretion to the study of how judges think, "If you think that you can think about a thing, inextricably attached to something else, without thinking of the thing it is attached to, then you have a legal mind." The historical mind, on the other hand, sees past events in their contemporary contexts. In his inaugural lecture as Downing Professor of the Laws of England at Cambridge, delivered in October, 1888, and entitled "Why the History of English Law Is Not Written," Maitland, with characteristic insight, thus contrasted the legal mind and the historical mind:

. . . what is really required of the practising lawyer is not, save in the rarest cases, a knowledge of medieval law as it was in the Middle Ages, but rather a knowledge of medieval law as interpreted by modern courts to suit modern facts. A lawyer finds on his table a case about rights of common which sends him to the Statute of Merton. But is it really the law of 1236 that he wants to know? No, it is the ultimate result of the interpretations set on the statute by the judges of twenty generations. The more modern the decision, the more valuable for his purpose. That process by which old principles and old phrases are charged with a new content, is from the lawyer's point of view an evolution of the true intent and meaning of the old law; from the historian's point of view it is almost of necessity a process of perversion and misunderstanding.

Let me underscore one phrase in that quotation; we shall be coming back to it: *a knowledge of medieval law as it was in the Middle Ages.*

As a young man, and in fact throughout his life, Maitland took a lively interest in current affairs, though he did not find time to write much on them. For it was a settled conviction of his—in the opinion of some, this may be thought to date him—that the highest function of a historian is to be a historian. Law reform, however, was one of his early and abiding interests. His approach to the subject was historical, as we should expect, and his attitude toward it decidedly radical. As a young conveyancer, he declared in an article published in 1879 that what was needed was "nothing less than a total abolition of all that is distinctive in real property law," and it was his mature judgment, expressed toward the end of his life, that the historical spirit, far from being the handmaid of conservatism, was the natural ally of rational reform. He was spiritually akin to the great English law reformers of the early nineteenth century, and he could use equally vigorous language. He belonged in what Sir William Holdsworth called the "long series of judges, conveyancers, and legislators" whose efforts led to the drastic reforms in English property law in the 1920's. He was ever a sworn foe of what he called "out-worn theories and obsolescent ideas," though it should quickly be added that his historical sense prevented him from making the crude mistake of condemning theories or ideas in the past because they later became

incumbrances and impediments. In connection with the law of real property he spoke of the need of clearing up what he called "that great medieval muddle which passes under the name of feudalism," but he never expressed contempt for feudalism in the feudal ages. He did not endorse what he described as "the cheerful optimism which refuses to see that the process of civilization is often a cruel process," but on the other hand he never beheld myopic visions of golden ages in the good old days.

Two of Maitland's contemporaries, both of them close personal friends of his, did much to determine his lifework. One of these was Frederick Pollock, whose name is always linked with his. Pollock was a few years older than Maitland and preceded him by a few years in the educational procession—at Eton, Trinity College, Cambridge, and Lincoln's Inn. Maitland has recorded that it was through Pollock that his interest in legal history was first aroused. The two friends collaborated in writing the treatise that has been a classic in English legal history for more than a half-century, *The History of English Law before the Time of Edward I*, always cited as "Pollock and Maitland." The order in which the authors' names appeared on the title page was in accordance with professional legal usage, the order, namely, of seniority at the bar, but a note by Pollock, added to the preface, recorded that Maitland's share in the work, both as to research and as to composition, was by far the greater. One of my predecessors in this chair, who was also my old chief at Yale, George Burton Adams, pronounced "Pollock and Maitland" to be unequaled as a work of continuous institutional history—and Professor Adams was not addicted to uncritical eulogy.

The other friend whose influence on Maitland was very great was the Russian medievalist Paul Vinogradoff. Visiting England in search of materials for medieval history, Vinogradoff became greatly impressed by the immense stores of unexploited archive sources for English legal history in the Public Record Office in London. Meeting Maitland by chance in January, 1884, he communicated his enthusiasm to him, with results that were to be decisive in Maitland's career and momentous for the history of English law. "I often think," Maitland wrote to Vinogradoff some years later, "what an extraordinary piece of luck for me it was that you and I met upon a 'Sunday tramp.' That day determined the rest of my life." The first fruit of Maitland's enthusiastic explorations at the Public Record Office was an edition of an early thirteenth-century plea roll, which he published before the end of 1884, with a masterly introduction and an appropriate dedication to Vinogradoff. He had now entered on his lifework as a legal historian.

In that same year, 1884, Maitland began to teach at Cambridge. Four years

later he was elected Downing Professor of the Laws of England, and he held this chair for the rest of his life. As a lecturer he was pre-eminently original—illuminating, suggestive, and stimulating in what he had to say, which was carefully prepared, and impressive, humorous, and even at times dramatic in his manner of saying it. Students spoke of his power to create historical atmosphere and make dry bones live. In addition to formal lectures he used to give informal instruction in paleography and diplomatics to small groups of advanced students. My colleague Professor Shotwell, who knew Maitland in his later years and was familiar with the character and quality of his teaching, has spoken of this work of his as a kind of informal *Ecole des Chartes*.

In 1887 the Selden Society was founded for the purpose of advancing the knowledge of English law by publishing first-hand materials for the study of its history. Maitland was the prime mover in its establishment, became its literary director, and remained its inspiring genius until his death. Twenty-one volumes were issued by the society during his lifetime, of which eight were his own contributions, and all the others, some of them undertaken at his suggestion, underwent his editorial supervision. As a historical editor he was the opposite of perfunctory, and his introductions to his own volumes have been a boon to students because of his lucid presentation of his findings, his clear-visioned insights, his original and ingenious hypotheses, and his critical historical methods.

After all the argument and controversy that have been raging in historical circles regarding the uses and objectives of historical study, the nature of historical knowledge, and that perennially alluring apple of discord, historical relativism, most of us still speak respectfully, if not enthusiastically, about historical truth—that is, when we speak of it at all. Some of us are old enough to have listened to the impressive and beautiful address on “Truth in History” read before this Association nearly forty years ago by its President, my old and honored teacher, William Archibald Dunning, and all of us could read it with profit.

Only a selfless dedication to historical truth could have sustained labors so laborious and pains so painful as those to which Maitland subjected himself. A single instance must suffice for illustration. He turned from a continuation of *The History of English Law*, which he had much at heart, to the preparation of a critical edition of early Year Books because he regarded this latter as an indispensable preliminary to the former. To an understanding of the Year Books, however, there was also an indispensable preliminary—a thorough knowledge of the language in which they were written, the

Anglo-French language spoken in English law courts in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. And hence our historian turned grammarian, orthographer, and phoneticist. For the competence with which he performed this exacting and intensely laborious task we have the testimony of a distinguished contemporary French philologist, who recommended Maitland's excursion into medieval law French, published in the introduction to the first volume of the Year Books which he edited for the Selden Society, to all students of Old French in any of its numerous varieties. Maitland's achievement seems all the more remarkable in that he took no interest in philology for its own sake and that his work on the Year Books was done in the closing years of his life, under the severe handicap of illness and enforced absences from England. He retained to the very end his capacity for the drudgery involved in scholarship. The pursuit of historical truth, as he understood that term, was Maitland's ruling passion, and it explains, I think, most of his traits as a historian.

Anyone who has read more than a very little of Maitland is sure to be impressed by his concreteness and mastery of detail. He had a healthy distrust of the glittering generality that disdains illustration for he knew that concrete events are the stuff of history. One of the chief virtues of Stubbs's *Constitutional History of England*, in his judgment, was a concreteness exceptional in books on that subject. "People can't understand old law," he once remarked, "unless you give a few concrete illustrations; at least I can't." And so his writing is alive with facts and the doings of men, even though the men are sometimes necessarily left anonymous. He never forgot that human institutions and ideas have no existence, no life of their own, apart from human beings.

This concreteness of Maitland's, his factualism, goes far, if it does not go all the way, to explain his historical interpretations and conceptions of causation. You will search his writings in vain for any reference to historical laws, universal determinism of any variety (providential, economic, racial, geographical, or other), controlling social forces, or *Zeitgeist*. He himself, when young, had eagerly pursued philosophy as an academic subject, to be sure, and he must have heard great argument about causation, but the bent of his genius was historical. Perhaps he was too essentially and wholeheartedly the historian to take kindly to historical philosophy. You can find some "necessary conditions" in Maitland, but he did not mispend time and energy in the futile attempt to establish "fundamental causes." He knew that causation in history is always multiple and complex, and that among antecedents there

are always events that look like historical accidents, events, that is to say, which it seems impossible to account for as even probable results of *their known antecedents*. He was never guilty of the folly of brushing aside as useless or vain, conjectures on the part of historians in response to hypothetical questions contrary to historical fact. Without such conjectures, indeed, it would seem to be impossible to form any estimate of the significance of events and personalities in history, and he himself engaged explicitly in them. For example, in a passage in *The History of English Law* dealing with the results of the Norman Conquest in English legal history he asks whether a charter of liberties would ever have been granted in England if William the Conqueror had left only one son instead of three. And again, in his *English Law and the Renaissance*, where he is speaking of what he considered to be England's narrow "escape" from a reception of Roman law in the middle years of the sixteenth century, he says:

If Reginald Pole's dream had come true, if there had been a Reception—well, I have not the power to guess and you have not the time to hear what would have happened; but I think that we should have had to rewrite a great deal of history. For example, in the seventeenth century there might have been a struggle between king and parliament, but it would hardly have been that struggle for the medieval, the Lancastrian, constitution in which Coke and Selden and Prynne and other ardent searchers of mouldering records won their right to be known to school-boys.

With all his concreteness, however, Maitland was not bogged down in detail so as to be incapable of generalization. On the contrary, he exhibited the rare combination of mastery of detail and high generalizing power, though he knew that most historical generalizations need qualification. Generalization is constantly in evidence in his writings. It is shown in surveys such as his article on the history of English law in the eleventh edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, it is shown in epigrams scattered through his writings. These are never mere purple patches, sewn on for ornament. They are used to drive points home, to clinch arguments.

Though primarily a legal historian, Maitland was not a narrowly legal historian. He knew, of course, that specialization, division of labor, is necessary if historical study is to advance. But no historian has perceived more clearly that the various departments into which the whole field of history, considered as knowledge about the past, has been divided for convenience and scientific utility are not severally self-sufficient or self-explanatory. No historian has felt more sensitively that this departmentalization of knowledge does not correspond to anything in history, considered as the flow of events

in the past, to anything, that is to say, inherent in the historic process itself—that it tends, on the contrary, to obscure relationships that have always existed in that process as an undivided whole. He counted it for righteousness in his friend Leslie Stephen that he was “a great contemner of boundaries, whom no scheme of the sciences, no delimitation of departments, would keep in the highway if he had a mind to go across country.” Maitland knew that the historian of law must often go outside his own bailiwick for explanations, and, conversely, that specialists in other historical domains should often turn to the history of law. If medievalists today make greater use of legal materials as sources for English social, economic, and constitutional history than their nineteenth-century predecessors did, some of the credit for this improvement belongs to Maitland.

Maitland’s mind, like that of every other great historian, was of strongly critical cast. Constant exercise of private judgment must have strengthened the critical faculty in him, and reliance upon private judgment became very early a part of the man. There was in him, however, no tinge of arrogance or false pride of opinion. His ego never took precedence over his devotion to historical truth, and therefore he was never “exhausted in the effort to be omniscient,” as has been said of Karl Marx. In religion private judgment made him a dissenter even from Dissent, and it made him, as a historian, critical in his approach to historical evidence. What he admired most in his grandfather as a historian was his critical power. Maitland’s mind was of the rare type that does not take even commonplace things for granted. A useful collection of essays in historical criticism could be compiled from his writings.

Maitland’s independence of judgment could not fail to bring him at times into conflict with opinions and schools of thought that enjoyed wide acceptance and the endorsement of great names. But he was not polemical by preference. He never sought controversy, I think, or rejoiced in it, like some of his predecessors—and successors. Yet he was never overawed by authority, however eminent, and he did not shrink from taking issue with historians whom he respected if he became convinced that they were in error. He was habitually considerate and generous in his attitude toward other historical scholars and always tried to think the best of their performances. His historical criticisms, according to Vinogradoff, exemplified the maxim *suaviter in modo, fortiter in re*. Only if he thought that injustice had been done did he show signs of strong feeling, and then he could be devastating, even though the injured party had been dead for half a dozen centuries.

Suggestiveness is a conspicuous characteristic of Maitland’s writing. He

addressed himself to a limited public, though he had no contempt for historical popularizers provided they were "honest and reasonably industrious," and he himself possessed literary gifts that could have placed him high in their ranks. In reviewing a ponderous work of Germanic historical scholarship he confessed that Gallic "high vulgarization" had its attraction for him. He was devoid of the intellectual snobbishness that values knowledge the more when it is esoteric. Still he was primarily a historians' historian, and he was always eager to aid other scholars and encourage them to labor, not in *his* vineyard (for no historian has been less monopolistic or proprietary in his attitude toward his field of specialization) but in the vineyard with him. His perception of historical problems awaiting solution and of work to be done in aid of historical scholarship made him extraordinarily fertile in suggestion, and a goodly crop of historical writing has stemmed from ideas which he threw out. To eliminate from written history, in the name of art, the evidences and inferences on which opinions have been based, to obscure the process of which the finished work is the final product, he considered to be a crime against history. He spoke with playful sarcasm of England as a land "where men are readily persuaded that hard labour is disagreeable and that the signs of hard labour are disgusting." He gave high praise to historians like Stubbs and Liebermann, who took their readers into their confidence and showed them historianship behind the scenes. Of Stubbs he said: "No other Englishman has so completely displayed to the world the whole business of the historian from the winning of the raw material to the narrating and generalising." This judgment can be applied with equal propriety to himself. Stubbs and Maitland were both historians' historians, both mighty contributors to historical knowledge, both eager to help others in advancing it, and both historical editors who carried the editorial art to its highest levels. No other series of introductions to historical sources and records—at least none in the English language—deserves to be placed abreast of Stubbs's or of Maitland's. No other English historian's footnotes have been more seminal than theirs. The dean of English medievalists of our own day, Professor Powicke, has declared that nothing can deprive the great works of these two masters of their pre-eminence.

Maitland conclusively refutes the false and mischievous notion, widely entertained though it is both in professional historical circles and by the history-reading public, that great learning and good writing are incompatible. We gild historians (with some exceptions of course) have tended to be suspicious of anything verging on style—that is, on good style. On the other hand, the esthetic sense of the public, at any rate as interpreted by com-

mercial publishers (and few publishers known to me are wholly uncommercial), is offended by obtrusive evidences of scholarship, insisting, for example, upon the elimination of footnotes or, at least, their consignment to the rear, where those whom they may concern can examine them—with a maximum of inconvenience. Maitland had, it is true, no craving for popularity, and his appeal has not been to the general reading public, largely no doubt because of the nature of his subject matter. A chapter which he contributed to the *Cambridge Modern History*, on "The Anglican Settlement and the Scottish Reformation," shows that he could write narrative history of the first quality when he wanted to. But the historian of institutions and ideas, and this, essentially, is what he was, has never enjoyed the popular favor accorded to narrative historians. "The History of Institutions cannot be mastered,—can scarcely be approached,—without an effort"—such is the majestic sentence with which Stubbs began the preface to his *Constitutional History of England*. You simply cannot imagine *Domesday Book and Beyond* superseding the latest best-selling novel on dressing tables in young ladies' boudoirs, the ambition that Macaulay cherished for his *History*. The kind of history to which Maitland devoted himself requires for its understanding more active response, more mental effort, a higher degree of sympathetic imagination on the reader's part, than the incisive rhetoric of Macaulay or the glowing prose of John Richard Green. It is also, as Maitland came to see, more risky than narrative history. "Would Gibbon's editor," he asked, "find so few mistakes to rectify if Gibbon had seriously tried to make his readers live for a while under the laws of Franks and Lombards?"

Yet Maitland was a consummate master of the art of expressing thought in English prose. Contemporaries who were familiar with his writings were all impressed by his literary qualities; and a generation after his death the editors of a collection of his articles coupled what they called "the matchless attraction of his style" with "the brilliant scholarship and originality of thought which he brought to bear upon every topic that he handled." He had no set method, nor any single manner, of writing. He was eloquent (though never pompous) or homely (though never vulgar) or gay (though never flippant), as the nature of his subject and his mood moved him. His style, if it can be spoken of in the singular, is singularly various, but it never lacks the quality of distinction. Humor is certainly one of its salient features, humor "abounding in delightful surprises," says Pollock, "overflowing even into the titles of learned papers, breaking out in footnotes with rapid allusive touches." "Humor in footnotes" is itself a delightful surprise which I respectfully commend to the attention of my fellow members of this Association.

Maitland had darts of sarcasm and irony in his armory, and he knew how to discharge them with telling effect, but his darts, however pointed, were never poisoned, and they were rarely aimed at individuals. He was well equipped with devices for fixing attention, facilitating understanding, and driving home arguments—reiteration and the use of the *leitmotif*, striking characterization, dramatic visualization, apt (and sometimes bold) literary quotation. A single example of the last, of almost audacious quotation, must suffice for illustration. In the introduction to his first major historical work, *Bracton's Note Book*, Maitland expressed the opinion that Bracton found some specific rules of Roman law handy, but that in the main he borrowed them for application in concrete cases only when there was no applicable English authority. Such a general statement was all very well, yet it might not stick. But who will forget the point after Maitland has called upon Hamlet to help him drive it in?

Imperial Caesar dead and turned to clay
Might stop a hole to keep the wind away.

John Fiske, in the preface to his *Discovery of America*, emphasizes the need of freeing our minds from "bondage to the modern map"—a phrase which he borrowed from Edward A. Freeman—if we wish to understand what the great mariners of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were seeking. "The ancient map," he says, "must take its place. . . . In dealing with the discovery of America one must steadily keep before one's mind the quaint notions of ancient geographers. . . . It was just these distorted and hazy notions that swayed the minds and guided the movements of the great discoverers." Bondage to the modern map, however, has been only one phase of bondage to the modern in general, from which the writing of history has always suffered and from which, if a counsel of perfection is permissible, it ought to be freed. The process of emancipation needs to be extended to all branches of history—the history of institutions and ideas no less than the history of geographical discovery. Maitland's clear and steady perception of this need in historiography and his fidelity to the liberating and therapeutic principle of historical-mindedness were, it seems to me, the most distinguishing factors in his greatness as a historian. His appreciation of ideological differences between past and present was plainly in evidence early in his career as a writer—in a dissertation in the field of political theory which he submitted in competition for a fellowship at Cambridge and in his earliest important contribution to legal history. His work, taken as a

whole, remains a standing protest against what Professor Sayles has recently called the "perverse historical doctrine that the past could only be understood in the light of the present."

A historical conviction of Maitland's that was rooted in his historical-mindedness was often reiterated in his writings, namely, that the course of development in legal thinking has been from the vague to the definite. In a striking passage in *Domesday Book and Beyond* he put this thought in these words:

The grown man will find it easier to think the thoughts of the school-boy than to think the thoughts of the baby. And yet the doctrine that our remote forefathers being simple folk had simple law dies hard. Too often we allow ourselves to suppose that, could we but get back to the beginning, we should find that all was intelligible and should then be able to watch the process whereby simple ideas were smothered under subtleties and technicalities. But it is not so. Simplicity is the outcome of technical subtlety; it is the goal, not the starting point. As we go backwards the familiar outlines become blurred; the ideas become fluid, and instead of the simple we find the indefinite.

Haze, Maitland often seems to be telling us, ought to be recognized for what it was. It should be allowed to remain hazy. It should not be given the semblance of clarity by having an unhistorical and false lucidity forced upon it. The temptation to clarify medieval haze is strong in the mind of the modern historian, but it ought to be strongly resisted: "We shall have to think away distinctions which seem to us as clear as the sunshine; we must think ourselves back into a twilight. This we must do, not in a haphazard fashion, but of set purpose, knowing what we are doing."

The baffling problems of interpretation with which Maitland, as a medievalist, felt himself forced to wrestle, raised no perplexing difficulties for the medievals themselves—did not, indeed, exist for them—but that was because haze was not disturbed by haziness. There were no medievalists in the Middle Ages, there were just medievals. The medievalist is an exclusively modern phenomenon, a fact to which most of his spiritual tribulations are attributable.

Historical-mindedness, Maitland soon came to realize, was especially difficult in the field of early law and custom. It was far harder to find out what our remote ancestors thought than to find out what words they used or what implements they made. Again and again, explicitly and implicitly, he tells us that we ought not to force modern ideas on the Middle Ages. The problem in hand may be the status of the *servus* of Domesday Book. We moderns can call him a slave, but was he thought of at the time as a thing or as a person—or as neither? "We may well doubt," Maitland's answer is, "whether this

principle—"The slave is a thing, not a person"—can be fully understood by a grossly barbarous age. It implies the idea of a person, and in the world of sense we find not persons but men." Modern legal theories are, in general, too definite, modern legal distinctions too sharply drawn, to suit medieval facts. The distinction, for example, between "alodial ownership" and "feudal tenure," a sharp distinction, as modern historians had usually supposed, ought not to be pushed back too far, for in the eleventh century men were said to *hold land of others in alodio*. It was the same in the domain of political ideas and theories—"our medieval history will go astray, our history of Italy and Germany will go far astray . . . unless we both know and feel that we must not thrust our modern 'State-concept,' as a German would call it, upon the reluctant material." Sometimes Maitland's interpretations involving striking contrasts between archaic and modern ways of thinking are positively startling, as in what he has to say about Anglo-Saxon ideas of justice in relation to judicial proof by oath:

The swearer satisfies human justice by taking the oath. If he has sworn falsely, he is exposed to the wrath of God and in some subsequent proceeding may perhaps be convicted of perjury; but in the meantime he has performed the task that the law set him; he has given the requisite proof. . . . The plaintiff, if he thought that there had been perjury, would have the satisfaction of knowing that some twelve of his enemies [the defendant's oath-helpers] were devoted to divine vengeance.

After-mindedness, that is to say, the retrojection into a past age of interests and ideas and attitudes and standards of later times, is likely, Maitland perceived, to lead us far astray in our interpretations of historical movements and tendencies, of human motives, of values in general. It may, for example, mislead us into mistaking progress for retrogression, it may persuade us that what was really contempt for a conquered people was an enlightened spirit of toleration, it may turn us topsy-turvy in our historical judgments on all kinds of questions. Even in the domain of ethics there were for Maitland no absolutes. All human conduct ought to be judged in relation to time and circumstance. Bracton, for instance, should not be accused of plagiarism because he did not conform to modern standards in acknowledging indebtedness to others. In his time nobody did. "Literary communism" was the order of the day.

Anachronism was as distasteful to Maitland, with his keen sense of time-depth, as it had been to his grandfather, and the obligation of the historian to be eternally vigilant in taking precautions against this historical disease is one of the great lessons to be learned from him. Anyone gifted

with historic sense must, he felt, dislike to see a rule or an idea unfitly surviving in a changed environment.

An anachronism should offend not only his reason, but his taste. Roman Law was all very well at Rome; medieval law in the Middle Age. But the modern man in a toga, or a coat of mail, or a chasuble, is not only uncomfortable but unlovely.

Anachronism, he perceived, often leads us to follow false scents. Many questions that have been asked about the past are unhistorical questions because they are anachronistic. It was peculiarly difficult, he realized, to avoid anachronism in the realm of ideas:

Against many kinds of anachronism we now guard ourselves. We are careful of costume, of armour and architecture, of words and forms of speech. But it is far easier to be careful of these things than to prevent the intrusion of untimely ideas. . . . If, for example, we introduce the *persona ficta* too soon, we shall be doing worse than if we armed Hengist and Horsa with machine guns or pictured the Venerable Bede correcting proofs for the press.

What Maitland called "antedating the emergence of modern ideas" he declared to be the "besetting sin" in the traditional attitude of the English legal profession toward medieval English legal history. It was not difficult, for example, for the modern lawyer to find corporations in England much too early—"when we turn to a far-off past we may be in great danger of too readily seeing a corporation in some group of landholders, which, if modern distinctions are to be applied at all, would be better classed as a group of joint tenants than as a corporation." We must take care, he urges us in many different connections, not to hurry history.

Antiquarianism, on the other hand, might run to excess and defeat its own purpose. Thus in the matter of orthography, Maitland's sound judgment saved him from following the example of Green, who sprinkled his pages on Anglo-Saxon England with such outlandish name-forms as Eadwine, Bæda, and Ecgberht. Maitland knew that the letter often killeth, and he felt, in all probability, that such antiquarian literalism tended to give a false impression of the bizarre and the fantastic, which impeded rather than facilitated historical comprehension. In dealing with Bracton he had to decide between the traditional spelling of his name and the spelling as it was written in Bracton's own day—"Bratton." He decided in favor of tradition: "Bracton he has been for centuries, and so let him be to the end."

Maitland knew too much history, and felt too historically about what he knew, to suppose that after-mindedness is a distinctly modern phenomenon. He knew that men in *all* ages had trodden that primrose path which has

always led to anachronism, distortion, and falsification of *earlier* ages. Thus medieval English lawyers were thoroughly after-minded. This was shown, for example, in the law of villeinage in the thirteenth century—"it seems to betray the handiwork of lawyers who have forced ancient facts into a modern theory." It was shown, too, in their attitude toward the old forms of action. As long as these were still in use it was difficult to tell the truth about their history:

There they were, and it was the duty of judges and text writers to make the best of them, to treat them as though they formed a rational scheme provided all of a piece by some all-wise legislator. . . . It was difficult to discover, difficult to tell the truth, difficult to say that these forms of action belonged to very different ages, expressed very different and sometimes discordant theories of law, had been twisted or tortured to inappropriate uses, were the monuments of long forgotten political struggles; above all it was difficult to say of them that they had their origin and their explanation in a time when the king's court was but one among many courts.

In a recent discussion of the *quo warranto* proceedings against franchise-holders in Edward I's reign Professor Plucknett has spoken of the application of new doctrines in the interpretation of old deeds and charters by "royal lawyers who had political reasons for exaggerating their natural lack of historical sense."

Maitland's *Domesday Book and Beyond* is a conspicuous example of what he himself called the "retrogressive method" in history, the method, that is to say, of proceeding from the later known to the earlier unknown. The question may properly be asked whether this method was consistent with his teaching against after-mindedness. There was, obviously, a danger that, in using the light of Domesday Book to lighten the darkness that lay beyond, anachronism and distortion would result, that what was true of England on the day when Edward the Confessor was alive and dead would be read back too far. Maitland was alert to this danger. We have his word for it that "the method which would argue from what is in one century to what was in an earlier century, requires of him who employs it the most circumspect management." It is clear, I think, that he looked upon the retrogressive method as one to be resorted to only for want of a better, only for lack of adequate contemporary evidence. It might sometimes be necessary, but it was never for him the ideal method. It is in this sense that I read the following sentences in that trail-blazing introduction which he wrote to his edition of the roll of the Lenten Parliament of 1305:

It is hard to think away out of our heads a history which has long lain in a remote past but which once lay in the future; it is hard to be ever remembering

that such ancient terms as *house of lords* and *peers of the realm* were once new terms; it is hard to look at the thirteenth century save by looking at it through the distorting medium of the fourteenth. . . . We must judge the rolls of Edward I's reign on their own merits without reference to the parliament rolls of his grandson's, or of any later, reign.

Did Maitland, any more than his grandfather, believe that absolute historical objectivity could be attained? Some words of his in *Township and Borough* suggest an answer he might have given to this question:

If we speak, we must speak with words; if we think, we must think with thoughts. We are moderns and our words and thoughts can not but be modern. Perhaps, as Mr. Gilbert once suggested, it is too late for us to be early English. Every thought will be too sharp, every word will imply too many contrasts. We must, it is to be feared, use many words and qualify our every statement until we have almost contradicted it.

Yet Maitland never yielded to discouragement, he never became a defeatist. He was too morally wise to grow cynical about ideals because it is of their nature to be not completely attainable. He knew that a man's reach should exceed his grasp, but it never occurred to him to build a philosophy of historiography upon the difference between the two. At the end of *Domesday Book and Beyond* he concludes with a paragraph of "last words," and this paragraph concludes with these last sentences of hopeful prophecy concerning the state of materials for the knowledge of "ancient English history," and the historical sense necessary for their interpretation, at the close of the twentieth century:

Above all, by slow degrees the thoughts of our forefathers, their common thoughts about common things, will have become thinkable once more. There are discoveries to be made; but also there are habits to be formed.

A mind as acute as Maitland's was inevitably much concerned with precise meanings of words, with nice distinctions between words, with varying senses in the use of words. His sensitivity to differing shades of meaning in words is shown, for instance, by the pains he took to demonstrate that in Bracton's day the word "manor" (*manerium*) was not a technical term of law, susceptible of precise definition. As a historian of law he was impressed by the fact that lawyers had taken their terms from the popular speech and given them technical meaning and definition. Sometimes, he noted, "a word continues to have both a technical meaning for lawyers and a different and vaguer meaning for laymen." In the sixteenth century, which to Maitland's mind was so critical a period in the history of the common law, it was no small matter, it seemed to him, that English lawyers had been able to define

their concepts sharply, to construct an adequate technical vocabulary, to think with precision. Technicality made the common law tough and immune to foreign legal influences. Had it been less technical and more homely, "Romanism would have swept the board in England as it swept the board in Germany."

At the very beginning of his career as a historian Maitland showed that he was already what might be called a historical semanticist, alert to changes in meaning which words have undergone in the course of time. He was ever conscious of the truth later expressed by Mr. Justice Holmes in a beautiful and famous metaphor: "A word is not a crystal, transparent and unchanged; it is the skin of a living thought and may vary greatly in color and content according to the circumstances and the time in which it is used."

Maitland's ear for gradations in the scale of meaning was extraordinarily sensitive; it would be difficult, in any of his writings, to find cases of semantic flattening or sharpening. In Anglo-Saxon *diplomata* he could distinguish the tones of a whole "graduated scale of carelessness, improvement, and falsification" that lay between "unadulterated genuineness and wicked forgery." For an understanding of early English landholding much hinges, he found, upon nice distinctions between the two Latin prepositions, *sub* and *de*. "We catch a slight shade of difference between the two," he tells us in *Domesday Book and Beyond*; "*sub* lays stress on the lord's power, which may well be of a personal or justiciary, rather than of a proprietary kind, while *de* imports a theory about the origin of the tenure; it makes the tenant's rights look like derivative rights:—it is supposed that he gets his land from his lord." A vivid appreciation of the instability of meaning attached to words was one of Maitland's major historical perceptions. An instance in point was the word "landlord." "We make one word of it," he said, "and throw a strong accent on the first syllable. The lordliness has evaporated; but it was there once. Ownership has come out brightly and intensely; the element of superiority, of government, has vanished."

The problem that lies at the heart of semantics arises from the false identification of, or confusion between, the verbal labels, or *symbols*, put upon things, objects, qualities, ideas, and, in general, whatever talk or writing is about, and the things, objects, qualities, and ideas to which the symbols refer, the *referents*, as semanticists call them. In reality, of course, there is no direct and inherent connection between the verbal label and the object referred to, as Locke was at pains to point out in his *Essay concerning Human Understanding*. You are no more really ladies and gentlemen than you are *mesdames et messieurs*, and a rose by any other name would smell as sweet. But the

assumption that a direct connection between symbol and referent actually exists is deeply engrained in human thinking, and semanticists regard this assumption as Public Enemy Number One. Symbols are often indeterminate and vague, and evoke widely different conceptions in different minds. Agreement regarding the referent may be called the goal of semantics.

Maitland did not employ the vocabulary of present-day semantics, which is not strange since the term itself was only beginning to come into English usage as the name of a theory, or science, of meaning toward the close of his life. But semanticists can claim him as one of theirs. Listen to this:

When King John granted the vill of Cambridge to the burgesses and their heirs, did he mean to confer an ownership of the soil upon a municipal corporation? One point seems certain. Neither John nor his chancellor would have understood the terms of our question. Both the right that is given and the person or persons to whom it is given are hazily and feebly conceived.

Isn't Maitland telling us that King John's referents were not sharply defined in his own mind? From a modern point of view, they were vague and hazy. And if King John's thirteenth-century referents leave something to be desired from our standpoint, what can we expect of the referents of Anglo-Saxon kings in their land-books? Again let Maitland tell:

. . . when our kings of the eighth century set their hands to documents written in Latin and bristling with the technical terms of Roman law, to documents which at first sight seem to express clear enough ideas of ownership and alienation, we must not at once assume that they have grasped these ideas.

In translating from other languages into English Maitland was confronted with the semantic problem. He frequently had to probe for an English equivalent of some foreign word and could not always find it. It was often difficult, if not impossible, he discovered, to translate a medieval Latin word accurately, and sometimes he had to be satisfied with the least inadequate English rendering of a German expression. He came to the conclusion that an English translation of the work of a German lawyer could, at best, never be entirely satisfactory: "To take the most obvious instance, his *Recht* is never quite our *Right* or quite our *Law*." Sometimes a German word seemed to Maitland definitely preferable to its not quite equivalent English translation. He was led to speculate on the comparative semantic merits of the English and German languages for legal history. The German historian, he concluded, had at his disposal more accurate terms and concepts than his English counterpart, but this was not an unmitigated advantage for it might lead him to construct theories about early times too sharp to be true. Still he

could see possibilities, said Maitland, that are "concealed from us in our fluffier language; and the sharp one-sided theory will at least state the problem that is to be solved."

Maitland's writings—his books, articles, introductions, and reviews—come to us from the generation before last, and it should go without saying that they are not at all points fully abreast of today's scholarship. Some of his opinions have been questioned, and here and there they have been corrected. To demonstrate this specifically would serve no present purpose, even if the hour were earlier. It should be said, however, that this is how he would have had it, for nothing was nearer to his heart than the hope that the work which was so dear to him would be carried forward by others, and he was, as we have seen, a willing source of inspiration. We may say of him what he said of an English historian of the generation before his own, J. M. Kemble—that no one "who has felt the difference between genius and industrious good intentions" can ever differ with him lightly or without regret. It is significant that Maitland's principal critics have been among his warmest admirers.

Judged, as every scholar ought to be judged, in relation to the state of knowledge and the standards of learning of his own day, Maitland was a towering figure. In an obituary article on his old friend and collaborator, Sir Frederick Pollock wrote:

It is not easy to convey an adequate notion of Maitland's work to those who have not themselves labored in the same field. It is still less easy for any one to appreciate the difficulties or the success who does not remember the conditions under which he started. . . . Looking back some twenty-five years, we see the early history of the Common Law still obscure, insulated, a seeming chaos of technical antiquities. Historians excusably shrank from it, and the lawyers who really knew much of it could almost be counted on one's fingers. . . . This was the world which Maitland's genius transformed. . . . So complete has the transformation been that our children will hardly believe how uncritical their grandfathers were, and on what palpable fictions they were nourished. . . . Maitland commanded the dry bones to live, and henceforth they are alive.

And one final estimate, by Sir William Holdsworth, the historian of English law, who was proud to profess himself a disciple of Maitland: "In an age of great historians I think that Maitland was the greatest, I think that he was the equal of the greatest lawyers of his day, and that, as a legal historian, English law from before the time of legal memory has never known his like."

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Emperor William II and Archduke Francis Ferdinand in Their Correspondence

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THE purpose of the following brief study is to make historians acquainted with that part of the *Nachlass* of the archduke Francis Ferdinand that deals directly with the relations between the German emperor and the Austrian heir apparent—the hitherto unpublished correspondence between the two princes. It is of course necessary to put the letters into their proper historical setting and to furnish the necessary information for the understanding of these important documents.

For two reasons it appears, however, not advisable to attempt in this study a new evaluation of the personalities of the emperor and the archduke. The emperor's highly characteristic letters, which form the bulk of this correspondence, represent such a relatively small part of the mass of his personal documents hitherto known that it would be presumptuous indeed to posit far-reaching new conclusions from them. The same obviously holds even more true for the archduke. The two letter drafts presented here are such an infinitesimally small part of his unpublished *Nachlass*¹ that it would be absolutely pointless on such a limited basis to draw far-reaching conclusions. Yet, within the wide frame of documentation and analysis of the huge mass

¹ The *Nachlass* of the archduke is deposited in the Austrian Hof- und Staatsarchiv. It is not part of the archives but is in the possession and under the trusteeship of the archduke's heirs, Duke Max and Prince Ernst of Hohenberg. It consists of well over 200 fascicles, each containing a great number of documents pertaining to all aspects of Austrian political life from the 1890's to 1914 and comprising, in addition to his own and his personal staff's papers, documents of a great number of personalities distinguished in the public life of that period. Furthermore the *Nachlass* of the former Austrian prime minister, Baron Max von Beck, deposited in the Österreichisches Verwaltungsarchiv contains the archduke's correspondence with Beck. Military papers of Francis Ferdinand's military chancellery in the Austrian Kriegsarchiv have not yet been made accessible to students of history. Even the bulk of the archduke's papers (the Hohenberg archives), sealed right after his death, were made accessible to a very small number of scholars only after the end of the Second World War. For permission to peruse these unpublished papers I am above all indebted to Duke Max of Hohenberg, and, for many kind services, to Dr. Gebhart Rath of the Austrian Hof- und Staatsarchiv. Credit for the classification and organization of the *Nachlass*—an impressive undertaking—goes to Count Georg Nostitz, cousin of the duke of Hohenberg, at present with the Österreichisches Finanzarchiv. I am indebted to Professor Eric Kahler of Cornell University for valuable assistance in the translation of these documents. For references to the history of the *Nachlass* by persons well acquainted with Francis Ferdinand's life, though not with the *Nachlass* itself, see Theodor von Sosnosky, *Franz Ferdinand* (Munich and Berlin, 1929), pp. viii, ix; Leopold von Chlumecky, member of the archduke's reform group, *Erzherzog Franz Ferdinands Wirken und Wollen* (Berlin, 1929), pp. 5, 6; Carl von Bardolff, director of the archduke's military chancellery from 1911 to 1914, *Soldat im alten Österreich* (Jena, 1939), pp. 183, 184.

of new historical information contained in the *Nachlass* as a whole, a re-evaluation of the archduke's personality will later be attempted and the proper conclusions will be drawn.

The correspondence discussed here deals with the momentous period from 1908 to 1914—more exactly January 18, 1908, to April 6, 1914, that is, from the time shortly before the outbreak of the Bosnian annexation crisis to the period shortly before the assassination at Sarajevo on June 28, 1914, leading directly to the outbreak of the First World War. At the time when the correspondence analyzed below commenced, the German emperor and the archduke were already on rather intimate terms, a fact which by no means implies that the two princes were intimate friends—at least not from the archduke's point of view.²

Relations between Francis Ferdinand and William II, however, had hardly been of an intimate nature before the turn of the century. As is generally known, the archduke became official heir apparent only after the death of his father, the archduke Charles Louis, Emperor Francis Joseph's brother, in 1896. More important, Francis Ferdinand's chronic pulmonary ailment which kept him away from public functions for some five years between 1892 and 1897 made any far-reaching political contacts difficult. These "formative years" in the growth of the archduke's somber and easily distrustful nature during a time when court and public life turned to his younger brother, Archduke Otto, precluded any intimate contact with a

² The correspondence with William II belongs to the second part of the *Nachlass*, letters comprising twenty-three boxes and three separate fascicles. Within this special collection it is deposited in box 6. The bulk of the correspondence with the German emperor consists of letters received by the archduke. Only two drafts of the heir apparent's documents, one of them, however, of great importance, are included. According to information received from the duke of Hohenberg, the archduke's letters to William II, probably deposited in the Preussische Staatsbibliothek, could not be found after the war. Many references to the political issues covered in these letters are to be found in the two great publications of documents on foreign policy. (1) *Die grosse Politik der europäischen Kabinette 1871-1914* (40 vols. in 54; Berlin, 1922-26; hereafter cited as *Grosse Politik*); the period pertaining to these letters is covered in Vols. XXIII-XL. (2) *Österreich-Ungarns Aussenpolitik von der bosnischen Krise 1908 bis zum Kriegsausbruch* (9 vols.; Vienna, 1930; hereafter cited as *Österreich-Ungarns Aussenpolitik*). References to these two collections are given in the following notes by numbers of volumes and documents. Occasional page references refer to editorial notes only. An attempt obviously cannot be made to list even the main references here which deal with the relationship between William II and Francis Ferdinand during that period. Of particular significance are, however, as mentioned above, Sosnosky, *Franz Ferdinand*, pp. 154-66; Chlumecky, *Erzherzog Franz Ferdinands Wirken und Wollen*, pp. 75-79, 91, 92, 257, 357-58. See also Franz Conrad von Hötzendorf, Austrian chief of the general staff, *Aus meiner Dienstzeit* (5 vols.; Vienna, 1921-22; hereafter cited as Conrad), I, 134 f., 148, 149-53, 158, 159; II, 35, 94, 389; III, 81, 155, 169, 275, 488, 503, 597; Count Joseph Stürgkh, *Im deutschen grossen Hauptquartier* (Leipzig, 1921), pp. 92, 93; Maurice Muret, *L'archiduc François-Ferdinand* (Paris, 1932), pp. 142-63, 249-66; Ottokar Count Czernin, minister of foreign affairs, 1917-18, *Im Weltkrieg* (Berlin, 1919), p. 55; A. von Margutti, aide-de-camp of Emperor Francis Joseph, *Kaiser Franz Joseph* (Vienna, 1924), p. 128; Prince Bernhard von Bülow, *Memoirs* (4 vols., English ed.; Boston, 1931-32), I, 462-65, 715, 716; II, 389, 390, 453-55.

foreign sovereign—which could never have been cultivated anyhow without the approval of the emperor Francis Joseph. And the years from 1897 to 1900, the period in which Francis Ferdinand regained and strengthened his position in the political life of the monarchy, were largely taken up by the struggle to overcome the emperor's opposition to his morganatic marriage to Countess Sophie Chotek, later duchess of Hohenberg. During this long conflict there was even a possibility that Francis Ferdinand, if not successful, might abandon his right to the succession and retire to private life. Only after he had won, at the price of renouncing any claims of his future sons to the imperial succession, did his powerful influence on imperial affairs begin to be apparent.

The history of the marriage struggle has a direct and important bearing on the archduke's relationship with William II. Count Joseph Stürgkh relates quite reliably that the German emperor, as late as 1898 or 1899, was well aware of the fact that the Austro-Hungarian heir apparent did not entertain particularly friendly feelings toward him. Yet, possibly from personal vanity and certainly for obvious reasons of state, he earnestly endeavored to come to friendly, on the surface even to intimate, terms with "Archduke Francis Ferdinand, who does not like me."³ The lever which he used to achieve this—a difficult undertaking in view of the archduke's proud and aloof character—was not merely the display of his undeniable though often somewhat crude charms but the marriage question itself. Not only did he exert his influence on Francis Joseph to give his consent to the marriage but he and King Carol of Rumania were the first and only sovereigns who treated the archduke's consort officially on practically equal social footing, an attitude contrasting sharply with that of the imperial Austrian court.⁴

While the influence of the emperor's attitude on behalf of the archduke's difficult domestic position should not be underestimated, it would be naïve to assume that it altogether determined Francis Ferdinand's position toward the emperor. Shy and aloof, despising the popularity sought by William II, he was deeply conscious of the imperial dignity of the Habsburg House, much of whose substance the dynasty had lost to the Hohenzollerns in 1866 and 1871. The archduke was obviously torn by the ambivalent feeling of having to deal with a sovereign who, from his point of view, was but an upstart but whose political support he needed. To make matters worse, he, as mere heir to the throne, had to deal with the emperor in deferential terms.⁵ Surely, if one takes this psychological background of the two princes' per-

³ Stürgkh, pp. 92 f.

⁴ See Bülow, I, 462-65, 715, 716; Sosnosky, pp. 29, 31.

⁵ See Czernin, p. 55; Margutti, pp. 117-21.

sonal relationship into consideration it becomes clear that the seeming cordiality of their intercourse implied great skill on the emperor's part and great restraint on the archduke's.

The correspondence preserved in the *Nachlass* begins with a letter by the kaiser dated Berlin, January 18, 1908, dealing with the critical situation in the Ottoman Empire in the month preceding the outbreak of the Young Turk revolution in July of that year, which event led directly to the Bosnian annexation crisis. In reference to the reform work sponsored or rather ostensibly sponsored by the concert of Great Powers in what was then Turkish Macedonia, William II writes as follows:

MY DEAR FRANZI!⁶

You will perhaps still remember that in our discussions last spring we touched upon the Balkan question. You were kind enough to tell me then that it would be of the greatest importance to strengthen the authority of the sultan as much as possible to stop murder, devastation, and conflagration among the Christian Balkan peoples. . . . Yet, unfortunately, this idea has been constantly violated in the course of the years by the so-called "*Reformwerk*"⁷ of the Powers. . . . All so-called *Reform* means a deterioration of Balkan affairs. The consequences have been renewed outbreaks of hatred, murder, and pillage; only among the *Christians* to be sure; up to now the Moslems have not participated. The reason is simple. Each attempt at so-called *Reform* on the part of the foreign powers has in reality led to the destruction of part of the sultan's authority. . . . Any such weakening has increased hope for a *distribution of the spoils* among the Balkan Christians. Hence everybody emphasizes his ethnic interests to snatch the biggest morsel. Logically this causes conflicts with the neighbors who think along the same lines and, according to the customs of the Balkan *Christians* it leads to murder, arson, and mutual homicide. . . . [In particular the effects of the so-called reform of the judicial branch of government by the blundering and, as to Turkish institutions, ignorant six ambassadors of the Great Powers is detrimental since it trespasses on Mohammedan religious institutions and creates bitter feeling among the Mohammedans. This will lead to dangerous friction.] I have instructed my ambassador that most certainly I shall *not* participate in this judicial reform [*Justizreform*] action. On the contrary, I shall do everything to support and strengthen the sovereignty of the sultan. I should think that it would be a most vital interest of Austria on her part to turn away from the "reform" which has led into such a questionable track. Austria should back the sultan. If for no other reasons, Austria as the possessor of Bosnia-Herzegovina should prevent unrest in

⁶ This diminutive of Franz, used only by close relatives and most intimate friends of princely rank in their relation to the archduke, is in this respect equivalent to the kind of familiarity in the famous Willy-Nicki correspondence. Emperor and archduke use the intimate "*du*" in their correspondence, with the difference however that William II addresses himself directly to his "dear Franzi" while the archduke uses the respectful "*Du, Majestät*." Because of the somewhat archaic connotation of "thou" in the English language the personal pronoun "you" will be used in the following translations. The impetuous emotional character of the emperor betrays itself quite frequently in hasty writing in the form of faulty and incomplete syntax. Except for minor clarifications, an attempt has been made to preserve the imperial style in the translations.

⁷ Underlined in the original, as are the subsequently underlined words and phrases, except where required by editorial practice for foreign words and phrases.

the Balkans which may lead finally to a general conflagration. If I express this here I do it because I am the faithful and sincere friend and ally of your country, whose interest it is that the united [*sic*], conservative, and peaceful Turkish empire will not be replaced by new states with ultrademocratic constitutions and unbridled ambitions. . . . [Thus in particular the question of judicial reform in Macedonia should be deferred.] This would be a way out which without violating the Great Powers' prestige in any way, would protect Europe, the peace, and the great general conservative interests from serious dangers. I feel I can pledge that all participants would be sincerely grateful to Austria if she were to point to this course and to recommend it. . . .

Your faithful friend and cousin

WILLIAM

This letter is in line with the pro-Turkish though certainly not unselfish Oriental policy of Germany. It shows an understandable reluctance to be drawn into Balkan conflicts, following somewhat the line of Bismarck's wise but haughtily expressed opinion that the whole of the Balkans was not worth the bones of a Pomeranian grenadier. Finally the feelings of conservative monarchic solidarity expressed here are certainly characteristic of the general sentiments of both emperor and archduke.

There was however obviously a more specific reason for William's letter, which contained not only a suggestion regarding judicial reforms in Macedonia and the Ottoman Empire as a whole but an implied warning against too ambitious an Austrian Balkan policy. The reasons were obvious. In December, 1907, Austria-Hungary had informed the sultan of her intention to build a railway through the Sanjak of Novibazar via Sarajevo to Mitrovitza. From there direct connection with the Turkish and Greek railroad net could be established. A practically direct line—Vienna-Budapest-Sarajevo-Salonika-Athens—might thus have been set up and the economic and, indirectly, the political predominance of Austria in the western Balkans would have been strengthened. The project might of course have interfered with German economic interests in the Near and Middle East, but there is no reason to doubt the fact that apart from this consideration the disquieting effect of that move on the status quo in the Balkans and above all on Russia was disconcerting to the German government.⁸

The next brief letter from the emperor, written in November, 1908, from

⁸ Legally, on the basis of Article 25 of the Berlin Congress Act of 1878, Austria was unquestionably entitled to raise this question though not to act upon it unilaterally. Yet by the end of January, 1908, the Turkish government reluctantly agreed to the Austrian plan. This, however, did not dispose of the disturbing political effect of the move which as a consequence of the annexation crisis had to be dropped anyway before long. On the Sanjak railway issue, see *Grosse Politik*, XXVI/2, 8681-8760, particularly 8691; *Österreich-Ungarns Aussenpolitik*, I, 680-827; Berthold Molden, *Alois Graf Aehrenthal* (Austro-Hungarian minister of foreign affairs) (Stuttgart, 1917), pp. 32-38.

Donau-Eschingen, the castle of his Austrian friend Prince Max Egon Fürstenberg, warns Francis Ferdinand of military preparations in Young Turk military circles against Austria which, according to William's information, have the support of the British government. The following one, dated Potsdam, Neues Palais, December 16, 1908, is concerned with internal German politics, namely, the domestic opposition against William II aroused by the indiscreet *Daily Mail* interview of October 29, 1908.⁹

It is highly characteristic that here where his personal prestige is concerned the emperor shows nothing of the rather reasonable attitude apparent in his correspondence on Balkan politics. He writes thus:

MY DEAR FRANZI!

Your letter which shows kindness and warm sympathy has touched me most deeply. Your kind words radiating your friendship so precious to me have really done me good! Such comforting words from a friend are needed in these dark days of distress. Comfort given by you is doubly valuable and balm to the deep wounds inflicted on me by the people at home. On the whole you are *au courant* of the events and you therefore can understand what new effort it meant for me to act as if everything were all right—and to continue to work with men through whose dereliction of duty and moral cowardice I was deprived of the defense which in every other state would be granted to its head without hesitation. It is particularly pleasing to me to have received so many proofs of sympathy from Austria; strangely enough, the same attitude is expressed in numerous letters which I have received from strangers of all strata and classes of the English people and society. The vulgarity of the German press, the undignified and particularly mean conduct of the German Reichstag are generally condemned most sharply, no less than the unbelievable cowardice of the officials who left their master shamefully "in the lurch" [*sitzen gelassen haben*]. This begins to be felt by the poor German people which has been thoroughly fooled and totally deceived by the perfidious hatred of European Pan-Jewry but which now slowly recovers from the Jewish press hullabaloo and noise.¹⁰ The German people begins to search its heart and to realize what has been done to it and what it has been dragged into. Meanwhile I have set skillful bloodhounds on the tracks of the "swinish press fellows" and have already obtained pretty good results [*geschickte Spürhunde auf die Fährten der "Saubengels" von der Presse gesetzt*]. As I suspected, a whole ring of blackguards from all classes and occupations has been discovered. These fellows don't suspect anything yet! In these bad days Max and Irma were like brother and sister to me, really quite touching!¹¹ It took me four weeks to recover from the hard November days, partly a consequence of dear Hülsen's tragic and sudden death. . . .¹²

⁹ See particularly Bülow, *Memoirs*, II, 389-438.

¹⁰ Generally anti-Semitic diatribes are not frequent in the kaiser's utterances. On the other hand, the anti-Semitic attitude of the archduke was rigid and widely known. It is fair to assume that these remarks are tuned to the views of the recipient of the letter, possibly in answer to remarks in Francis Ferdinand's untraceable letter, answered here.

¹¹ Prince and Princess Max Egon Fürstenberg in Donau-Eschingen, with whom the emperor stayed during the November crisis.

¹² Count Dietrich Hülsen-Haeseler, chief of the emperor's military cabinet who died in Donau-Eschingen from an apoplectic stroke. According to Court Marshal Count Zedlitz-

The whining, self-pitying attitude, the total lack of self-criticism in a crisis for which William II was himself primarily responsible, linked to aggressiveness toward his critics, particularly to the "unbelievable cowardice of the officials who left me in the lurch"—a phrase obviously aimed primarily at the soft Reichstag defense of the emperor's action by Chancellor Bülow—show William II indeed at his worst.

A more reasonable emperor appears again in the letter from Potsdam dated December 31, 1908, which takes him back to the Balkan crisis.

MY DEAR FRANZI!

Your kind letter with the friendly New Year's wishes has touched me deeply and makes the end of the year happy for me. Permit me too to convey to you the most cordial blessings for yourself and your dear ones. God's blessing and support are needed for everything, but above all if one takes crucial steps in the life of the nation as is the case with you [*Euch*]. We are taking serious problems into the New Year. Their solution is still outstanding.¹³ The crux of the situation rests with a certain firm . . . about which we have talked so often and on whose attitude we are thoroughly agreed.¹⁴ She agitates against both our countries unscrupulously . . . in Paris, Madrid, Rome, above all in St. Petersburg and Istanbul. Her aim is a great *continental war* of everybody against everybody with the intention of fishing in troubled waters and weakening *all* of us. Russia however does *not* want war—because she *cannot* fight now. However, in Izvolski's speech one may perceive the plan to organize a Balkan alliance of the *South Eastern Slav* peoples against you. This fits in well with the plans of the other power. I believe this plan can best be spiked if you tie Bulgaria firmly to you [*Euch*] and induce her to go with you. As soon as she shows herself publicly on your side she will prove that her interests will be protected by you even though she is *Slavonic*.

Thereby, by an evident *faci*, the bottom will be immediately knocked out of the gossip of threatened Slavdom, and Izvolski will be deprived of one of his means of propaganda. Rumania also will go with you [*Euch*]. In this way you will have the two best Balkan states and sovereigns on your side. This too will be a factor in the calculation in case the situation should become serious. I think one could have the Turks too. They are urgently in need of a lot of money. It would be a pity if they were to get it *all* from the other side of the sea and if they were to become even more dependent on the wishes entertained there. The Oriental is readily approachable by gifts. Provided the bakshesh is not too small, it will not miss its effect. As to this question a great banker would give good information; perhaps Taussig¹⁵ would provide counsel in this matter? After all, the Duma too has emphasized in a resolution that the "solution" should be brought about by "*peaceful*" means! Would it not be splendid if by way of negotiations the three imperial powers could get together again on the basis of their "community of

Trützschler this happened right after the count, dressed in the costume of a ballerina, had danced a pirouette for the benefit of the emperor and his entourage. See Count Robert Zedlitz-Trützschler, *Zwölf Jahre am deutschen Kaiserhof* (Stuttgart, 1924), pp. 216–18. See also B. Schwertfeger, editor of the imperial chief of cabinet, R. von Valentini, *Kaiser und Kabinettschef* (Oldenburg, 1931), pp. 102, 103.

¹³ See *Grosse Politik*, XXVI/1, 9090–9176; *Österreich-Ungarns Aussenpolitik*, I, 680–827.

¹⁴ Obviously Great Britain.

¹⁵ Theodor von Taussig, governor of the Austrian Bodenkreditanstalt.

interests"? Anyhow, I have let it be known in Sofia that my support of recognition¹⁶ and my friendly attitude would depend exclusively on the question whether Ferdinand Naso will place himself determinedly on your side, which I would strongly advise him to do.¹⁷ As for the rest I hold myself prepared for everything that God may ordain. I keep my powder dry and I am on my guard. You know that *you* may count on us. Whether our army is any good you are in the best position to judge yourself. . . .

This letter, discounting the habitual imperial braggadocio, is certainly in line with the basic principles of Bülow's Balkan policy, that was, up to a point, to support Austria's Balkan policy but at the same time to exercise a restraining influence on her. It is open to question whether in the last sentences of this letter the emperor, on the spur of his own impetuosity, may not have gone somewhat beyond these limitations.

In the following letter, however, William II's attitude in the Balkan crisis appears more restrained in his intentions though, as usual, not in their expression. In this letter, dated Potsdam, January 14, 1909, he congratulates the archduke on the conciliatory Austrian offer to Turkey to settle the financial questions arising from the rapidly developing annexation crisis.¹⁸ Then, with his typical irritation, which was by no means necessarily antipathy, toward England, William continues:

. . . It is very amusing that without the slightest embarrassment we were told in London they [the British government] had very definitely indicated to Istanbul to accept the offer. Thus Albion arbitrarily issues orders and blows hot and cold, entirely according to her pleasure and need, just as it serves her purpose. Our joint attitude has impressed her and therefore she comes round. The royal couple¹⁹ will come for a visit next month which probably will lead to a relaxation of tension in England as well. The effect of Reval was not quite strong enough.²⁰ The swinish attacks of the press against me are still in full swing as they were in the fall. . . .

And now for a change the scene shifts to Austrian domestic politics in which William II, as usual sure of his "superior" knowledge, offers the archduke his unsolicited counsel, obviously in reply to a letter in which Francis Ferdinand had given vent to his consistently anti-Magyar policy. Almost certainly the archduke must have dwelt in particular on his favorite theme, the revision of the Compromise of 1867, which according to him and

¹⁶ Declaration of full independence of the whole of Bulgaria from Turkey and assumption of the title of tsar by Prince Ferdinand, on October 18, 1908.

¹⁷ Mocking reference to King Ferdinand of Bulgaria with the big nose.

¹⁸ See *Österreich-Ungarns Aussenpolitik*, I, 880.

¹⁹ Edward VII and Queen Alexandra.

²⁰ The *entrevue* between Tsar Nicholas II and Edward VII in July, 1908. See *Grosse Politik*, XXV/2, 8798-8829.

so many others had established an inordinate and dangerous Magyar supremacy in the Danube monarchy. The emperor writes from Berlin on February 12, 1909:

MY DEAR FRANZI!

Your informative and so interesting letter means to me a renewed proof of your faithful friendship and frank confidence. I thank you for it from the bottom of my heart. It honors me and makes me happy at the same time.

The dangers which you foresee will develop in the future within the monarchy in relation to Hungary interest me greatly. To be sure, it is not easy to treat the Magyar, chauvinistic and vain as he is, in the right manner. As you say, these qualities have even been strengthened by too much indulgence. Therefore it is difficult to draw a proper limit to concessions. That they must not be made at the expense of the armed forces . . . is obvious.

On the other hand, the Slav danger has revealed itself amazingly in its delusion and violence within the last months. According to your presentation Belgrade and Prague conspire on the basis of a fixed program. . . . Behind both of them stands Moscow, in how far Cracow and Lemberg are in the game I cannot judge. Now apparently the *Pan Slav* danger is the greater one for Austria since it pulls its lever in your own country through the Czechs against Austria and her imperial character. It endangers the preservation of the monarchy *because she has recently incorporated Slavonic lands* and thus is in the process of becoming a *second Slavonic Great Power* besides . . . Slavonic Russia.

In the future one may have to count on this Pan Slav enmity—fomented by other Great Powers—to an increasing degree; [that is] because of the fear of competition and therefore *division* of the whole Slavonic power *between* you [Austria] and Russia. Russia will always watch this suspiciously. The best support against the Pan Slav danger and its machinations is (a) a solid, good relationship with Rumania, (b) the same with Bulgaria, (c) with Turkey. In addition, the hatred of the Magyars against everything Pan Slav would provide a good support against all Slav velleities and particularly in the South. After all, the chauvinism of the Magyars derives from a glowing patriotism even though it has a separatist taint. Guided in the right direction it might well be possible to use it for the common good of the fatherland. . . .

The emperor then recounts a discussion with the Ottoman ambassador to Germany on the political designs of the Young Turk movement. According to the ambassador—a prominent Young Turk himself—his friends want a solid friendship with Germany, Austria, Rumania, if possible Bulgaria, and, he hopes, England. This coalition would have to face a Slav-Latin, i.e., Russian-Serbian-French, bloc, whose members have done much harm to Turkey in the past and may be expected to do so in the future. William II claims to have exerted a restraining influence on the ambassador regarding Turkish-Austrian relations, particularly in regard to the movement to boycott Austrian goods by Turkey following the Bosnian crisis.

The emperor then proceeds to discuss the Berlin visit of the British royal couple:

King Edward has just left me.²¹ The visit went off very well and had a very relieving and satisfactory effect. The signing of the Morocco agreement with France pleased him particularly. It has contributed much to alleviate British worries. The annexation [of Bosnia-Herzegovina] was also brought up, and where divergent views came to the fore it was easy for me to exert an informing and reassuring influence. He also talked about the naval question. Yet he fully recognized the legitimacy of the German standpoint of *Interessenpolitik* which [according to the king] is the only correct basis for the navy bill the realization of which does not disturb him in any way. He told me that after I had declared that the bill would be put into practice without modifications to the last dot on the *i*. Thus also this controversial point has been eliminated. . . .

Then the emperor reflects on the king's apparently poor health and comments sardonically on the arrogant and condescending attitude which the British visitors—to him plainly all Britons—take toward German conditions. One of the queen's ladies in waiting

vented her surprise on finding here in the castle bathrooms, dressing tables and even soap and towels. She had been instructed in London that those things were not to be found here. Another high personality of the British entourage was equally surprised that Berlin had real streets with beautiful hotels and large stores. So many people were crowding the streets, where might they all live? It seems the good British had believed they were going to the Eskimos . . . or to the Botokudes . . .!

The foregoing significant letter takes up three issues. The first is William's superficial evaluation of the intricate Austrian nationality problem as seen from the vantage point of official Germany with its interest in the Austrian alliance. This means that only the Austro-Germans and Magyars count within that system, the Austro-Germans as kin of the big brothers in the north, the Magyars as chief adversaries of the Slavs, that is, as an important pawn in the game against Russia. Thus by implication the preservation of the dualistic Compromise of 1867 and not the semifederalist anti-Magyar reform plans of Francis Ferdinand should remain the basis of the Austrian monarchy's structure in a future conflict with Russia. From this ideology derives Bethmann-Hollweg's August, 1914, statement that the World War was to be the decisive struggle between Germandom and Slavdom with its harmful psychological effect on the Slav majority of the Danube monarchy's population.

Secondly William II, implicitly revealing the imperialist dreams of a Great German Oriental policy, again wants to restrain Austria not only from a sweeping domestic national reform program but from too stiff an attitude in the Bosnian crisis.

²¹ On the visit see *Grosse Politik*, XXVI/2, 9373, 9374, 9386; Bülow, *Memoirs*, III, 468-75.

Finally he again expresses his ambivalent attitude toward Great Britain. The supposedly amusing and probably exaggerated report on the British royal entourage's evaluation of standards of civilization in Berlin is evidence of his typical inferiority complex with regard to the British. His uncompromising stand on the naval policy as revealed in this letter confirms his known fateful illusions on this most sensitive spot of his policy. His words prove again, if such further proof is needed, that he saw the world as he wanted to see it. While it is certainly true that the cautious Edward VII neither then, before, nor later showed himself publicly alarmed about the German naval program, Bülow's discussion with Lord Crewe, Lord President of the Council, during that visit and during the following renewed considerations of a possible British-German naval understanding prove that a reduction or slowing down of the German naval program was at that time an objective—perhaps the chief objective—of British policy.²² That Edward VII thus should have voiced no concern whatsoever in regard to the kaiser's maritime plans, appears in all likelihood to spring from the kaiser's lively imagination.

The draft of Francis Ferdinand's answer to this letter is his only major contribution to the correspondence preserved in Vienna. The very fact that he composed a draft of that answer in longhand proves not only that he considered the issue to be raised important but also that he was well aware of the fact that he must voice his opposition to the kaiser's views on Austrian national affairs in diplomatic language in order to avoid any friction with his exalted friend.²³

The archduke refers first to his reception by the Magyars on his way back from the meeting at Sinaia.

BLUHNBACH, [no date].

. . . Naturally the Magyar nobles have made use of the opportunity to conduct themselves infamously and disloyally and to demonstrate against the action which I represent.²⁴ The good Rumanians, always faithful to the imperial dynasty, wished to greet and cheer me at the railway stations, yet on order of the revolu-

²² See Bülow, III, 475-88.

²³ Francis Ferdinand's draft is of course not dated. It certainly was written shortly after his return from a state visit to King Carol of Rumania in Sinaia in early July, 1909. The first sentences of the letter refer to that visit. The *Nachlass* contains two more letters by the kaiser written to the archduke between February 12 and July, 1909, but they do not deal with Austrian domestic problems. Undoubtedly Francis Ferdinand answered them (see particularly the emperor's letter of April 9, 1909), but neither the drafts nor the originals of these letters have been preserved. It is most likely that in his letters between February and July, 1909, the archduke confined himself, like the kaiser, to the discussion of current affairs and postponed answering his letter about the relatively more static Austrian nationality problems to the summer of 1909.

²⁴ Obviously this means to work for cordial relations with Rumania on the basis of at least some concessions to the status of the Rumanians in Magyar-ruled Transylvania.

tionary Kossuth-Wekerle government²⁵ they were chased away by the bayonets of the Magyar rural police and were not allowed to greet me. The Privy Councillor, excellency Prime Minister Wekerle, initiated a base, mendacious campaign in all newspapers, the like one would not find in any other civilized state. This is repeated proof of my assertion that the so-called noble, chivalrous Magyar is the vilest, most perfidious, and most unreliable fellow; all the difficulties that we have to face in the monarchy have their origin with the Magyars. In your last kind letter, Majesty, you mentioned that you consider the Slav danger the most serious for our lands.

I take the liberty to agree fully with your opinion. I too consider this Slav advancing and pushing, this stormy raising of demands, this blackmailing on behalf of party interest, this artificial fabrication of difficulties contrary to the necessities of the state, most dangerous. Yet, where is the core of the evil? Who has been the teacher of all those elements that succeed by revolutionary pushing and excesses? The Magyars.

A few years ago, who had heard anything of Young Czechs or radical antimilitaristic Czechs? Who had heard anything about a Slovene question, about Trialism, about Czech schools, about a Southern Slav question, about the Slavization of whole communities and regions, etc., etc.? Prague for instance was a German city, now one almost gets killed if one talks one word of German there, and so on. The Slavs act that way only because they imitate the conduct of the Magyars and because they see how the Magyars get all they want by their shameless tactics. I am fully convinced and I could vouch for it that at the very moment the wicked conduct of the Magyars is stopped, the Slavs too will halt their stormy advance. They will again submit quietly and peacefully to the culturally much more advanced Germans. This can be done *very* easily. The Magyar as a genuine Hun and Asiatic is just bragging, yet he will immediately yield to force. If one wants quiet and order in the monarchy to be free to conduct a vigorous foreign policy, beneficial to all peoples and in line with the allied powers, there is only one remedy and one requirement; that is to break the *predominance of the Magyars*.

Otherwise we shall with absolute certainty become a Slavonic empire, and Trialism, which would be a tragedy, is impending. . . .

This depressing, unbalanced draft seems to speak for itself or, in other words, for the often unrestrained, stormy disposition of the archduke. Surely such utterances appear less excusable on the part of a man who for a decade had consistently struggled with the problems of reform in the Austrian empire than do similar uncontrolled statements from the dilettante in Austrian domestic affairs, William II. Yet, weighty and extenuating circumstances are by no means lacking. Above all it should be remembered that this is only the draft of a letter, not the lost letter itself. This draft may have merely given vent to the agonized feelings of an heir who—as he saw it—was

²⁵ Francis Kossuth, a rather mild "revolutionary," was minister of commerce in the Wekerle cabinet. The very fact that a member of the '49 party, and the son of Louis Kossuth at that, was represented in this cabinet made it not a Wekerle-Kossuth but a Kossuth-Wekerle cabinet to the archduke.

condemned as a mere bystander to watch the gradual disintegration of Austria without a chance to act in accordance with his strong feelings on the issue. In partial defense of the archduke's opinions—not of his language—it should be held further that the uncompromising attitude of the Magyar aristocracy and gentry in regard to the national problem indeed contributed greatly to the crisis in the Austro-Hungarian empire. It should also be noted that this intemperate outburst is in a way counterbalanced by the archduke's serious and thorough study of the Habsburg monarchy's national problems. While the outcome of his long-prepared reform plans can be evaluated only on the basis of an interpretation of the *Nachlass* as a whole, this much may be said here: Widely as opinions may differ as to the import of the archduke's determined but by no means always consistent reform plans, there can be few willing to endorse the means, often all too violent, which he considered using to gain his objectives.²⁶

Yet though one may make allowance for the archduke's irritation which while not justified was at times certainly understandable, though one may take into account that he had to "sell" the kaiser the idea of an antidualistic empire reform without German interference, the content of this draft is amazing, to say the least. How could a man of the archduke's relatively intimate knowledge of Austro-Hungarian nationality problems seriously maintain that a few years prior to the writing of this document the problem of political Slav nationalism in the monarchy simply did not exist? Surely the archduke's attitude as revealed here shows chiefly the highly emotional traits in his character and not his intellectual abilities.

After this interlude the correspondence reverts to problems of foreign policy as they stood immediately after the end of the Bosnian crisis, i.e., after Serbia, following a German *démarche* in St. Petersburg, had yielded to Austria on March 31, 1909. The undated pencil draft of a letter by the archduke probably refers to this situation:²⁷

²⁶ For some of the thus far published literature on the archduke's empire reform plans, which of course do not include the interpretation of the rich sources available in the *Nachlass*, see Chlumecky, *Erzherzog Franz Ferdinands Wirken und Wollen*, pp. 163–313; Sosnosky, *Franz Ferdinand*, pp. 66–105; Muret, *L'archiduc François-Ferdinand*, pp. 211–29; Robert A. Kann, *The Multinational Empire* (New York, 1950), II: *Empire Reform*, pp. 187–97; and above all Georg Franz, *Erzherzog Franz Ferdinand und die Pläne zur Reform der Habsburger Monarchie* (Brünn, 1943), particularly the well-documented analysis, pp. 77–82, of the archduke's approach to the Trialistic idea, which deviates in many ways from the sentiments expressed in this letter.

²⁷ This draft fits the situation right after March 31, 1909, and conceivably the following letter of the emperor of April 9, 1909, may be the answer to it. While this latter fact cannot be proved, there is no doubt that the archduke's letter refers to the solution of the Bosnian crisis. See *Österreich-Ungarns Aussenpolitik*, II, 1069–1447; *Grosse Politik*, XXVI/2, 9435–9508; Molden, *Alois Graf Aehrenthal*, pp. 99–110.

YOUR MAJESTY

Most venerable cousin! [After expressing warm thanks for the emperor's diplomatic support in the crisis Francis Ferdinand continues:] . . . Aehrenthal, I believe, has done his job very well. My Conrad gave me very valuable support in all war preparations.

In your warm sympathy you will understand how comforting it was to me after all the sad political events we have had to face in the monarchy recently, that all the military measures went through very smoothly. The same patriotic enthusiasm manifested itself in all lands and provinces. Indeed, with most military contingents more reserves than those actually called up wanted to join. When suddenly after Serbia's last impertinent note 30,000 men were put into motion within a few hours, everything ran excellently. . . .²⁸

William II writes from Potsdam on April 9, 1909, probably in answer to this letter and immediately after the "happy solution" of the crisis.²⁹ The letter is in his most typical braggadocio style:

MY DEAR FRANZ!

Yesterday I received your dear letter and I hasten to thank you for it with all my heart. . . . The results, even though they were not settled by means of bayonets, must be valued very highly. It was a real privilege for me to be a good second for you [Austrians] and . . . by loyalty to our alliance to prove to the world *ad oculos* that if the two imperial powers stand together Europe must listen to them. The secret of this bloc is the granite foundation of their national armies! The two best armies of the world arm in arm, resolved not to take anything from anybody and to get attention and respect for the interests of their countries—this is a fact which all other diplomats and states must put up with whether they like it or not. As the Pappenheim cuirassier says in *Wallensteins Lager*: "*Warum können wir ihrer lachen? Weil wir einen grossen Haufen ausmachen.*" So may it remain forever! Then Europe will keep quiet! During these weeks the advantage of the alliance has been clearly demonstrated to both peoples. The praise and the attitude expressed by everyone of the national groups of your country have given me as much satisfaction as in particular your own warm unqualified emphasis [of this praise] has touched me deeply. Certainly I can well imagine that viewed from the technically military standpoint, Conrad, you, and the whole army had hoped to come under fire and that the outcome should have been a different one for the sake of the lieutenant. On the other hand, you made a wonderful test as to the situation in case of war [*Ernstfall*] to see whether everything would click. It *came off* brilliantly! Everybody, irrespective of nationality, had hastened to the colors and the prompt and precise functioning of the whole military mechanism means a great success for your general staff, for your ministry of war and for the whole army. You Austrians have demonstrated what you can do as allies and you rate high. So high that the prospective enemies abandoned any plans of a counter proof! Cheers! I congratulate you most warmly! What I once told my gentlemen has been confirmed: If the emperor of Austria mounts his horse, all his peoples follow him!!!³⁰ Deputy Kramář,³¹

²⁸ Regarding these military preparations, see Conrad, I, 153-63.

²⁹ For the diplomatic background of this letter, see note 27 above.

³⁰ Actually a famous saying of Bismarck.

³¹ Young Czech leader in the Austrian parliament.

who would like to sweep the Germans from the earth, said once: The Austro-German alliance is an old worn-out piano on which nobody can play a tune. I beg his pardon, the gentleman was wrong! The facts have given him the lie. The piano is in good order and has two wonderful tunes which never miss their effect ready to be played: the Radetzky march and the York advance march!

Aehrenthal has done a wonderful job and has, above all, shown unsurpassed patience which has been much appreciated everywhere. In addition he has kept us informed on everything most amiably and frankly. It has been a genuine pleasure to work with him. He is a true statesman of great stature who has directed his country from domestic trifles to great external objectives, an invaluable art. May God preserve him for you! . . .

With the most cordial compliments to your consort and blessings for the beautiful holy Easter which can be celebrated in peace and without bloodshed.

Your faithful friend and cousin

WILLIAM

In spite of the boastful language and the unwarranted conclusions drawn from the alleged weakness of the Entente—a true *avis* to appeasers in general—this letter is written not without diplomatic skill in that the emperor gives high praise to the Austrian minister of foreign affairs, Baron Aehrenthal, who though strongly opposed by the champion of the war party, the chief of staff General von Conrad, favored a peaceful solution of the annexation crisis. After official Germany had with some hesitation backed Austria's rather adventurous course in the annexation crisis, she was anxious to have the counsel of Aehrenthal rather than of Conrad prevail in the Danube monarchy's further course. And since Conrad was known as the archduke's man of confidence while Aehrenthal was thoroughly disliked by him for his alleged anti-Russian, pro-Italian, and above all pro-Magyar policy, the politely camouflaged warning in the emperor's letter is clear.³² As so often in the kaiser's letters and oral utterances a basic underlying peaceful theme is obscured by the beating of martial drums. Obviously Francis Ferdinand understood this warning—all the more so since he himself was basically an opponent of an aggressive Balkan policy and in this particular crisis, as in several other foreign policy crises, definitely on the cautious side.

The following letter written on board the emperor's yacht *Hohenzollern* at Kiel, July 9, 1909, deals again exclusively with German affairs:

MY DEAR FRANZI!

I take the liberty to lay the enclosed new "Nauticus"³³ of this year at your feet. For the first time it contains figures about our new "Nassau" type and a

³² On Francis Ferdinand's relations to Aehrenthal see, instead of many other references, only the following, primarily based on first-hand evidence: Chlumecky, *Erzherzog Ferdinands Wirken und Wollen*, pp. 38, 82, 93-117, 249-50, 253-56, 324-26. Czernin, *Im Weltkrieg*, pp. 52, 53; Sosnosky, *Franz Ferdinand*, pp. 126, 127.

³³ The German annual naval handbook.

statement regarding the building development with a correction of the English lies.³⁴ The meeting in the Schären was very animated and pleasant.³⁵ I believe that I . . . succeeded in correcting and rectifying many grave misunderstandings and erroneous opinions about Austria's policy. I am staying here and waiting to see what that confounded parliament will do after Center, Poles, and Conservatives have given themselves the pleasure of suddenly overthrowing Bülow!³⁶ A nice gang of rascals! I am afraid my vacation will be greatly shortened by those scoundrels' trick! Looking for replacement will be difficult. . . .

This letter is indeed highly characteristic of William II. It was generally known that Bülow had been in general disfavor with the emperor since November, 1908, as he saw it, since the chancellor's weak defense or even "betrayal" of the crown in the *Daily Mail* affair. Thus Bülow's final resignation was practically a fact already decided upon and highly pleasing to the emperor.³⁷ Yet here the emperor turns against the Reichstag. He obviously considers the replacing of a chancellor, however objectionable to him, as an exclusive imperial right and the Reichstag's action as trespassing upon his authority. His true feeling in the matter becomes even clearer in the following letter of August 13, 1909, written at the castle of Wilhelmshöhe near Homburg.

MY DEAR FRANZ!

. . . I am very pleased that your visit in Rumania was so successful and that it fully satisfied you.³⁸ The king is a noble and just character. He has done much to raise and to consolidate the standards of his people. He is a valuable ally on the eternally unruly Balkans, since he is a thorough expert on the conditions there and handles them quietly, clearly, and with a judgment clarified by experience. When one compares Cowes and Cherbourg with Reval one sees that Mr. Izvolski was obliged to pour much water in his wine and that the Entente's cooking from beyond the sea has led to nothing.³⁹ It needed only the renewed getting together of Austria and us to stop the whole business. The dear friends who had been "Entente-happy" [*Ententen seelig*] and posed as the masters of Europe were sobered up and preferred not to risk the extreme consequences such as the one among them who would have been the only one to profit in the whole brawl had wished so ardently!⁴⁰ *Facit*, a pretty bad hangover and Austria too builds "dread-noughts"! Apparently an entirely unexpected and very sad outcome for those "over there"! Yet, even in the future we shall have to watch Izvolski closely; he remains Aehrenthal's raging enemy and hates us as well. The essay in the

³⁴ Obviously referring to allegedly exaggerated British opinions regarding the German naval building program.

³⁵ Meeting with Tsar Nicholas on July 17 off the Finnish coast near Frederickshaven.

³⁶ On June 24, 1909, the bill asking for a leveling of death duties was rejected by the Reichstag by a vote of 195 to 187.

³⁷ See Bülow, *Memoirs*, III, 375-597.

³⁸ See note 23 above.

³⁹ Reference to the *entrevue* at Reval July, 1908, between Tsar Nicholas and Edward VII, and the *entrevues* at Cowes and Cherbourg in the summer of 1909 between the tsar and King Edward, respectively, with President Fallières of France.

⁴⁰ Evidently the emperor refers here to Great Britain.

Österreichische Rundschau by Dr. v. Peez "England und der Kontinent" is excellent.⁴¹ Aehrenthal's arguments concerning Crete directed recently to my representative were first rate and correspond completely with my own views.⁴² The four protective cooks have spoiled the broth; it boils over and now we two should help to put out the fire. Nothing doing!⁴³ They have made fools of themselves, now they may see by themselves how they get out of it.

I thank you most heartily for your sympathy regarding last month's events.⁴⁴ All his eloquence, all his cunning and diplomacy have not helped Bülow. He sowed wind and has reaped a whirlwind! He has betrayed his master and the crown, he has deceived the people and for that they have chased him away and have turned back to their emperor against whom they had acted so ungratefully and to whom they had done such grievous wrong. . . .⁴⁵

As to foreign politics this letter confirms well-established imperial views, a pro-Rumanian Balkan policy trusting largely to the two eyes of the Hohenzollern King Carol, then a pro-Greek attitude toward the Crete question, which upon the advice of German diplomats had been watered down to a more cautious policy.

As to domestic questions William II reveals again in a startling way the unbalanced character of a personality deeply imbued with the spirit of divine right. While in the letter of July 9 he perceived the Reichstag's action against Bülow as the attacks of a "gang of rascals" and a "trick of scoundrels" against imperial rights, he has rationalized it meanwhile and perceives this action now as expressing the will of a penitent people who deeply regrets its ingratitude to the imperial father and lovingly returns to his fold.

In a letter dated Neudeck, November 25, 1909, the emperor returns to the questions of Oriental policy:

. . . It was very valuable to me to perceive from Aehrenthal's communication to us that my opinions regarding your relations to Turkey were confirmed so quickly. The overtures of the Turkish ambassador in Berlin, Osman Nisami, to Aehrenthal were welcome. They deserve to be met with trust and honesty.⁴⁶ The Turks look into a future in which they suspect dangers to their possessions and their security. Naturally and rationally they want to join the Central Powers. Purely secret military agreements from general staff to general staff might meet the situation best. It is not necessary to put the diplomats into motion. They are always indiscreet. Then the minister can always pretend he knew nothing about

⁴¹ See *Österreichische Rundschau*, XX (1909), 133-47. The article in question deals with the unfriendly attitude of Great Britain toward Austria in the annexation crisis and, in general, with alleged English imperialist designs on a politically divided continent.

⁴² See *Grosse Politik*, XXVII/2, 9601-46.

⁴³ The four powers who, in July, 1909, had withdrawn their forces from Crete: France, Italy, Great Britain, and Russia.

⁴⁴ The resignation of Bülow.

⁴⁵ See note 37 above.

⁴⁶ Nisami had recommended an entente between Austria-Hungary, Turkey, and Rumania. See *Österreich-Ungarns Aussenpolitik*, II, 1811, 1834.

it. The presence of General von der Goltz is a guarantee for safety and eases the situation.⁴⁷

The emperor here again follows an established pattern. He wishes for a kind of German sponsorship of Turkish foreign affairs and an expansive German Oriental policy in the Middle East in general, not to be disturbed by strained Austrian-Turkish relations. Such strain, however, was the natural corollary of the Bosnian crisis.

William II's next letter from Potsdam, December 14, 1909, is more impromptu:

MY DEAR FRANZI!

. . . Since we talked and corresponded last I have collected thorough information. In particular, I have strictly checked on everything I had been able to tell you. To my satisfaction, in all important matters my conjectures and views were confirmed. Racconigi was a clear personal act of vengeance of Izvolski against Aehrenthal. In the beginning the tsar was strongly opposed to it. It appears that the *Balkanbund* was discussed, and certainly also the support of the Balkan Slavs at the expense of the other races (Germans, Magyars and Turks); all this with the warm, benevolent, advisory participation of England which works for it [support of the Balkan Slavs] with particular zeal in Belgrade and Sofia.⁴⁸ The last speeches of the Czechs which, via Kramář,⁴⁹ are commanded and directed from St. Petersburg have left no doubt about the aims of the "Slav Union." There Sir A. Nicolson (the British ambassador) is at present the absolute ruler. He has Izvolski completely in his pocket. The objective of Kokoroff's⁵⁰ trip to Harbin was an entente with Ito⁵¹ and Japan to "pacify" the East! For the moment this miscarried because of Ito's death but the Russians say quite frankly: "We are not strong enough for a two front war, therefore we want to liquidate affairs in the East to be in a better position to deal with the Balkans and the 'rotten West.'" They abandon their great historic mission in Asia in order to act against Europe! This is a full confirmation of what I told you and what you first did not want to believe: When the yellow peril or wave comes rolling along, the Slavs will not—as their duty and position would demand it—defend European culture against the East. Under the pretense of fighting against Pan Germanism they will coalesce with the yellow race against us. . . . [They apparently will be joined further by the decaying Romanic race.] This is the naked truth, *facta loquuntur*! Thus let's commit the Moslems now and draw them close to your side! Finally England—who has her fingers in all these pies—is busy with her own affairs. There things look nice

⁴⁷ This refers to the selection of Goltz as military adviser in the reorganization of the Turkish army. See *Grosse Politik*, XXVII/2, 9798-9803.

⁴⁸ On the *entrevue* at Racconigi near Turin between King Victor Emanuel III and the tsar in October, 1909, on Italian-Russian co-operation in Balkan affairs and on their respective interests in the questions of Tripoli-Cyrenaica and the Straits, see *Grosse Politik*, XXVII/2, 9877-81, and *Österreich-Ungarns Aussenpolitik*, II, 1811, 1833. See also Sidney B. Fay, *The Origins of the World War* (New York, 1938), pp. 406-13. Obviously the secret agreement of Racconigi violated—to say the least—the spirit of the Triple Alliance.

⁴⁹ See note 31 above. The emperor means obviously that this campaign was channeled into Austria through deputy Kramář.

⁵⁰ Then Russian minister of finance.

⁵¹ Retired Japanese prime minister.

indeed. It is said that Lansdowne's imprudent attack was started on the direct suggestion of Edward VII and therefore now the whole world feels piqued by him.⁵² How it will end nobody knows! Probably small majorities, repeatedly changing cabinets and the Irish and Labor tipping the scales. Our chancellor made a good start.⁵³ He has contributed much to quieting things down at home and abroad. . . . Please treat these lines *very confidentially*.

Far Eastern affairs for a while now remain in the foreground of the emperor's unruly mind as is shown again by the following letter from Berlin, January 30, 1910:

MY DEAR FRANZI!

Your dear letter has touched me deeply. It conveyed to me the renewed evidence of your so extremely valuable friendship. The prayers which you sent to heaven for my unworthy person will strengthen me. It is the best service of friendship and its most beautiful gift if one prays for the other! . . .

After this display of the usual somewhat ostentatious imperial piety, a feature perhaps not necessarily pleasing to the deeply religious archduke, William II claims that the true co-operation of the two Central Powers has preserved European peace in 1909 and continues by pointing without undue modesty to his habitual, amazing political foresight.

. . . The development in the Orient runs exactly the course that I have sketched for you. Russia yields to Japan, she wants to "liquidate," as this is being called now, for the purpose of scheming in the Balkans. Japan continues to arm in order to swallow the Amur provinces and Vladivostok, some day. America has adopted the cause of the poor Chinese and begins to inaugurate the interests of the white race in opening up China by means of a railroad-building policy. I support this. The repercussions which this move had in London, Tokyo, and Petersburg and the partly very piqued recriminations would make a good topic for a comedy.⁵⁴ It is good indeed that America took over the leadership energetically. The other white ones will put up with it. England seems to have enough problems of her own at this time. Herr v. Peez has just published two grand articles on her [Great Britain] in the *Kreuzzeitung*. In Athens I consider the dynasty as lost. I only hope the Turks will keep quiet. . . .⁵⁵

As in the case of Greece the emperor does not refer at all to his previous wrong predictions but continues his lectures on Far Eastern affairs in regard

⁵² Henry Charles, marquis of Lansdowne, British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, 1900-1905, Unionist leader in the House of Lords.

⁵³ Theobald von Bethmann-Hollweg, the successor to Bülow.

⁵⁴ For an understanding of the background history of German-United States relations in Far Eastern affairs in regard to this and the following letter, see Alfred Vagts, *Deutschland und die Vereinigten Staaten in der Weltpolitik* (2 vols.; New York, 1935), particularly II, 939-1256.

⁵⁵ This refers apparently to the move by the Greek Military League, an officers' association, to force a constitutional revision.

to which Austria and Francis Ferdinand play the modest role of mere bystanders.

He writes thus on February 9, 1910, from Berlin:

MY DEAR FRANZI!

. . . The action to blast us asunder has not yet ceased and is being continued according to plans. Paris, Petersburg (?) and London have their hands in it. . . .

In the Far East the situation looks amusing.⁵⁶ According to reconnaissance along the Manchurian railway and in Korea, large Japanese military hospitals and munition depots are being built everywhere. Siege artillery against Vladivostok has been assembled already on the Continent . . . in northern Korea. The American proposal to internationalize this railway as well as the eastern Chinese (Russian) railway has been rejected by Russia and Japan since either of them would like to have Manchuria for herself. Therefore they now pretend to the common interests of concerned parties. Naturally the Japanese will push out the Russians in the long run and finally they will swallow northern Manchuria too. Anyhow, the Russians declare *urbi et orbi* that they want to liquidate in the East. Then it will be Vladivostok's turn. If it falls its fall will be the first body blow of the Asiatic people against the European gate, then the "yellow peril" will actually materialize. It is generally being assumed here that this situation will be clarified and decided by 1915. In that year the Panama Canal will be ready. It will permit America to concentrate her whole navy in the Pacific. *Then* the Japanese—if they then still have designs upon the ocean—will have to fight for its possession against the Americans, this is the American calculation. If it comes to that the Americans will need the German navy to protect their rear in Europe—together with the Atlantic American forces—in case England should play the ally of Japan—which after all is unlikely.⁵⁷ Therefore the Americans rejected *a limine* England's offer last year . . . to line up with them against us. The resulting possible combination (America-Germany) gradually begins to dawn on John Bull, explaining partly his fear of us and his nervousness!

The railway project in China has received a kick but Uncle Sam won't relax, and what he did up to now was good insofar as Russia and Japan had to make a clean breast [of their intentions], they were forced to show their hand!⁵⁸ A parallel railroad, Tzikikar-Aigun has now been proposed. Russia has rejected it, Japan has accepted it in principle! Tableau! In Athens there is no king anymore, only a helpless cowardly milksop who has betrayed his dynasty. . . .

Obviously and naturally William II is less well informed on Far Eastern than on European affairs. His dramatic conjectures as to the nature and consequences of the "yellow peril" present the typical imperial concoction of emotional oversimplifications, hasty and unsubstantiated conclusions, and

⁵⁶ See *Grosse Politik*, XXXII, 11603-701.

⁵⁷ To avoid any distortion of the emperor's thought and manner of writing, it is necessary to translate this vaguely and incorrectly worded passage literally. The scheme itself, though not clearer than its sloppy formulation and not considered likely to materialize even by the emperor, is evident, however: the possibility of a war in which a German-American coalition would have to face a British-Japanese combination.

⁵⁸ The passage "they were forced to show their hand" is English in the original.

sporadic and partial flashes of true insight into the course of history. Yet here as anywhere else the emperor's vacillating long-range views are in their peculiar way of reasoning more often right than wrong.

When William II is wrong, his errors are of course partly due to contradictory diplomatic reports, deficient quite frequently in their judgment, more rarely in their facts. When he is right, partial credit should go likewise to the—on the whole underestimated—German diplomatic corps though the emperor's quick intelligence should not be underrated. Yet three factors in the evaluation of William II's views on foreign policy must never be overlooked. First the narrow angle of the divine right perspective of a sovereign who in his daydreams still remained an absolute ruler; second the fact that his alert and unstable imagination always was unduly impressed by the last intelligence just submitted to him. Thus he was inclined to build on a slender basis inordinate long-range conclusions. Third, and this holds true in the broadest terms, historical prediction based even on the flimsiest ground very often has a fifty-fifty chance of coming true. Thus evaluation of true historical perception in the understanding of foreign policy should properly rest much less on the correctness of the prediction than on the soundness of reasoning, almost irrespective of the question whether the prediction will come true. Undoubtedly as to this last point the emperor's "vision" rests on the weakest grounds. All these facts should be remembered in the evaluation of William II's correspondence.

For the rest of the year 1910, the *Nachlass* contains only a brief pencil draft of a letter from the archduke to the emperor in which he thanks him for reviewing an Austrian parade in May of that year.

In 1912 William II returns to the basic question of the British-German naval conflict, then foremost in his mind. From Breslau, December 6, 1911, he writes:

DEAR FRANZI!

Tarouca will have transmitted to you my greetings from Donau-Eschingen where we had a lot of fun.⁵⁹ I bagged 91 foxes, among them was my five hundredth. A record too! I want to thank you again for your extremely kind opinion regarding the navy in Kiel. The navy is very proud of your praise as being that of an expert.⁶⁰ To judge by the attitude of the English during the past 6 months—Grey's⁶¹ twaddling does not change this at all—we had to count on possible tricks

⁵⁹ Count Ernest Silva-Tarouca, one of the members of the Bohemian aristocracy with whom Francis Ferdinand was on friendly terms.

⁶⁰ Actually Francis Ferdinand, though extremely interested in naval affairs, was just as little an expert in these matters as, indeed, the emperor himself. Emperor and archduke, as is generally known, shared an interest in hunting by means of large-scale battues.

⁶¹ Sir Edward Grey, later Viscount Grey of Fallodon, since 1905 British Secretary for Foreign Affairs.

of theirs and to take measures against them in the form of increased [naval] construction. Only strong power and brutal force impress these people on the other side of the channel. Politeness is considered weakness. We have the *men* for it, they [the British] are not in a position to see *that* through. . . .

After this ominous evaluation of British character the correspondence returns to factors closer to Austrian interests, the new Balkan crisis looming large on the political horizon. Thus on December 9, 1912, the emperor writes from Berlin:

DEAR FRANZI!

Tarouca and Clam⁶² will have reported to you our discussion from Donau-Eschingen. Bethmann's speech was clear and determined and has been understood correctly everywhere.⁶³ Meanwhile I received some more important information which I want to convey to you. . . .

The emperor then related a report which he had received through a German admiral from a Turkish statesman, Halil Bey, former minister of the interior and present president of parliament. According to this source,

Russia is responsible for the Balkan war. Before the war she had offered *an alliance to Turkey*, yet had raised such exorbitant demands concerning the Turco-Persian frontier territories which Turkey would have had to cede, that Turkey had rejected the alliance and these demands.

Infuriated about it, Russia had kindled the Balkan war to take her vengeance. Turkey had put great hopes on England. They failed totally. England with a cold smile surrendered Turkey to Russia and thereby forfeited all vestiges of existing sympathies there. The moment is very favorable now for Austria and Germany. It might be hoped that both would take thorough advantage of the situation in Turkey. The chances seem good. *Avis au lecteur!!* We have to forge the iron while it is hot!

Apart from this, the ambassador reported to me yesterday from London that Haldane had visited him, apparently in place of and on behalf of Sir Edward Grey, for whom it was embarrassing to transact the matter himself. He told the ambassador that if Germany through her siding with Austria should become involved in a war with France and Russia, England without further ado would join France. She [England] *could not tolerate* that we defeat France and that the *continent* should be *united* under Germany's influence. This would be unacceptable to England.⁶⁴ This was in winter when England's peace dove was here⁶⁵ with the offer of the *neutrality clause* in case of a European war. Now it sounds different but not English! Full of poison, hatred, and envy of the good development of both our alliance and our countries! I was not taken by surprise and the necessary pre-

⁶² Count Heinrich Clam-Martinic, Austrian prime minister 1916-17, another of the arch-duke's aristocratic intimates from Bohemia.

⁶³ On Chancellor von Bethmann-Hollweg's *Reichstag* speech of December 2, 1912, see *Grosse Politik*, XXXIII, 2475A; *Österreich-Ungarns Aussenpolitik*, V, 4770.

⁶⁴ The warning of Lord Haldane, British Secretary for War, excited the emperor greatly, not without reason. See *Grosse Politik*, XXXIII, 12489; XXXIX, 15612, 15613.

⁶⁵ The famous "Haldane mission" to Berlin of February, 1912.

parations are being made. It was a welcome clarification which reduces the British newspapers' soothing assurances about peace and friendship to their proper scale. It clearly reveals their policy in Europe—balance of power—in its naked shamelessness, playing the Great Powers against each other to the advantage of England.

The first part of this letter, dealing with the question of close relations with Turkey, as pointed out above, deals with one of William II's favorite and, from his point of view, not unsound theories. The second question broached here, the English warning, raises the question, repeatedly asked by historians, how Germany, in 1914, could have so terribly misread the signs pointing to the probable British attitude. Certainly William II himself did not take advantage of the lesson of 1912. And yet, as the following very important letter again shows, he was neither blind nor overoptimistic as to the danger of war, particularly in regard to the East, toward which his attitude was and remained influenced by the phantom idea of possible monarchic solidarity between the three eastern empires, Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Russia.

The situation at the time the emperor wrote the following letter (dated Berlin, February 26, 1913) was indeed critical. Operations in the Balkan war had been resumed after the termination of a truce of two months. Serbia and Montenegro were resolved to frustrate the decision of the ambassadors' conference in London to create an Albanian buffer state. Austria, this time with the unreliable help of Italy, was just as firmly resolved to block a Serbian and Montenegrin access to the Adriatic. More critical still, as a consequence of the crisis Austria and Russia had increased their contingents facing each other along the Galician border. The spreading of the Balkan war into a general European conflagration thus appeared to be all the more possible since Russia's attitude, compared to her policy in 1909, had considerably stiffened and it was further known that the Austrian chief of staff, General von Conrad, pondered again the issue of a preventive war. Under the impact of these events the following "private" imperial letter to the archduke was—at least in its outline—drafted by the German foreign office:⁶⁶

DEAR FRANZ!

. . . The present situation means a true calamity for the largest majority of people in Europe and environs. In particular trade and traffic, communications, credit,

⁶⁶ See *Grosse Politik*, XXXIV/1, 415, 416, where a few sentences from this draft are published. Only a truly critical situation could give the Foreign Office the opportunity to control the frequently backfiring diplomatic tool of the emperor's correspondence. The letter itself is published below for the first time in full. See also *ibid.*, 12738-932, in particular 12788, 12793, and 12905, the letters and reports of Duke Albrecht of Württemberg, brother-in-law of the archduke, the German chief of staff von Moltke, Count Kageneck, German military attaché in Vienna, on Francis Ferdinand's basic peaceful attitude during this crisis. See also *Österreich-Ungarns Aussenpolitik*, V, 5679-5969. One of the most elaborate and well-documented though certainly biased accounts of the crisis is given in Conrad, III, 18-162.

and finance not only with you [*bei Euch*], Russia, and the belligerents but with us, and all over the world begin to suffer very considerably under the intolerable tension which has been bearing so heavily on Europe for the last six months!

To lift it would be a truly epoch-making act of peace, worthy of an *energetic man* who has the *moral* courage to speak the redeeming word, even though it might not be understood right away everywhere, even though it might make him unpopular with single groups for the moment. Therefore I ask myself often whether the issues at stake here—for example the pastures for the goats of Skutari and similar things—are really important enough to justify you [*Ihr*] and Russia still facing each other half mobilized . . .!

To speak quite frankly, it is after all mainly the military measures taken by Austria-Hungary and Russia which prevent a calming down. Yet these measures cost a sinful amount of money and weigh heavily upon so many thousands of poor families who have to suffer bitter privations.

According to my very humble opinion—which I take the liberty of telling you very frankly and confidentially as your well-meaning friend—you [*Ihr*] may consider without any hesitation the gradual cancellation of the enacted measures, provided, naturally, that Russia does the same *a tempo*. Perhaps the mission of Hohenlohe has paved the way a little in this direction. Anyhow, the world believed so and one should take advantage of this.⁶⁷ It would welcome it joyfully.

In this way Austria would, first, prove to the world that she is not nervous. Secondly she would draw the sympathies of all those to her side who, affected by the long crisis, begin to get irritated and to look askance at you. A very good time for the beginning of "disarmament" would be, I think, the tercentenary of the Romanov House. This would really delight the heart of Emperor Nicholas. It would enable him to celebrate the jubilee against a friendly rather than a war-like background. After the delivery of His Majesty's letter by Hohenlohe the effect would have been brilliant. Now the opportunity would be excellent. The effect would be grand and it would be acclaimed in the whole world with loud cheers. Now I have given vent to my feelings. I wish you, dear Franzi, would accept it kindly and graciously! . . .

The question might be raised whether, if the emperor had taken the attitude shown in this letter in July, 1914, European history might have taken a different course. Actually the very fact that Germany more than once had blown cold on Austria's Balkan enterprise is of course one additional reason why she did not want to alienate her ally in 1914. The letter, though couched in the most polite and cordial language, is indeed the strongest intimation that then appeared feasible between allies of dissatisfaction with too active an Austrian Balkan policy. Whether psychologically the bait laid for the archduke's vanity—to become the hero of European peace—was the right

⁶⁷ Early in February, 1913, colonel-lieutenant Prince Gottfried Hohenlohe, later Austrian ambassador to Germany, transmitted a friendly personal letter of Emperor Francis Joseph to the tsar which expressed the Austrian emperor's wishes, couched in very vague terms, to maintain cordial relations with Russia. The reaction to the Hohenlohe mission in Russian official circles, however, was rather lukewarm. See *Grosse Politik*, XXXIV/1, 12791, 12792, 12805, 12818, also 12891; *Österreich-Ungarns Ausßenpolitik*, V, 5653, 5675, 5676, 5697-99, 5721-23, 5751, 5789; and Conrad, III, 121-25.

approach is however open to question. Under the Austrian system of imperial government the heir apparent's action would hardly have received public recognition nor, for that matter, would the emperor Francis Joseph have cared to be extolled publicly as an angel of peace. Different as the Austrian emperor and the heir apparent were in so many respects, they were alike in that neither of them was swayed by a desire for popularity in the childish sense in which William II strove for it.

Yet this is a moot question, for, at the time the letter was written and indeed during the whole crisis, the archduke, as cautious in foreign affairs as he was impetuous in domestic policy, was firmly resolved to avoid an open conflict. This fact is irrefutably proved by all available evidence, including the archduke's views on the Albanian "goat pastures."⁶⁸

William II was of course well informed about the fact that Francis Ferdinand opposed war under existing conditions, and, even more important, he knew that these views were backed by the emperor Francis Joseph, and that the Austrian minister of foreign affairs really was responsible for Francis Joseph's policy. Yet the German emperor did not know how far the then overrated influence of General von Conrad went, a fact which almost alone explains why in this somewhat ostentatiously humanitarian letter he tried to crash an open gate.

The German emperor could hardly imagine, however, that any action initiated by him might possibly have taken place without his intervention. And probably more because of this conception than because he wished to ingratiate himself with the problematic archduke he extolls the heir apparent's moderation as a personal triumph—built up, as he sees it, by himself, William II.

Thus, on February 28, from Potsdam, he answers in flourishing language—ranging from the sublime to the ridiculous, from the serious to the childish—a letter from the archduke which apparently had assured him of the obvious, namely, that Francis Ferdinand fully shared his point of view:

⁶⁸ See the references in notes 66 and 67 above, in particular Conrad's repeated complaints about the archduke's unwillingness to support any risky Balkan policy that might involve Austria in a war against imperial Russia which would destroy the concept of monarchic solidarity forever. See particularly Conrad, III, 155-59—one reference for the archduke's peaceful attitude among many—which touches directly on the above letter: "On February 27 I saw archduke Francis Ferdinand again. He read to me part of the letter from Emperor William and observed that even before receipt of the letter he had held the same view, namely, that anything had to be avoided that might lead to a war with Russia now. The archduke emphasized that the guiding principle must be co-operation between Germany, Russia, and Austria-Hungary, above all for monarchic reasons. . . ." In regard to the Albanian question the archduke, like the emperor, further asserted that it would not pay to fight a war for these "miserable goat pastures." See Conrad, *loc. cit.*

MY DEAR FRANZI!

How immensely I was pleased with your kind letter! One may say rightly in this case *Les beaux esprits se rencontrent!* Bravo my friend! You have fingered and executed this brilliantly! I am sure it was not easy and the sacrifice took effort, patience, and perseverance. But the final success compensates for all sustained injuries. You have gained immortal merits because you have saved Europe from this oppressing spell. Millions of grateful hearts will think of you in prayer. I think Emperor Nicholas will also be glad that he can send his reserves home! Everybody will breathe freely again when this happens.⁶⁹

... Tonight I go to Wilhelmshaven to the swearing in and launching of the new ship S, to enjoy some sea air after the winter's drawing room and dinner campaign. I am only afraid the North Sea breeze will be more severe and colder than that which will blow around you when your flag waves proudly from the top mast of the *Viribus Unitis!*⁷⁰ *Vivat regentes!* I too shall hoist my standard tomorrow for the first time on the "Kaiser." I hope the brawl in the Balkans will end soon so that I can go to Corfu, where I hope to see you. Persuade the fellows to stop! With renewed congratulations upon your noble deed I kiss your wife's hand as

Your faithful friend and cousin

More serious and informative is the last major letter of importance in this correspondence, written at Potsdam, on May 27, 1913. The occasion is a report on the emperor's discussions with the tsar and King George V, who both came to Berlin to celebrate, on May 24, the wedding of the emperor's only daughter to Prince Ernst of Cumberland, now to be duke of Brunswick. This reconciliation with the old House of Guelph, the former ruling dynasty in Hanover, the presence of the two mightiest sovereigns in the world, the splendor of the ceremonies focused on the German emperor—all this put William II in a mood of dazzled political optimism as evidenced by this letter:⁷¹

SECRET,

DEAR FRANZI!

I take advantage of Max's return⁷² to send you these lines which will inform you about the course of the *entrevue*. Viewed from the political standpoint it went off extremely pleasantly and favorably. King George V, the emperor [tsar] and I were agreed on an absolutely complete conformity regarding the affairs of the Balkan states. The following was agreed upon as a line of joint policy.

⁶⁹ On the insistence of the archduke but certainly without imperial resistance the reduction of the Austrian troops in Galicia was ordered between February 27 and 28. The matter was however in principle practically decided as early as February 15 as a consequence of the Hohenlohe mission. The Russian reductions were carried out *a tempo*. See Conrad, III, 126, 127, 155-58. The official declarations of the Austrian and Russian governments were however issued only on March 11. See *ibid.*, III, 105, 106. See also *Grosse Politik*, XXXIV, 12905, report of Kagenck.

⁷⁰ The first Austrian dreadnought, to be launched soon thereafter.

⁷¹ See also *Grosse Politik*, XXXIV, 13331.

⁷² Prince Max Egon Fürstenberg.

1. To order the intriguing, restless, and unreliable king of Bulgaria to keep quiet finally and for good and to make him see reason. With the knowledge of and in agreement with the king of England he received two strict telegrams from the emperor and myself. They cannot be misunderstood. In case of a continuation of the campaigns against Greece the emperor will hold Bulgaria responsible for all the evil consequences that may develop in the Balkans.

2. Turkey is to be reorganized and to be given a lift under all circumstances. She is to be protected from decay and partition! Reorganization of the army, the navy, police, etc., refortification of the capital, Istanbul, because of the threatening vicinity of the Bulgarian frontiers. Istanbul shall remain unconditionally Turkish and shall remain the residence of the sultan.

3. The allied Balkan states shall be prevented from fighting over partition of the spoils. Therefore in accordance with the wishes of both countries, the emperor will act as arbiter between Serbia and Bulgaria.

4. The wishes of Greece are to be upheld so that the victorious commander in chief will not be robbed of the fruits of his victory. The new ruler shall have a good start and a good position with his people.⁷³ Fears of naval stations or "bases" in the "canal" of Corfu are fantastic phantoms and not to be taken seriously. Such a "canal" does not exist and the steep rocky coast of Albania and Corfu make the construction of such a large naval harbor impossible. It would cost billions. The only suitable place for it is the roadstead of Corfu which, according to the treaty of 1863, has expressly remained a military basis.

5. In a private discussion with the tsar a casual remark of his offered me the favorable opportunity to relate to him at length and in detail the domestic political difficulties of Austria (Slav questions). In this connection I have interpreted his⁷⁴ attitude in the Balkan question. The emperor showed his fullest, and deepest understanding and—to my great pleasure—approved with commending words the attitude of Emperor Francis Joseph, fully recognizing the difficulty of his [Francis Joseph's] position.

The king of England as well as the tsar are in complete agreement with me and are firmly resolved to keep the unbridled Bulgarian desire for aggrandizement at the expense of Turkey and of other states strictly within bounds. The most favorable conditions possible for the preservation and consolidation of Turkey shall be created. Anyway, Istanbul must on no account fall into the hands of Bulgaria. In this communication, dear Franzi, you may recognize the evidence of my friendship and trust. You may see how important it is to me to keep you well informed on the future aims to be pursued in the Orient. . . .

May haste excuse the pencil.

Indeed the proverbial sardonic saying "Not a bad word during the whole wedding!" fits the rosy picture expressed in the painfully condescending tone of this letter. Obviously the festive occasion of the imperial and royal discussions precluded anything but a friendly noncommittal exchange of opinions in which Austria was left in the cold. The receipt of this letter must

⁷³ Konstantin I of Greece, king since March 18, 1913.

⁷⁴ As noted previously, William II's hastily written letters, particularly those in pencil like the one under discussion, are often sloppily drafted and therefore are ambiguous. It is clear that the "his" in this sentence does not refer to the tsar but to Emperor Francis Joseph, who is mentioned in the following.

have caused the archduke a great deal of justified irritation. The emperor refers here to joint decisions in regard to Turkey, Greece, Bulgaria, and Serbia. He goes so far as to agree that the tsar should act as arbiter between Serbia and Bulgaria. In his happy ignorance he delivers to the tsar an unsolicited lecture about Austria's Slav problems. He haughtily informs the archduke of the future Balkan policy which the Great Powers had agreed to pursue. *In nuce* he acts as if Austria had no primary interests in the Balkans, as if she had ceased to exist as a Great Power. While, as stated before, these discussions were noncommittal and their importance certainly exaggerated by William II, it needed his singular lack of tact and his psychological disability to put himself into somebody else's shoes to believe that his report could be pleasing to the proud heir apparent of a declining Great Power in a critical position.

This letter is the last of the correspondence deposited in the *Nachlass* though of course not the last in the correspondence itself.⁷⁵ There follow merely two postcards in pencil, one from the imperial hunting box in Rominten, of October 10, 1913, in which the emperor expresses his satisfaction that Conrad will remain Austrian chief of staff.

. . . I am pleased that Conrad stays in office. I have seen him frequently at maneuvers and have learned to appreciate him very much. He is a splendid character; they are rare nowadays.⁷⁶

The high rating which Conrad's military qualifications received on the part of his German military colleagues explains why the emperor was in all probability sincerely pleased with the continuation of the Austrian chief of staff's service, even though Conrad's political views ran often, in 1914, tragically counter to those of true German interests.

The last communication contained in this correspondence, a card written by the emperor on April 6, 1914, from the Achilleion in Corfu deals with the massacres of Greeks of Albanian origin in Albania.

For the reasons given in the beginning of this article it will not be attempted here to draw far-reaching conclusions from the contents of these letters. William II's character, his actions, and their consequences for our

⁷⁵ For references to further letters, see *Grosse Politik*, XXXIX, 15709-11.

⁷⁶ In the maneuvers in Bohemia on September 14, 1913, Conrad was sharply reprimanded by the archduke because he had failed to attend Sunday service, much as Francis Ferdinand otherwise valued the general's qualifications. This incident, while in keeping with the archduke's religious feelings, was only the last result of his mounting dissatisfaction with Conrad's insistence on an aggressive military policy. On September 18 Conrad offered his resignation. But the archduke, convinced of his supposedly unique military ability, prevailed on him by a letter of September 23 to remain in office. See Conrad, III, 433-42.

generation are firmly established in history. His flashes of political insight hidden by conceit, vivid imagination obscured by psychological tactlessness, quick intelligence vitiated by superficiality, partially good intentions destroyed by blind egotism, have been revealed and confirmed in this correspondence. The ambivalent attitude toward English-German relations, irrational over-evaluation of monarchic solidarity with Russia, unreasonable trust in Italian and Rumanian support, ignorance of the effect of the forces of nationalism in Austria-Hungary and in the Orient as well as in a wider and deeper sense of the basic social and psychological forces of history in general are the result.

As to the archduke, the junior partner in this one-sided correspondence, the preliminary statement should be re-emphasized. A reinterpretation of his personality in history will be attempted as soon as the bulk of his huge *Nachlass* has been analyzed in full. It can be stated on the strength of an over-all examination of these documents that such a reinterpretation will be a well-warranted, promising, and feasible task.

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Impressment in the Monroe-Pinkney Negotiation, 1806-1807

ANTHONY STEEL

I HAVE suggested in an earlier article on the subject¹ that the impressment of binational seamen by the British during the Napoleonic war has often been given by historians an importance it does not deserve. Perhaps it would be more accurate to say that it has been given the wrong sort of importance: it has been treated as a sentimental issue between the two countries of immense contemporary significance, whereas it might be better to regard it as an effective bargaining counter whose exact weight at any given moment did not depend so much upon the feelings of the American people as on the exigencies of American diplomacy. This is not to say that there was no genuine feeling at all upon the subject. Obviously in the minds of many Americans the British practice was wholeheartedly resented and condemned; but this condemnation was by no means universal, except during the second half of 1807 when, following the attack made by the *Leopard* on the *Chesapeake*, a genuinely national explosion of anti-British feeling all but carried the administration considerably further than it really wanted to go. Before June 22 of that year, in other words, the American people had not always felt strongly enough about impressment to justify the State Department's policy, but after June 22 for a matter of four or five months their strength of feeling embarrassed their own government.

No one would dispute the latter half of this statement: it is the first half which is contentious. In particular it seems to raise a difficulty about the more usually accepted version of the breakdown in an attempted Anglo-American rapprochement which occurred when the Monroe-Pinkney negotiations of 1806 failed conclusively in 1807. Why did those negotiations fail? Surely because the American commissioners agreed, under pressure, to omit all reference to impressment? As a matter of fact this was not the sole reason for the breakdown, though it may have been a major reason. But why was the pressure applied, and why did Pinkney and Monroe eventually submit to it? The British commissioners, Lord Auckland and Lord Holland, were warmly

¹ Anthony Steel, "Anthony Merry and the Anglo-American Dispute about Impressment, 1803-6," *Cambridge Historical Journal*, IX, No. 3 (1949), 331-51.

American in sympathy, and the Whig-Grenvillite Ministry of All the Talents shared their feelings. On the American side neither Pinkney nor Monroe could be described as weak or stupid or unpatriotic, though Pinkney was fresher from America and perceptibly the stronger diplomat. If these four came to the conclusion which they did it is worth considering whether they might not have done so because, when stripped of all irrelevant considerations, the practice of impressment was found to be a vital British interest—at any rate in wartime—that is, an essential weapon genuinely directed at the French and not at injuring America. It may also be argued that impressment did not seriously encroach in practice on the main American vital interest of that date, which consisted of the maximum liberty of trade for American merchantmen: indeed from the American merchant's point of view some real modification—such as the treaty offered—of the recent British refusal to recognize the "broken voyage" was of much more importance than the absolute surrender of impressment. It was true that any such advantages were seriously affected by the last-minute reaction of His Majesty's Government to the news of the Berlin Decree, and the humiliating and unilaterally decided British postscript on that subject was at least a main factor in persuading Jefferson not to break off the negotiation—it was Canning who did that—but to send the treaty back to London for radical revision. It was however a sign of weakness rather than of strength when Jefferson refused to send the treaty to the Senate. It implied that the administration thought there was a dangerous chance of its acceptance there, even with the offending postscript. How much more then must the administration have thought it likely of acceptance if the sole ground of offense had been the absence of all mention of impressment? In other words it is probable that Pinkney and Monroe had not misjudged the temper of the Senate and people of the United States: what they had misjudged was the temper, policy, and prejudices of the President and his Secretary of State. It is of interest to see how far these theories can be borne out by contemporary evidence.

The traditional view, based on overwhelmingly American sources, can be found in J. F. Zimmerman's *Impressment of American Seamen* (pp. 116-34); in Henry Adams' classic *History of the United States under the Administrations of Jefferson and Madison*; and in several, though by no means all, modern textbooks of American diplomatic history.² It consists, briefly, of the theory that the question of impressment was *not* a British vital interest

² A notable exception is Alfred L. Burt's *The United States, Great Britain and British North America* (New Haven, 1940), esp. pp. 234-37, where the British case is presented with great force and clarity, together with the case for Pinkney and Monroe.

but *was* an American one; that impressment was employed with the deliberate purpose of humiliating the United States flag and injuring her mercantile marine; that it did have both these effects; and that its immediate abolition, both in principle and practice, was the main object of the Monroe-Pinkney mission. The failure of the mission to secure that object is commonly attributed to the weakness of the American commissioners in face of the deliberate refusal of the British even to discuss the question; while finally the equally uncompromising attitude of Jefferson and Madison is approved of and even exaggerated: it is also generally assumed that that attitude was an accurate reflection of American national feeling even in the first half of 1807.

This of course was the contemporary administration's view, and since the sources used in elaborating the theory are principally drawn from *American State Papers, Foreign Relations*, it is not surprising that it has a Jeffersonian—more precisely, a Madisonian—flavor. An examination of the British sources in the London Public Record Office, on the other hand,³ not unnaturally produces quite a different impression. In these days of the eclipse of liberalism it is no longer fashionable to say that the truth lies in the middle, but if the early Evangelical preacher Charles Simeon is to be believed neither does it lie in one extreme, but in both extremes. The American "extreme" we have already in many publications; it is therefore the object of this article to set alongside it the lesser-known British "extreme."

The first mention of the celebrated mission in the British papers occurs upon April 20, 1806, when the British minister at Washington, Anthony Merry, informed Fox that William Pinkney had been nominated envoy extraordinary to St. James's and would ultimately, in Merry's opinion, succeed Monroe as minister⁴—a forecast which was in due course fulfilled. Three days later Madison officially informed Monroe of Pinkney's appointment, though the instructions to the two commissioners—which incidentally made the abolition of impressment a clear *sine qua non*—were not signed until May 17, while Pinkney did not arrive in London until June 24, 1806.⁵ By that time Fox, the British Foreign Secretary, was seriously ill, and Lords Holland and Auckland⁶ had to be appointed commissioners to negotiate the expected treaty in his place. All this caused considerable delay.

³ See esp. the MS. volumes, F.O. 5/51, 52, and 54.

⁴ Merry No. 20 to Fox, Apr. 20, 1806, F.O. 5/48.

⁵ James F. Zimmerman, *Impressment of American Seamen* (New York, 1925), pp. 117-18. Madison's instructions can also be found in *Annals of Congress*, 10 Congress, II, 2452.

⁶ Holland, Fox's nephew, was of course a Whig and, as is well known, could be described as *Fox et praeterea nihil*—the mere mouthpiece and trainee of Fox. Auckland—a much older man—had been a Pittite in his youth, but had followed Grenville in his revolt against Pitt, and was now

The first serious meeting of the four commissioners took place on August 27:⁷ it was reported to Madison on September 11.⁸ The Americans duly followed their instructions by immediately demanding the abandonment of impressment not only on the high seas but in port as well: they offered in return an undertaking to protect the interests of unquestionably British seamen found under American jurisdiction and to restore them to the British authorities, always provided that such action were reciprocated. They also outlined their second main demand, namely, the recognition of the "broken voyage," or in effect a reversal of the famous *Essex* decision.⁹ The question of impressment when in port does not seem to have been taken very seriously; for since November, 1804, the British had abandoned all impressment, even from their own ships, within American waters,¹⁰ while the Americans never seriously contested the British right of impressment in British ports. Impressment in the ports of other neutral countries was still an open question and in spite of British denials¹¹ did occasionally take place, but although the Americans objected to the principle I have not been able to find any specific complaint made in practice before news of an incident which took place in the Whang-Po River near Canton in July, 1807, reached America toward the end of that year¹²—and it might not have been made then but for the still smoldering resentment over the attack upon the *Chesapeake*.

At any rate when Lord Holland informally reported progress to the First Lord of the Treasury, Lord Grenville, upon September 6 he said nothing about ports: "the main points are the not pressing seamen on the high seas and the question of a continuous or interrupted voyage." He added, very significantly, that "unless they" (i.e., Monroe and Pinkney) "misrepresent things in America, they would willingly yield a point on the latter to obtain anything from us on the former."¹³ This addition shows that at the outset of the negotiations the Americans were not only following their instructions but had made the British understand them: it will be the more interesting to see at what stage, and why, the relative importance of their two main

as much the mouthpiece of the phil-American Grenvillites as Holland was the mouthpiece of the still more phil-American Whigs.

⁷ "Greenwich Hospital Misc. Var.," 117—minutes of the meeting. See also minutes for Sept. 22, Oct. 23, Oct. 30, Nov. 5, and Nov. 7 in the same volume. I owe these references to Mr. C. J. B. Gaskoin. They are MS. papers to be found in the Public Record Office.

⁸ *Annals of Congress*, *loc. cit.*, p. 2485.

⁹ Steel, *op. cit.*, p. 347 and n. 51.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 343.

¹¹ See p. 356 and n. 16 below.

¹² See the newspaper cutting enclosed in Erskine No. 29 to Canning, Dec. 2, 1807, F.O. 5/52. I hope to publish details of the Whang-Po affair, which is extremely interesting.

¹³ William Wyndham Grenville, *The Manuscripts of J. B. Fortescue, Esq., Preserved at Dropmore*, Royal Historical Manuscripts Commission (10 vols., London, 1892-1927), VIII, 310.

demands came to be reversed, and the first one ultimately discarded. Meanwhile it must also be noted that the point about impressment on the high seas was *not* immediately dismissed as impracticable by the British commissioners; on the contrary, as the Americans evidently attached so much importance to it, they were prepared to give it very close attention.

This point clearly appears in the first formal progress report submitted by the British negotiators to the new Foreign Secretary, Lord Howick.¹⁴ Dated October 20, 1806, this report¹⁵ begins with a concise but accurate statement of the Americans' opening demands and then proceeds to a "summary" (but in fact somewhat lengthy) "review of the principal objects of our negotiation." The first section of this review is headed "Impressing," and was evidently considered by Lord Howick to be so important that it was communicated *in extenso* to the cabinet. That the cabinet shared his view and gave the document serious consideration is shown by the survival in its margins of certain penciled comments from the hands of Lord Howick himself, Grenville, Ellenborough, and another minister who did not append his initials. This paper is in fact of such importance in proving the essential moderation of this particular British government and its anxiety to give due weight to the American view that I propose to quote it in full. [The penciled marginal comments are in italics and inserted, in brackets, at the relevant places in the text. EDITOR.]

1. Impressing.

Our present practice is to impress British seamen on board American Ships within our own jurisdiction, and upon the high Seas; but not within the jurisdiction of the United States, or of any neutral Port.¹⁶

The American Commissioners make no objection to the continuance of this practice within the limits of our own jurisdiction, and they would probably suffer us to include within these limits the whole extent of the British Channel,¹⁷ though they would not admit such a construction of our jurisdiction to appear on the

¹⁴ The future Earl Grey of the Reform Bill. He had succeeded Fox as Foreign Secretary after the latter's death on Sept. 13, 1806.

¹⁵ Holland and Auckland to Howick, Oct. 20, 1806, F.O. 5/51.

¹⁶ This appears to be an error. See Steel, *op. cit.*, p. 341 and n. 32, for earlier instances at Malaga and Lisbon (both before 1804), while the American complaint enclosed in Erskine No. 29 to Canning, Dec. 2, 1807, *loc. cit.*, mentions Madeira as well as Canton. Lord St. Vincent, on the other hand, who usually represented the extreme Admiralty view, wrote to William Smith, United States minister at Lisbon, on May 10, 1801, that he was "extremely concerned at the outrage" alleged on the part of the *Diana* frigate, viz., boarding and impressing from American ships in the Tagus (*Letters of Lord St. Vincent*, Navy Records Society, I, 292). It is therefore probable that such practices did not represent the official policy of His Majesty's Government—but they none the less occurred.

¹⁷ This was in effect the point on which the King-Hawkesbury conversations broke down in May, 1803, (Steel, *op. cit.*, p. 334 nn. 10, 11), though it is true that the Narrow Seas, which were then the object of contention, included all the seas surrounding Britain—not merely the "British" Channel. Even so the British commissioners' optimism on this point in 1806 seems to have been excessive.

face of the Treaty. [*The attention of the Cabinet is particularly requested to this Article. H.*¹⁸]

They are also ready to adopt regulations in our favor for the recovery of our Seamen within the limits of their own jurisdiction, and to give us the full benefit of the laws which Congress has enacted for the prevention and punishment of deserters in their own Navy.

But they insist on our giving up the practice of impressing Seamen on board American Vessels on the high Seas, where they contend we have no municipal jurisdiction, and where the exercise of this power leads to acts of outrage and violence, which have raised a clamour against us throughout all America.

It must be confessed that this is a question of equal difficulty and importance. If it were admitted that our Sea faring people might transfer themselves with impunity to the American Service, our homeward bound fleets would return home manned by foreigners at the commencement of every War, and our Navy might be confined to Port for want of hands. On the other hand it is the evident Duty of the United States to protect their lawful Trade from interruption and outrage, and their citizens from being compelled to fight the battles of a foreign power.¹⁹

We cannot flatter ourselves with having devised any unexceptionable expedient which will reconcile completely the rights of the United States, as an independent Nation, with the security of Great Britain, against the loss and desertion of her Seamen; But we are of opinion, that the offer of the American Ministers to grant us the *aid* and interference of their Courts, [*How is the aid of their Courts meant to be afforded? the mode of application and means of redress should be easy and certainly defined—otherwise (?) the provisions on ys (this) head will be ilusory (sic). (not initialled)*] for the recovery of our Seamen, within the limits of their jurisdiction, ought to be accepted, with such further provisions and regulations as a more minute enquiry into the case may suggest to us: and that in return for our desisting from the practice of impressing on the high Seas, they should authorize our Ships of War to examine the Crews of their Merchantmen in search of British Seamen, with this proviso, that in case any person found on board was suspected to be a British Subject, the American Captain should have his choice either to give him up to the British Vessels, or to charge himself with the proofs, in some competent mode to be adjusted by treaty, that the person was *not* a British Subject [*The American Laws give a right of Citizenship to British Subjects taking the oaths of allegiance or more properly of naturalization in America. So that the same person may be an American in America, and a British Subject here. Grenv.*²⁰]; and such a penalty might be annexed to his failing in his proof,

¹⁸ Probably Howick, not Holland.

¹⁹ This paragraph not only puts the two cases in a nutshell but does conspicuous justice to that of the Americans.

²⁰ This minute, obviously by Grenville, hits the nail on the head. Nearly all the seamen in dispute were in fact binational according to modern ideas, but the British at that date clung to the theory of "indefeasibility" (Steel, *op. cit.*, p. 331 and n. 1). Both believed, in effect, that any other nationality could be expunged by the assumption of their own, but that their own nationality, once acquired, was indefeasible. See a very curious incident at Dartmouth (Eng.), referred to in a letter from the Admiralty to the Foreign Office, Jan. 27, 1807 (F.O. 5/55—sequels, July 7 and Sept. 9 in same vol.). Just a year later (Jan. 11, 1808) the U.S. Collector of Customs at Norfolk (Va.) informed H.M. consul that the voluntary enlistment of an alleged American subject in the Royal Navy—and even his acceptance of H.M.'s bounty, which the British regarded as a final proof of citizenship—could not deprive him of his American nationality. The senior British naval officer in the vicinity, Capt. Bromley (H.M.S. *Stairia*) replied to the collector through the consul with sarcastic congratulations on this American acceptance of the principle of "indefeasibility." Jan. 11 and 15, 1808, F.O. 5/57.

or to his non-appearance in Court to substantiate his case, as would effectually discourage wilful frauds on the part of the American Captains, and induce them to use the strictest scrutiny and most careful examination of the Seamen whom they took on their Vessels. To these securities might be added a system of certificates and passports better constituted than those at present in use, which we are convinced by the voluminous proofs transmitted to us by Your Lordship from the Admiralty have been grossly abused for purposes of deception, and often obtained for British Seamen by the aid of bribery and perjury.

But whatever arrangements may be thought admissible or expedient on this Subject, it is probable that at first they will be found inadequate and imperfect. It will therefore be proper that this article of the Treaty should be for a limited and short period, that its defects may eventually be reconsidered and rectified; and indeed the renewal of it from time to time will be a security for the fair execution of its Stipulations.

We cannot leave this part of the subject without repeating our opinion, that without some regulation upon it, no permanent or sincere reconciliation with the United States can be expected. With the modifications and limitations above stated your Lordship will judge whether the inconvenience apprehended can take place to any great extent, and you will perceive that if it does, it must at the expiration of a very short period be again the subject of discussion. We shall only observe in favor of such an experiment, that the necessity of the case and the impossibility of devising any other security against the desertion of our Seamen, being the only grounds on which our present practice can be defended, our right if recurred to after the unsuccessful trial of a remedy will be strengthened rather than weakened* by our temporary concession.²¹ [**But the right must in the meantime be preserved in Statu quo, by express Saving provisos, otherwise this consequence will not follow—Ell²²*]

Whatever may be your Lordship's determination, we apprehend that the regulations on this subject must have some reciprocal operation and effect, in order to satisfy the American Commissioners. . . .

On October 28 Lord Howick replied briefly that the points raised in this document were of such importance that he thought it best to confer personally upon them and therefore made an appointment to do so, adding that the same method was to be employed in future. Unfortunately I have not been able to find any record of what passed at these meetings.

One point however is clear and that is that about this date the British commissioners, possibly under instruction from Lord Howick though they do not say so, decided to approach the Admiralty for factual information concerning the "desertion of British seamen into the American Merchant Service." In this, as might be expected, the Admiralty proved less co-operative than the Foreign Office and less interested than the cabinet. Thus when

²¹ There is admittedly a certain lack of enthusiasm about the recommendations contained in these two paragraphs, but the commissioners were at least willing to make what they regarded as a dangerous experiment, if only for a limited period. They had not yet closed their minds completely to the American demand, as they were forced to do a little later.

²² Presumably Lord Ellenborough, who was the last Lord Chief Justice to hold a seat in a British cabinet.

asked how many British seamen were supposed to be serving on board American vessels, their lordships replied briefly that this could not be ascertained from any documents in this country; while a complementary question on the number of American seamen serving in the Royal Navy merely elicited the brusque rejoinder that "to answer this it will be necessary to examine the Books of every Ship in His Majesty's Service; which will require a considerable time, and be attended with other inconveniences." About the only definite information which Lords Holland and Auckland received on October 30 was to the effect that the desertion of British seamen into the American service took place "chiefly during war" and "chiefly in American Ports," which everyone knew already. They were, however, assured that no discrimination was shown against American vessels as compared with those of other neutral powers; that no other neutrals had made "any recent Remonstrances"; and that all foreign seamen of whatever nationality were habitually "given up when applied for by their Consuls." But the last of these contentions was subject to serious qualification, for such seamen had to be "not volunteers but Impressed and who have not taken His Majesty's Bounty": moreover there was another saving clause, viz., "unless reasonable doubts are entertained of their being subjects of the Power in whose Name[s] the applications are made, or unless Married and settled in England . . .," in either of which events release would not take place. Clearly the Admiralty, as was the duty of a service department in wartime, was giving nothing away unless it was obliged to do so.²³

In spite of this discouraging response the effect of further conferences with the American commissioners was such as to induce the two British representatives to submit for the consideration of Lord Howick as early as October 31 the "projet of an Article relative to the impressing of Seamen," together with "a further and more detailed stipulation on the same subject." These two draft articles were accompanied by a copy of the American "projet," which Lords Holland and Auckland said they had rejected.²⁴ In fact, however, the main bone of contention was conceded in the British "projet," which began with a forthright abandonment of impressment on the high seas, though only for a limited, and as yet unstated, period. The rest of the "projet" tried to introduce such countervailing safeguards as were possible in the way of making it "highly penal" for the masters of vessels of either of the parties to contravene certain new and stricter regulations, while the "more detailed stipulation" tentatively affirmed a British right of *visit* on

²³ For the complete questionnaire and the replies to it see Oct. 30, 1806, F.O. 5/51.

²⁴ Oct. 31, 1806, *ibid.*

the high seas, though not a right of *search*.²⁵ The American commissioners on the other hand, while not unalterably opposed to the first part of the British "projet"—though their own was much weaker in the way of new safeguards—strenuously resisted any right of search. But this was not an integral part of the first British plan and its rejection was therefore not an obstacle to a settlement: indeed, what is printed by Zimmerman as the "American Project"²⁶ is a fairly accurate summary of the first British "projet" described above.

As Zimmerman says, however, in the week following the presentation of this "projet" the British attitude underwent a complete *volte face*, caused by what he calls "the intense opposition of the crown officers and Board of Admiralty of Great Britain."²⁷ The Admiralty alone might have been overruled—its attitude was already clear, as we have seen, before the first "projet" was submitted—but on November 1, the day after the submission of the "projet," the British commissioners seem to have been impelled, it may be by Lord Howick, into a belated afterthought about the legal justification, if any, for impressment out of neutral shipping on the high seas. If Britain were *legally* justified in making such impressments, ought she to prejudice not only her present but perhaps her future interests by surrendering that important privilege? Consequently the following inquiry was addressed to the Advocate-General, Sir John Nicholl:

On what ground does a Nation which has not a Right, by Treaty, to reclaim its Subjects from the Territory of another to which they have escaped, claim the Right of taking them by Force from on board its Merchantmen on the high Seas? And what is your opinion of the Soundness of this Pretension?

The result was the well-known opinion briefly summarized by Zimmerman, to the effect that the high seas were extraterritorial and that merchant vessels navigating upon them were not admitted to possess a territorial jurisdiction protecting British subjects from the exercise of His Majesty's Prerogative.²⁸

²⁵ This of course was the main British contention thirty-five years later. Hugh G. Soulsby, *Right of Search and the Slave Trade in Anglo-American Relations, 1814-62* (Baltimore, 1933), pp. 58 ff.

²⁶ Zimmerman, p. 121.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 120. He quotes the "crown officers" but does not specify the objections of the Admiralty. Actually only one "crown officer," the Advocate-General, was involved, and the initiative does not seem in any case to have come from him, but from the British commissioners.

²⁸ *Ibid.* The following phrases are omitted by Zimmerman: "This Right is limited by the Territorial Sovereignty of other Nations: and therefore His Majesty cannot seize his Subjects, because he cannot exercise any Act of Force, within the Territory of another State." And again: "This Right, I apprehend, has from time immemorial, been asserted in practise and acquiesced in by foreign Nations.—The pretension appears to me to be sound in Principle—although Difficulties may arise in its Exercise, particularly on board the Vessels of the United States, from the Similarity of Language and Appearance in British and American Seamen." Nov. 3, 1806, F.O. 5/104. There was also a postscript; see n. 29 below.

The reasons for maintaining this particular exercise of the prerogative, at any rate in wartime, were given by Sir John Nicholl in a postscript, to which Zimmerman does not refer, and more fully in a separate paper written some months later, probably in connection with the *Chesapeake* affair.²⁹ I cannot find in either of these documents much trace of the "intense opposition" to which Zimmerman refers; but although the tone is cool and reasonably judicial, as the law was understood at that date, there is certainly no doubt about the verdict, which is a clear recommendation that the concession be not made. It seems to have been the cumulative effect of the not unsympathetic yet uneasy feeling in the cabinet and Foreign Office, the surliness of the Admiralty, and the opinion of Sir John Nicholl which eventually tipped the scale. However that may be, on November 5 the American commissioners were confronted with the uncongenial "British Counter-Project" summarized by Zimmerman,³⁰ while on the eighth the British went the whole hog and in an official note, representing the considered verdict of their government, withdrew their tentative consent to stop impressment. The attempts to palliate this decision by pointing out that "no recent cases of complaint have occurred" and by promising the greatest moderation and discretion in the exercise of the right in future, did not appeal to Pinkney and Monroe, who certainly make strong verbal protests but decided, to their subsequent regret, to return no written answer to this document.³¹

If matters had rested at this stage there would be no further difficulty, but the astonishing thing is that the last paragraph of the offending British note contained a cordial invitation to continue the negotiation upon other points, even though, as the British well knew, it was an American *sine qua non* which they had rejected. Still more astonishingly, and after less than one week's hesitation, the American commissioners agreed to the proposal. In fact it was as early as November 14 that Lords Holland and Auckland were

²⁹ F.O. 5/104, bound between papers of Nov. 3, 1806 and July, 1807. I have quoted the relevant sentences in the *Cambridge Historical Journal*, IX, 339. The postscript to the opinion of Nov. 3, 1806, which has not been previously printed, was as follows: "The Pretension referred to appears to me to arise, not from any peculiar Law and Usage of Great Britain, but out of the Fundamental Principles and general Constitution of Civil and Political Society.—It is an implied Contract in every such Society, that the Members of it shall assist for the common Defence.—Every State at War has a Right to require the Military Aid of its Subjects.—If Neutral Merchants hire the Subjects of a Belligerent State, they hire them liable to a pre-existing and paramount Engagement.—And if a Neutral Merchant-Vessel, subject to Visitation and Search is met with on the High Seas, the Belligerent Cruizer is entitled in the exercise of the just Rights of War, to compel by force the Subjects of its own State to quit the Foreign Service, and to perform their previous Engagement to their own Country.—Should Inconvenience follow to the Neutral, it is an Inconvenience which he ought to have foreseen, when he hired the Belligerent Mariner."

³⁰ Zimmerman, p. 121.

³¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 122-23. This note is quoted *in extenso*.

able to assure Lord Howick of the American "disposition to proceed to other matters in discussion (notwithstanding their disappointment at the little prospect of agreement on that particular point)."³² Here we reach the crux of the problem: what possessed Monroe and Pinkney to behave in this way?

Their official defense remained unchanged from November 11, 1806, when they first reported their decision to Madison, to January 3, 1807, when they sent him the completed treaty.³³ It amounted to no more than this: the British had retained in principle the right, but in their view had virtually promised to give up the practice, of impressment. Because of this they had felt justified in continuing the negotiation in order to secure the other advantages which they had been instructed to obtain.³⁴ It is a conclusion which throws an interesting light on the relative importance of the two objectives, or at any rate on the importance which, rightly or wrongly, they had come to assume in the minds of Pinkney and Monroe. Madison did not experience this sea change: already on February 2, 1807, Merry's successor, David Erskine, was able to tell Howick that the American Secretary of State, who had evidently just received his commissioners' dispatch of November 11, was extremely discontented with the turn taken by the negotiations and was insisting on the absolute importance of impressment. In this the inexperienced Erskine, who was always too inclined to take the color of his surroundings, was thinking vaguely of agreeing with him.³⁵ On the next day Madison transmitted a dispatch to Pinkney and Monroe, regretting their complaisance with the British and issuing warnings, more especially about impressment,³⁶ but this dispatch of course arrived some months too late. Already on March 1 there were rumors in Washington that a draft treaty had been signed, though the details were not known.³⁷ By March 6 Erskine was able to report that a full text had arrived and had already been rejected by the President, mainly owing to its omission of all reference to impressment.³⁸ But his next dispatch explained that this was not an absolute rejection: the President's intention was to send the treaty back to London for revision, not to break off the negotiation. This was due, moreover, not only to the omission of impressment

³² Holland and Auckland No. 3 to Howick, Nov. 14, 1806, F.O. 5/51.

³³ See summary in Zimmerman, pp. 123-25. The original dispatches are in *American State Papers: Foreign Relations*, III, 139, 146, and in *Annals of Congress*, loc. cit., pp. 2496, 2507. See also Monroe to Madison, Feb. 28, 1808, *ibid.*, p. 2590.

³⁴ See Burt, pp. 202-206, for the reality of these advantages.

³⁵ Erskine No. 5 to Howick, Feb. 2, 1807, F.O. 5/52.

³⁶ Zimmerman, pp. 125-27. Text in *American State Papers*, loc. cit., pp. 153 ff., and in *Annals of Congress*, loc. cit., p. 2539.

³⁷ Erskine No. 6 to Howick, Mar. 1, 1807, F.O. 5/52.

³⁸ Erskine No. 8 to Howick, Mar. 6, 1807, *ibid.*

but also to the British postscript to the treaty concerning the Berlin Decree.³⁹

The two senior consuls in the British service in America, Thomas Barclay at New York and Phineas Bond at Philadelphia, sent more colorful and less official comments on the situation. Those of Barclay are particularly outspoken, since in his case the letter was a private one.⁴⁰ After stressing the large number of British seamen who were generally known, and not least by the administration, to be "navigating American ships cloathed with American Certificates of Citizenship," he goes on:

The wast [*sic*] of Seamen in the British Navy is well known, nor is this a matter of more notoriety, than that the British Navy is the sole remaining obstacle between the Emperor of France and universal dominion. That these States owe their present enviable situation wholly to the existence of the British Navy; and that when we lose the command of the sea, they will without a struggle become Colonies of France.—Under these Circumstances the American Government ought rather to wink at casual improper impressments, than to complain without cause, and only to require the discharge of the Individual when his case was made evident. Native Citizens of the United States or persons who were in these States at the Treaty of Peace in 1783, I consider as the only persons entitled to the name of Bonafide American Citizens, I speak merely of Americans and of Persons born under His Majesty's Government.

His Majesty's Ministers cannot be too gardued [*sic*] on this point. Not a particle of our Navigation Laws, nor a principle respecting the right to be exercised by His Majesty over his natural born Subjects ought to be yielded. Great Britain owes everything to her Navy and Commerce. Deeply as the nation is involved in Debt, money is not wanted either by Commerce or Manufactures. Seamen and Soldiers are what she wants, and every possible method ought to be adopted to prevent emigration of British Seamen going into American Service. Surrounded as we are by an all powerful enemy we ought not to be put to serious inconvenience by America at the very moment when we are contending for her Independence and our own. The Americans reprobate a War with Great Britain. The best informed appear positive that Mr. Jefferson will not adventure upon it. I am not prepared to say this but I am certain that if our Government was to adopt a more spirited manner of treating the Americans they would not be so apt to complain.

Bond, another old hand, though writing officially, was perhaps more cynical—"... as to the Impressment of our own Seamen, it never was supposed for a moment, that England would renounce a Point, so essentially interwoven with the Principles of our Constitution, and with our immediate Safety. . . ."⁴¹ It was fortunate for Bond, resting in this comfortable belief, which Barclay evidently did not share, that he never knew how near the home government

³⁹ Erskine No. 9 (Cipher) to Howick, Mar. 10, 1807, *ibid.*

⁴⁰ Thomas Barclay (Private) to Sir Robert Barclay, Mar. 10, 1807, F.O. 5/53. Sir Robert had evidently forwarded it, as was usual in such cases, to the Foreign Office.

⁴¹ Bond No. 11 to Howick, Mar. 28, 1807, *ibid.*

had come to making just such a renunciation, or that as far as the British commissioners were concerned the sacrifice, if only for a short time, had been made. Unfortunately his was just the sort of view most commonly attributed to the English by American contemporaries, and by some historians of a later date: perfidy and cynicism are all that is expected of the British in the age of Canning, even though it is as yet Canning's enemies who are in power. But in fact such sentiments as Bond's have often characterized all consular services, in which it is frequently held that the home government does not understand the situation and is letting down the man on the spot; and that, when for once the worst does not happen, the home government has merely acted with unusual, and perhaps unconscious, cunning.

It is not to be supposed that any such considerations were in the minds of the American commissioners in London: they were better informed than Bond and almost certainly unmoved by sentiments like Barclay's. The point was that they really thought they had done their job and done it well, and it is by no means certain they were wrong. Although it may have been important for Monroe politically, if he ever wished to run for President, to wipe out a long record of diplomatic failure with a real success, and although this may have led him to overrate his achievement, Pinkney's judgment, which was good, could never have been blinded by political considerations; for he was, if anything, a Federalist, and never had political ambitions. On April 22 the two of them replied to Madison's warning of February 3 by insisting on the fact that they had obtained entirely adequate safeguards on impressment,⁴² and the nearest that they ever came to abandoning this view was on July 24, 1807, when, after receiving new instructions dated May 20, they loyally informed Canning that they had misinterpreted the President's intention, which had always been "to stipulate *with precision* against the practice in question."⁴³ Yet in his Richmond letter to Madison of February 28, 1808, Monroe at least went back to his original ideas and maintained that in his treaty American rights about impressment had been carefully reserved: it was true that the treaty had settled nothing finally about impressment, but it had been a sensible working agreement. On April 18, 1808, he again discussed the subject—this time in a letter to Pickering—but in spite of Zimmerman's assertion that he then took a "slightly different view" I cannot find any material difference in his attitude on that occasion.⁴⁴ The only possible conclusion one can draw from all this, if Monroe's contentions are to carry any

⁴² Zimmerman, p. 128.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 133.

⁴⁴ For a fuller commentary on both these letters see Zimmerman, pp. 130-31.

weight, is that, whether consciously or otherwise, Jefferson and Madison in 1807 sacrificed the substance for the shadow.

Meanwhile this particular opportunity for an Anglo-American settlement had obviously passed, for early in that year the friendly British ministry had fallen; the stern and warlike Pittites had returned to power; and on March 25 Lord Howick had resigned the Foreign Office to George Canning. Much has been made by Henry Adams, in two famous chapters of his masterpiece, of the pride and insolence toward the United States of this *bête noire* of Anglo-American relations. But quite apart from the general merits of Canning as a man and as a statesman—on which few Englishmen and Americans are likely to see eye to eye—no dispassionate reader of the British records could deny that on assuming office Canning found the American negotiation practically dead already and, even if he had wished to do so, had no means of reviving it. Harassed as he was by his immense responsibilities in the fearful situation in which Britain found herself in 1807, it is very much to his credit that his approach to what was after all a relatively minor question was so careful and correct. Only eight days after taking office he received a letter from Lord Holland asking him to put an end to the commissioners' uncertainties about the American negotiation.⁴⁵ This gave him a perfect opportunity to administer the *coup de grâce*, if he had wanted to, yet he replied upon the same day with a polite refusal to be rushed in his decision.⁴⁶ It was as late as July 25 in fact before the "Business of this office" permitted him to start a very cautious and precise inquiry into the exact nature and degree of the *verbal* commitments, if any, entered into by the British in the course of the negotiation, for until he was satisfied on this point he was not prepared to come to any definite conclusion. The inquiry, which proceeded on two levels, official and unofficial, lasted up to August 24, and it was another two months after that before Canning finally dispatched the official note which broke off the negotiation. All this time he was evidently much concerned with the necessity for honoring any British promises which might have been made, and it is clear that the reason for his attitude lay not so much in the repeated suggestions of Monroe and Pinkney that some such verbal engagement had in fact been entered into but mainly in his own feelings as a man of honor. This is hinted from the first day of the correspondence, and although on July 28 he was officially assured that there had been no commitment about impressment, except to "be very cautious in the exercise of it"

⁴⁵ Holland (Private) to Canning, Apr. 2, 1807, F.O. 5/54.

⁴⁶ Canning (Private) to Holland, Apr. 2, 1807, *ibid.*

and to redress grievances, Canning was still not satisfied. Thus on August 6 he again wrote privately to Holland:

If your Note of the 8th of November contained the *whole* Substance of what passed between you and the American Commissioners, that is an intelligible and sufficient ground for any future Proceedings—but I think Messrs. Monroe and Pinckney [*sic*] seem to imagine that something more than I can find in that Note was held out to them in conversation.⁴⁷

This resulted in another official denial by the two British commissioners, made on August 24,⁴⁸ after which there was a prolonged pause, mainly taken up with Monroe's vain efforts to combine, as he had been instructed to do, the question of reparation for the attack upon the *Chesapeake* with the general issue of impressment. Finally on October 22 came Canning's official note,⁴⁹ insisting on the separation of the two issues and terminating the original negotiation. It was a stinging rebuke conceived in Canning's grandest manner and calculated to destroy all hope of any Anglo-American rapprochement for many months to come. But it is worth noting that even at this stage, while insisting on a separate reparation for the *Chesapeake* as an incident which was not only different in kind but one in which England was wholly and indisputably in the wrong, Canning did not deny the possibility of reopening at a later date the general issue of impressment.⁵⁰

The fact is that by this time all the British cliques—Whig, Grenvillite, and Pittite⁵¹—had settled down to much the same policy about impressment, which, as Holland and Auckland wrote to Canning (unofficially) on July 28, was "to keep that question in a state of presumed Negotiation to the Close of the War; still however maintaining the unimpaired exercise of the Right though carefully avoiding any abuse of it."⁵² It is true that such an attitude represented the exact opposite of what the two commissioners had felt nine months before, but the treaty of Tilsit and the other successes of Napoleon left the British very little choice: all the three main parties, if they can be dignified with that name, knew by July, 1807, if not earlier, that Britain was now fighting for her life against a practically united Europe. It is interesting

⁴⁷ Canning (Private) to Holland, Aug. 6, 1807, *ibid.*

⁴⁸ This letter, together with most of the other letters referred to, is printed in *Hansard*, X, 593-96. There is also a MS. précis of the correspondence in F.O. 5/104, immediately following the two opinions of Sir John Nicholl quoted above.

⁴⁹ *Hansard*, X, 599-600.

⁵⁰ The same sentiments were repeated verbally to Madison by G. H. Rose: Rose No. 4 to Canning, Jan. 18, 1808, F.O. 5/56. Rose confirmed them later in writing, Rose to Madison, Mar. 17, 1808, *ibid.*

⁵¹ Not the Radicals, but they were of much less importance in 1807 than they were in 1811 and 1812.

⁵² Holland and Auckland (Private) to Canning, July 28, 1807, F. O. 5/54.

to note that under Napoleon's pressure the British had been squeezed into a unanimity about impressment which remained with them until his fall: for the attitude now outlined by their commissioners was substantially maintained at Ghent in 1814, and it was not until the practice of impressment automatically lapsed in peacetime that the principle got rusty and was finally abandoned.

Could the American insistence on the principle have been sacrificed at any earlier date? Bond and Gallatin thought so: Robert Smith, otherwise conciliatory toward the British, thought otherwise. Thus on December 1, 1807, Phineas Bond wrote to Canning from Philadelphia that if the British "blockade" of American ports were lifted,

and the Impressment of our Seamen were confined to Situations where no Exigencies existed to endanger the Safety of the Vessels from which they were taken—if a fair Regulation as to the mutual Restoration of Deserters could be adopted, and a Renunciation were made, as to the Right of examining national Ships of War—every candid Man, readily, declares that all Discord should cease. . . .⁵³

Perhaps Bond was too ready to find "candid men" among his Federalist friends in Philadelphia—yet Gallatin at least was very far from being a Federalist, and Gallatin was significantly silent on impressment. Thus on March 22, 1808, G. H. Rose, in writing confidentially to Canning, described an interview he had had with the Secretary of the Treasury:

Mr. Gallatin said at once, and spontaneously [*sic*] that *nothing* of real difficulty remained between the Two Countries but His Majesty's Orders in Council; this he repeated twice, dwelling upon the word "nothing," with particular emphasis. . . .⁵⁴

The Treasury, as we have often been reminded since, is not the State Department, and its views may not have reflected American opinion any more accurately in 1808 than did those of Mr. Bond's "candid men," but when we come to an actual Secretary of State, even if he is only the maligned Robert Smith, the weight to be attached to *obiter dicta* upon foreign policy is surely somewhat heavier. However that may be, on July 3, 1809, David Erskine, still in ignorance of his own disgrace,⁵⁵ wrote to Canning that he had had a long talk with Smith, who seems to have agreed with Gallatin in thinking that

⁵³ Bond No. 30 to Canning, Dec. 1, 1807, F.O. 5/53.

⁵⁴ Rose No. 22 (Confidential) to Canning, Mar. 22, 1808, F.O. 5/56.

⁵⁵ He had been disavowed and recalled in a dispatch of Canning's dated May 30: Bernard Mayo, ed., *Instructions to the British Ministers to the United States, 1791-1812* (Washington, 1941), p. 276. The news reached America on July 21: Henry Adams, *History of the United States*, V, 81.

only one contentious issue, still divided England from America, but differed from him in still believing it to be impressment. Yet Smith is represented, on the other hand, as willing to accept the ultimate solution of that problem reached at Ghent after three more years of wrangling and a further thirty months of war—namely, to say nothing more about it! “It would not be contended for by the United States,” so Erskine reports Smith as saying, “that Great Britain should abandon the Principle, but only the Practice of Impressment out of American Ships.”⁵⁶ The practice had in fact been more or less abandoned for the past two years and was destined to be finally given up when the War of 1812 was over. It is possible that if Erskine had been more discreet that spring in his original approach to Smith and Madison it would not have been renewed in 1811.

However it would be going far beyond the limits of this article to embark on any discussion of Erskine's well-meant effort to establish Anglo-American accord. He failed in 1809, much as Pinkney and Monroe had failed in 1806–1807, through ignoring his instructions; but the point is that there were at all times men of good will on both sides of the Atlantic who did not think that impressment was an “insurmountable Difficulty” between the two nations.⁵⁷ The only statesmen who thought differently—who were not prepared to negotiate at any date except upon the basis of a complete British surrender—were Jefferson and Madison. It is tempting, if perhaps rather dangerous, to differentiate between these diehards. Can it be that Madison really believed what he was saying in innumerable notes and conversations? Can it be that Jefferson sometimes kept his tongue in his cheek on this as on so many other subjects? Could so empty, pompous and verbose a man as G. H. Rose⁵⁸ have actually been right about that elusive genius, Jefferson? If so, the answer is that, while Madison remained a doctrinaire, Jefferson's object was,

without actually going to war with England, to keep up just so much of Irritation against her as would satisfy her most important enemy; and especially by asserting

⁵⁶ Erskine No. 29 to Canning, July 3, 1809, F.O. 5/63. The suggestion was tacitly agreed at Ghent in 1814, though not embodied in the peace treaty.

⁵⁷ The phrase is Robert Smith's (*loc. cit.*, n. 56 above) but he went on, as I have indicated, to show that it could be surmounted after all.

⁵⁸ G.H. Rose's dispatches are intolerably prolix and conceited. For a contemporary opinion of him cf. Auckland (Secret) to Grenville, Oct. 16, 1807, Grenville, *Fortescue*, IX, 140. “Mr. G. Rose has many amiable private qualifications, but is not in any point of view an auspicious choice for the service in question. . . . Least of all, should they have sent a young man without rank or commanding talents, and the son of a person who has often affected to hold language hostile to the neutral trade of the United States. . . .” Rose's father, George Rose Sr., had been a King's Friend, then a Pittite, and was at this date vice-president of the Board of Trade and Treasurer of the Navy. He was violently attacked as a placeman and holder of an excessive number of profitable sinecures in a petition from Liverpool, presented by Brougham to the House of Commons, on Apr. 27, 1812. *Hansard*, XXII, 1067.

the right of America to convey the enemy's colonial produce to Europe, and to resist the Impressment of British Seamen from her Merchant Ships so as by the combined effect of these measures to weaken our Navy, and to convert our Mariners into the Supporters of the commerce of our Enemy. . . .⁵⁹

In other words, of the two American protagonists in the impressment controversy the earlier and greater, Jefferson, merely played upon it as an instrument of policy, whereas Madison conducted it like a lawsuit. Jefferson would never have let it lead him into war, as he showed in the second half of 1807, when conditions for a successful war against Great Britain were more favorable to the United States than they were in 1812. But neither would he abandon it, for as long as Napoleon was in power a state of neither peace nor war with Britain was in his judgment a clear American interest, and the impressment controversy, properly exploited, was a useful means to that end. Unfortunately it became a sort of drug, to which Madison, as Jefferson's Secretary of State, was compelled to get more and more addicted, and when he himself became President any powers of resistance to it which he may once have had were lost. The ridiculous agitation of the War Hawks on the subject was too much for his enfeebled constitution; he gave way and went to war in most unfavorable circumstances in 1812. What is more, he remained at war when all subjects of dispute other than impressment had completely disappeared, and yet ended by agreeing to a peace treaty in which it was not even mentioned! There could be no more convincing demonstration of the utter unreality of this particular controversy in the administrations of Jefferson and, especially, of Madison.

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⁵⁹ Rose No. 10 (Secret and Confidential) to Canning, Feb. 6, 1808, F.O. 5/56. The involved style is typical of the man.

* * * *Notes and Suggestions* * * *

A Reappraisal of Charles A. Beard's
*An Economic Interpretation of the
Constitution of the United States*

ROBERT E. THOMAS

IN his recent address before the American Historical Association Professor Samuel Eliot Morison suggested that Charles A. Beard's *An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution of the United States* was written as an attack upon the Supreme Court and a defense of Populist-New Freedom policies. This is the traditional interpretation of Beard's book, but to insist upon it one must also insist that Beard attacked with his right hand what he defended with his left. For if the *Economic Interpretation*, published in 1913, was an attack upon the Court, *The Supreme Court and the Constitution*, published in 1912, was a defense of that institution. And if Beard's book on the Constitution was an implicit defense of Populist-New Freedom policies, his article, "Jefferson and the New Freedom," published in 1914, was an overt attack upon the entire Wilson administration. Thus, if Professor Morison's view of the *Economic Interpretation* is correct, from 1912 to 1914 Beard alternated between attacking and defending both the Supreme Court and Populist-New Freedom policies. During these years Beard was either hopelessly confused, or Professor Morison has put upon his book an interpretation never intended by its author. But whatever one may think of Beard's writings they at least are consistent, and in the *Economic Interpretation* nothing was more remote from his intention than an attack upon the Supreme Court, the Fathers, or the Constitution. Even less did he intend his book to further the policies of Wilson's New Freedom. When it was misinterpreted and used for this purpose Beard might have lamented, in fact did,¹ like the character in Eliot's "Prufrock":

That is not it at all,
That is not what I meant, at all.

When Professor Morison, and others who share his point of view, suggest that the *Economic Interpretation* was an attack upon the Court it would

¹ See the *Economic Interpretation* (1935 ed.), pp. vi, viii. Except where otherwise noted the books and articles cited hereafter are by Charles A. Beard.

seem incumbent upon them to explain how Beard could defend the Court in 1912 and attack it in 1913. That Beard was an ardent defender of the Court in 1912 should be abundantly clear to anyone who reads *The Supreme Court and the Constitution*, particularly the chapter entitled "The Spirit of the Constitution." Here in the strongest terms Beard denounced the government under the Articles of Confederation, and praised the Constitution, the men who made it, and, by the clearest implication, the Court itself. Yet we are to believe that by 1913 Beard had somersaulted to a position diametrically opposed to that which he occupied in 1912; or rather, because Beard worked on both books in 1912, that he occupied the two positions simultaneously. This is altogether more ambivalence than is likely to be satisfactorily explained away.

But in point of fact there was no such ambivalence in Beard's thought. He was a consistent and ardent admirer of the Supreme Court, which he considered "the guardian of the whole American system,"² "the last safeguard for civil liberties,"³ "the great defender of private property"⁴ (Beard considered property rights "sacred"),⁵ "a very strong tower defending the American constitutional system."⁶ "In my view," Beard wrote, "the great decisions and opinions of the ablest Justices are power . . . and the Supreme Court Justices should have this power . . . and exercise it."⁷ And, finally, Beard wrote that "the power of judicial review . . . is essential."⁸ This last statement, it should be noted, was written in 1913,⁹ the year in which Beard is supposed to have published an attack upon the Court.

In view of Beard's record as an admirer and defender of the Supreme Court it is difficult to see how the *Economic Interpretation* was ever taken as an attack upon that body. There is, however, one possible way in which this book could be so interpreted, but then *only* if it could be demonstrated that Beard disapproved of the entire federal government, of which he considered the Supreme Court the "keystone." In the *Economic Interpretation* (p. 162) he wrote: "The keystone of the whole structure [the federal government], is, in fact, the system provided for judicial control—the most unique contribution to the science of government which has been made by American political genius." If Beard disapproved of the entire structure then

² *American Government and Politics* (1935 ed.), p. 196.

³ *The Republic* (1943), p. 237.

⁴ *The American Leviathan* (1930), p. 72.

⁵ *American Citizenship*, with Mary R. Beard (1913), p. 54.

⁶ *American Leviathan*, p. 134.

⁷ *The Republic*, p. 227.

⁸ *Contemporary American History* (1914), p. 87.

⁹ The preface for *Contemp. Am. Hist.*, from which book this quote was taken, is dated November, 1913.

presumably he disapproved of the judiciary—its keystone. Conversely, if he approved of the structure erected at Philadelphia he must also have approved of the Court:

No one, so far as I know, has yet brought forward any concrete evidence which suggests that Beard had anything but admiration for the work done at Philadelphia. Nor is this possible, for Beard's writings, particularly when he is not constrained by textbook requirements for objectivity, exhibit an extreme Federalist bias. There is, for example, his attitude toward the government under the Articles of Confederation. He considered it a "failure";¹⁰ it had led to a number of "abuses";¹¹ it was "weak and futile";¹² and under it a "social dissolution had been threatened."¹³ But his Hamiltonian bias is probably most apparent in his attitude toward the movement for the Constitution. The conservative interests, as Beard saw it, had not of their own choosing set out to overthrow the old government and to institute a new one more responsive to their needs. On the contrary, these men had been "harried almost to death by the weaknesses and futility of the government under the Articles of Confederation."¹⁴ Finally, after they had been

... made desperate by the imbecilities of the Confederation . . . [they] roused themselves from their lethargy, and drew together in a mighty effort to establish a government that would be strong enough to pay the national debt, regulate interstate and foreign commerce, provide for national defence, prevent fluctuations in the currency created by paper emissions, and control the propensities of legislative majorities to attack private rights.¹⁵

Beard admitted, of course, that with their *coup d'état* the Fathers had "departed from the letter of the existing law," but they had done it "in the interests of higher considerations."¹⁶ Further, Beard approved of Hamilton's fiscal program; not only was it "good for the country,"¹⁷ it was necessary. "Without an appropriate economic underwriting," he wrote, "constitutional government could not come into being."¹⁸ Again, he wrote that:

Hamilton is the "evil spirit" of Jeffersonian Democrats, the "scapegoat" responsible for all the ills of the early Republic, the "foe of the people," guilty of marring, after the Revolution of 1776, the new order of things which otherwise

¹⁰ "A Syllabus of American Government and Politics," for "Politics 1-2" in Columbia College, 1908.

¹¹ *Readings in American Government and Politics* (1910), p. 43.

¹² *The Economic Origins of Jeffersonian Democracy* (1915), p. 464.

¹³ *American Leviathan*, p. 21.

¹⁴ *Economic Origins of Jeffersonian Democracy*, p. 464.

¹⁵ *The Supreme Court and the Constitution* (1912), p. 76.

¹⁶ *The Rise of American Civilization*, with Mary R. Beard, I (1927), 329.

¹⁷ *The Republic*, p. 270.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 287.

would have been idyllic. The very mention of his name still arouses choking emotions in the bosoms of all "right thinkers" who confine their knowledge and interest to Anti-Federalist tradition . . . without stopping to inquire what would have happened to the Republic if Hamilton had never lived or whether the Constitution would have been firmly established if he had not drawn to it a powerful underwriting. . . .¹⁹

Finally, Beard had a tremendous admiration for the Fathers. They were "courageous," "brilliant," and "profound." "Never," he wrote of the Philadelphia convention, "has there been a convention of men richer in political experience and in practical knowledge, or endowed with a profounder insight into the springs of human action and the intimate essence of government."²⁰ And the Constitution, Beard felt, endures as "a monument to their amazing wisdom."²¹

Beard, then, has expressed in unequivocal language his profound disapproval of the Articles of Confederation; his belief that the "solid, conservative, commercial and financial interests" had been "driven" to form a new government by the "imbecilities" of the old one; his admiration for Hamilton's fiscal program; his reverence for the Fathers and for the Constitution itself. He has also repeatedly and explicitly expressed his admiration for the Court, and in *The Supreme Court and the Constitution* wrote a spirited defense of that institution against its Progressive assailants. In the light of these facts nothing seems more palpably incorrect than the belief that Beard intended the *Economic Interpretation* as an attack upon the Court—"the keystone of the whole [federal] structure."

Equally erroneous is the belief that the book was written to further Populist-New Freedom policies—policies with which Beard was utterly out of sympathy. His article, "Jefferson and the New Freedom," published in 1914, was a caustic condemnation of the entire Wilson administration, and during the course of it Beard asserted that while "agrarian democracy was the goal of Jefferson . . . the equally *unreal* and *unattainable* democracy of small business is Wilson's goal" (italics mine).²² That Beard was a critic of the Wilson administration is not surprising: he was a Republican²³—a member of the party which, as he saw it, "has twice saved this nation from going to pieces . . . on the altar of the Democratic superstition which has twice [Confederation period and Civil War] almost destroyed the nation—'state's

¹⁹ *The Enduring Federalist* (1948), p. 10.

²⁰ *Supreme Court and the Constitution*, p. 87.

²¹ "Whom Does Congress Represent?" *Harper's Magazine*, CLX (1929-30), 150.

²² "Jefferson and the New Freedom," *New Republic*, I (Nov. 14, 1914), 18-19.

²³ *The Republic*, p. 287.

rights.”²⁴ It might also be added that it is a curious Populist-Wilsonian Democrat who could speak, as Beard did, of the “Rockefellers, Morgans, Vanderbilts and Harrimans” as “creative pioneers” who had erected “magnificent economic structures,” and suggest that these men must rank with the “mighty state-builders of the past . . . the Norman Conquerors and the Capetians.”²⁵ It is equally unlikely that a writer of Populist persuasion would lament that “our giant industrial corporations . . . [have been] harassed by politics.”²⁶ Or that such a writer would speak of property rights as “sacred rights in all times and places.”²⁷ Beard has often been called a Progressive, and if this term is meant to describe the Croly-Roosevelt school of Progressives it is, with some modifications, an apt description. But Beard was not a Wilsonian Democrat—an almost entirely distinct group.

To the extent that Beard’s book was an *attack*, it was an assault not on the Court, the Fathers, or the Constitution, but upon the “juristic theory of the origin and nature of the Constitution”²⁸—the belief, that is, that the Constitution was the creation of “the whole people” and was based upon some abstract principle of political science. Rather than having its origin in abstractions and “the whole people,” the Constitution, as Beard saw it, was the creation of a small minority representing “distinct groups whose economic interests they understood and felt in concrete, definite form through their own personal experience with identical property rights.”²⁹ In attempting to prove that the Constitution was the work of a small minority “immediately interested through their personal possessions in the outcome of their labors” Beard destroyed, at least to his satisfaction, the juristic view of the Constitution, long the dominant one in constitutional history and legal thought. This was his primary purpose; and nothing was more alien to his intention than an attack upon the Court, the Fathers, or the Constitution.

To the extent that his book was a *defense*, it was a defense not of Populist-New Freedom policies but of the framers of the Constitution, who in the process of constructing a government with their own interests foremost in mind, had built “the new government upon the only foundations which could be stable: fundamental economic interests.”³⁰ He meant to show in a concrete way that the Fathers, like “great statesmen of all times . . .

²⁴ “The Woman’s Party,” *New Republic*, VII (July 29, 1916), 329.

²⁵ “The Evolution of Democracy: A Summary,” in F. A. Cleveland and J. Schafer, *Democracy in Reconstruction* (1919), p. 491.

²⁶ *America Faces the Future* (1932), p. 118.

²⁷ *American Citizenship*, p. 54.

²⁸ See chapter I in the *Economic Interpretation*, particularly pp. 8–16.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 73.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 151.

from first to last took into account the geared association of economics and politics."³¹

In view of Beard's Federalist orientation it is an interesting question how his *Economic Interpretation* was ever taken as an attack upon the Court, the Constitution, or the Fathers. The answer lies in the fact that most Americans believe that there is something intrinsically evil in placing business before statesmanship. In his attempt to destroy the juristic view of the Constitution Beard had sought to demonstrate that the Fathers had done just that. It followed, then, that the book *must* have been intended as an attack upon the Fathers and the instrument of government which they devised. But what his readers failed to see is that Beard, the hard-headed "realist," did not share their idealism. That government should rest, in the final analysis, on "selfish" interest was to Beard the simple sense of the matter—the only foundation upon which a "stable" government could be built.

New York, N.Y.

³¹ "Government by Technologists," *New Republic*, LXIII (June 18, 1930), 115.

The Elder Pitt and an American Department

CHARLES R. RITCHESON

AMONG the Chatham Papers in the Public Record Office is the document printed below.¹ It is written on folded, quarto-size, gilt-edged writing paper, unsigned and undated, but without question in the hand of William Pitt, created first earl of Chatham in July, 1766. The paper is the bare outline of a ministry. It contains only twelve names and is probably only one of several rough plans which Pitt committed to writing. One entry, however, is of great significance, and if it had become reality might have profoundly influenced the course of American history.

The three-page document reads as follows:

[page 1]

Lord Shelburne S:[outhern] D:[epartment]
D:[uke] of Richmond N:[orthern] D:[epartment]
Mr Pitt American D:[epartment]
Secretary at War: Mr Townshend
Lord Chancellor Lord Camden.
Attorney General Mr Glynn.
Sollicitor General Mr Dunning.
Col[onel] Barré: Vice Treasurer
[Lord Lieutenant of] Ireland: ~~L[ord] Rocheford~~ [sic] Duke of Portland
Duke of Grafton Admiralty
Lord Coventry Groom of the Stole
Chamberlain Q[uary]
Lord Steward Q[uary]

[page 2]

Ambassador at Paris Q[uary] Ld Sa:[?]
Lord Rocheford: governor &c.
Chief Justice in Eyre Q[uary]
Warden of the Cinque Ports Q[uary]
Mr Controller Q[uary]
Mr Treasurer Q[uary]
Mr Cofferer Q[uary]
Mr Treasurer of the Chamber. Q[uary].
Vice Treasurer Q[uary]
Treasurer of Navy Q[uary]
Pay Office Q[uary]

¹ G.D. 8, Bundle 74, f. 511. It is probably this document to which Basil Williams in his *The Life of William Pitt, Earl of Chatham* (London, 1914), II, 214, n. 1, briefly and inaccurately refers.

[page 3]

Privy Seal Q:[uery]

Governor General Q:[uery]

first Lord of Treasury Q:[uery]

Chancellor of the Exchequer Q:[uery]

The document may be easily placed within definite time limits. The use of Sir Charles Pratt's title, "Lord Camden," furnishes one terminal, July 17, 1765, the date of his elevation to the peerage, which also coincided with the advent of the first Rockingham administration. The second terminal is given by "Mr. Pitt," indicating a date prior to July 29, 1766, when Pitt was made earl of Chatham. Clearly, therefore, the paper belongs within the year of the first Rockingham administration, and more specifically, at a time when Pitt himself was requested to take the reins of government. It was in compliance with such a request that Pitt sketched out the rough plan printed above. This allows the document to be dated more precisely.

During their year in office, the Old Whigs made three major attempts to gain Pitt as the leader of their ministry. In December, 1765, Rockingham, through Amherst and Dunning, had made specific offers to Lord Shelburne and Colonel Barré. To Shelburne's objection that no system could be formed which did not have Pitt at its head, it was declared that the ministry stood ready "to be disposed of as he [Pitt] pleased."²

Replying to Shelburne's report of the offer, Pitt bitterly attacked the Rockingham ministry, declaring, "Faction shakes, and corruption saps the country to its foundation." Under such "wretched conditions" he demanded a direct mandate from the king and full power to act before he would even begin a discussion of a possible change of ministry.³

No such mandate was forthcoming. Indeed, George III, fearing the Grenville-Pitt "Family," was determined to countenance no approach to Pitt, despite the increasing insistence of the two Secretaries of State, the duke of Grafton and Lieutenant General Conway, that Pitt be brought in.

The first days of the session after the Christmas holidays, in January of the new year, however, were enough to demonstrate even to the king that a new system would soon become a pressing need. Pitt, in his great and eloquent speeches on the repeal of the Stamp Act, dominated the political scene like the giant he was. His wide and comprehensive treatment of American affairs and his espousal of the colonial cause gave him undisputed leadership in the House of Commons and wide popularity in America. His

² Shelburne to Pitt, Dec. 21, 1765, *Chatham Correspondence*, ed. John Murray (London, 1838), II, 354-55.

³ Pitt to Shelburne, *ibid.*, II, 358-61.

support of the administration's determination to repeal the obnoxious act led the Old Whigs to believe that the Great Commoner could now, if ever, be brought in to lead the government.

Grafton, who had agitated for such action so long, was authorized by Rockingham to seek an interview with Pitt. Their meeting took place on January 16. It was with almost pathetic eagerness that Rockingham wrote the king at 1:00 A.M. of the seventeenth that, as a consequence of Grafton's report, he believed "the End of the present very critical Situation will be such as may tend to his Majesty's Ease & Satisfaction."⁴ Pitt evidently considered the impending negotiation important because on the twentieth he sent to Shelburne to come to London, as the earl was "the person I hold most essential to any good for this country."⁵

Such optimism was, however, ill-founded. The king was mistrustful of Pitt, afraid of the "Family," and cautious. On Saturday the eighteenth he had, by way of message to Pitt transmitted through Grafton and Conway, posed two questions. He asked if Pitt were willing to come into office, and secondly, would a refusal from Pitt's brother-in-law, Earl Temple, prevent Pitt's own acceptance of office.⁶ The answers, purposely vague, but menacing to the Old Whigs, were deemed unsatisfactory by the king. The negotiation, therefore, ended fruitlessly after a final meeting of Pitt, Rockingham, and Grafton on Tuesday, January 21, the very day after Pitt had sent for Shelburne.

Pitt's answer to the king's question concerning Earl Temple was curious. Calling the question "cruel," he flatly declared that it would be impossible for him to come into the administration if Earl Temple were not offered office as well. On the other hand, it would be equally impossible for him to accept should Temple demand places for "some of his *new Associates*,"⁷ presumably referring to the Bedfordites, with whom Temple agreed in calling for a stern American policy. However, it was sufficiently clear that Pitt considered an offer to his brother-in-law as a *sine qua non* to his forming a ministry, and that place was to be First Lord of the Treasury.

Little more than a month later, a third unsuccessful approach was made to Pitt, again through Shelburne. On February 24, Shelburne reported to Pitt a "chance" conversation with Rockingham.⁸ The harassed leader of the government, suffering from a series of defeats in Parliament and fearing a

⁴ Rockingham to the king, *Correspondence of George III*, ed. Sir John Fortescue (London, 1927-8), I, no. 203.

⁵ *Chatham Correspondence*, III, 5-6.

⁶ Memorandum by the king, Jan. 18, 1766, *Correspondence of George III*, I, no. 209.

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ *Chatham Correspondence*, III, 7-11.

juncture of the Grenvillites with Lord Bute's group, declared himself unable to cope with the situation and expressed the hope that Pitt would new-model the ministry, placing himself at the head of it. Rockingham, however, insisted that Pitt join with the present administration in forming the new plan to be presented jointly to the king. If Pitt, he continued, should go to the king without a settled and definite plan, the Old Whigs would lose so much prestige and authority that their ministry would break to pieces. The wildest confusion would ensue, and it was conceivable that the Grenville party might then return to power. Further, the king, hinted Rockingham, had strong scruples against being delivered up "blind-fold." Rockingham, convinced that Grafton, who longed for Pitt's leadership, and Conway would soon precipitate a crisis, begged for immediate action.

Pitt replied to Shelburne as soon as he had read his subordinate's letter.⁹ Offended by Rockingham's allusion to a possibility that he might force himself upon the king, Pitt again absolutely refused to engage in any negotiation without an express and previous command from George III. Two days later, an attempt to revive the negotiation through Pitt's friend, Nuthall, met with the same answer.

In late April, Grafton declared in the House of Lords his dissatisfaction with the existing ministry and shortly thereafter resigned. Conway, however, sided with Rockingham in deciding to go on. The king was delighted. He was by now fighting desperately to keep the ministry afloat until Parliament rose for the summer. If that object could be achieved he would be able to act with greater leisure in the formation of a new ministry. Nor would opposition groups, with most of their numbers no longer concentrated in London, be able to exert such great pressure on him. His dominant fear was of a possible reunion of Pitt, Grenville, and Temple, "the Family than which there is nothing I would not rather submit to."¹⁰

In his fight to stave off what he thought might be a "Family" assault upon his Closet, the king clung to his faith in "the chapter of accidents." In such a weakened condition, the Old Whigs struggled along. They toyed with various ideas of gaining strength from the Bute group, but, despite blunt proddings by the king's friend and confidant, Lord Egmont, no effective steps were taken to achieve this end. The duke of Grafton was replaced by the duke of Richmond, but this arrangement was only a temporary expedient. It was only due to the strength of the royal will that the ministry was able to outlive the session.

⁹ *Ibid.*, III, 11-12.

¹⁰ The king to Egmont, May 1, 1766, *Correspondence of George III*, I, no. 301.

On June 6, Parliament was prorogued for the summer. The collapse of the ministry did not come, however, until nearly a month later, when Lord Chancellor Northington, using as an excuse his dislike of the ministry's proposed Quebec Bill, declared he would attend no more cabinets, and informed the king that the ministry could no longer go on with credit. On July 6, therefore, the king announced to Rockingham his intention of forming an administration on a more comprehensive basis. The same day George III dispatched to Northington a note of summons for Pitt with instructions to forward it to Hayes the next day. Pitt had received his mandate from the king, and, in consequence, he hurried to London.

Since the three earlier attempts to bring Pitt into office had never resulted in a direct command from the king, Pitt's indispensable prerequisite for a negotiation; there had been no occasion for Pitt to sketch out a ministry. By eliminating these three approaches to Pitt, the fourth and successful negotiation which began in July, 1766, is the only one during which Pitt would have needed to write the document in question.

Pitt arrived in London on July 11, "not over well"; nevertheless, he immediately called on Northington and talked with him for three and a half hours. Northington's report of the conversation to the king stated that Pitt's plan was temperate and prudent; he wished to keep many of the present administration, and he definitely wanted Earl Temple to make part of the new arrangement. Pitt had no thought of including George Grenville in his plan. During the course of this general conversation, Pitt told the chancellor that his health would prevent his taking an active office in the projected ministry.¹¹

In the afternoon of July 12, Pitt had an audience with the king at Richmond Lodge and unfolded his plan of campaign against "faction." They both seemed to agree remarkably.¹² On the thirteenth, Pitt notified Shelburne that negotiations were in progress and asked him to come at once to London, adding, "As yet, all stands till Lord Temple comes to town, and his answer to accept or decline the Treasury be final."¹³

Temple, summoned by the chancellor at the king's command, did not arrive in London until late Sunday night, the thirteenth. Consequently, he did not have time to see Pitt before he went to Richmond Lodge on Monday, although he had determined to leave everything in the audience *ad referendum* until he had time to talk with Pitt. Temple, however, did not see the king on the fourteenth, evidently missing him while the king was

¹¹ *Ibid.*, I, no. 346, July 11, 1766.

¹² Pitt to Lady Chatham, July 12, 1766, *Chatham Correspondence*, II, 439.

¹³ *Ibid.*, III, 12-13.

riding, and it was not until Tuesday, the fifteenth, that the king gave him an audience.

Since Temple had not troubled to be put *au fait* with the negotiations by either Pitt or Northington before his audience, he was received with coolness and reserve by the king, who doubted his good faith.¹⁴ The vain, proud, and intriguing nobleman, always jealous of Pitt, concluded immediately that he was to be the tool of Pitt and the king. The calculated intimations from the king that, although he desired to see him as First Lord of the Treasury, Pitt was to hold the monopoly of royal favor and power made Temple's position intolerable. He, accordingly, eliminated himself from the negotiation by demanding places for some of his new Bedfordite friends and a total exclusion of the Old Whigs.

At their meeting on the sixteenth, Temple declared to Pitt the impossibility of his taking part in the new ministry, and his intention of returning to Stowe the next day. It was in reaction to Temple's refusal to take office as head of the Treasury that Pitt drew up the outline printed above. The absence of Temple's name, and indeed, of any name as First Lord of the Treasury points to this conclusion. Its corollary is that the date of the document must also be before Grafton was selected to fill what Pitt must have hitherto considered as Temple's office.

The duke of Grafton, in the document above, was assigned the Admiralty, an office which Pitt must have known he wanted. Pitt saw the young duke for two hours on Saturday, July 19.

In this conference, Pitt surprised Grafton not only by offering him the Treasury but also by insisting upon his acceptance, threatening to proceed no further in the formation of the ministry if his wish were not complied with.¹⁵ This conduct of Pitt's would seem to indicate that Temple's refusal to take the Treasury had embarrassed his plans considerably. Temple's action had created an emergency for which Pitt was unprepared.

On the basis of this reasoning, Pitt composed the document between July 16, the day Temple informed Pitt it would be impossible for him to accept the Treasury, and July 19, 1766, the date Pitt literally forced Grafton into the Treasury.¹⁶

¹⁴ Calcraft to Pitt, July 15, 1766, *ibid.*, II, 445. Von Ruville is in error in placing Temple's audience on the thirteenth, and in the description of his subsequent motions until the sixteenth. See *William Pitt, Earl of Chatham* (London and New York, 1907), III, 177.

¹⁵ Grafton's *Autobiography*, ed. Sir William Anson (London, 1898), pp. 90-91.

¹⁶ It is not possible to ascertain the date that Pitt abandoned his idea of becoming Secretary of State for America. However, it was not until July 23, that Pitt told his confidential friend, Shelburne, that he was to take the privy seal. Even then, the arrangement was "in the King's intentions only." *Chatham Correspondence*, III, 14-15.

In generally dating the document three other factors are worthy of consideration. The twelve names appearing in it present a group completely in accordance with Northington's report that Pitt's plan included a refusal to proscribe the Old Whigs, and an intention to give several offices to them. Certainly, such was his plan as he explained it to the king.¹⁷

The presence of the name of Lord Rocheford is also important. Rocheford, ambassador to Spain during both the Grenville and the Rockingham administrations, may be considered at this point as politically neutral. However, his comprehensive grasp of international affairs must have pointed him out to Pitt as a possible member of the administration. It is also significant that Rocheford left Spain after a residence of almost two and a half years to return to England about May 15, 1766. As it is highly likely that Rocheford's convenient presence in England suggested to Pitt the diplomatist's inclusion in his plan, this would serve further to eliminate the three earlier approaches to Pitt as possible opportunities for drawing up the plan.

Finally, one of the most surprising features in the allotment of offices proposed in the document is that of the young and inexperienced duke of Richmond as Secretary of State. No doubt Pitt counted on Shelburne to overshadow Richmond, thereby reducing the Northern Department to almost a nominal office, as Pitt had once handled Lord Holderness.

Richmond succeeded Grafton in May, 1766. It is impossible to escape the conclusion that Richmond's possession of the office of Secretary of State for the Northern Department at the time of the negotiation suggested to Pitt his retention in that office.¹⁸

The importance of the document printed above lies, however, in the startling fact that Pitt not only considered the creation of an American Department on a full parity with the older departments of state, but also planned taking that office upon himself. Pitt was fully aware of the importance of the American problem. During the previous session of Parliament, he had been preoccupied with it. That he, even for a moment, thought

¹⁷ The king to Pitt, July 15, 1766, *ibid.*, II, 443-44. Richmond, Portland, and Coventry had held office under the Rockingham ministry. Pitt's idea seems to have been to keep the Old Whigs quiet by offering them several minor offices. "Mr. Townshend" is probably the catastrophic Charles. He had previously held the office of Secretary at War, before Grenville gave him that of Paymaster of the Forces, a place he continued to hold under Rockingham. Charles Townshend's cousin, Thomas Townshend, a consistent Pittite and the future Lord Sydney, had served in Pitt's wartime ministry in minor office. Rockingham made him a Lord of the Treasury, a position in which Pitt was now content to leave him.

¹⁸ Knowing that he was not well, yet not suspecting the rapidly declining state of his health, Pitt may have planned to lead the House of Commons himself, supported by trusted underlings and making not too frequent, well-timed appearances. In the final arrangement, however, he decided his health dictated a removal to the House of Lords. Conway then became necessary to lead the Commons, and Pitt accordingly replaced Richmond with Conway.

of becoming a third Secretary of State for America indicates his determination to effect a permanent and satisfactory settlement in Anglo-American relations.¹⁹

By July, 1766, a great crisis had been passed—the Stamp Act had been repealed—and the future appeared bright. To implement a broad and conciliatory settlement of the American problem at that time would not have been a matter of great personal difficulty for the new earl of Chatham. Supported by the united power of king and Parliament and immensely popular in America, he could have chalked out the broad lines of a settlement on true “Revolution principles.” He would have had able assistants at hand to carry out the details of any such plan while he himself acted in a supervisory and consultative capacity.

That Chatham’s physical collapse in 1767 allowed Charles Townshend, in the spring of that year, to execute a plan diametrically opposed to his American views and intentions, and this with the outward sanction, at least, of a ministry which passed under Chatham’s name,²⁰ is one of the ironies of history.

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¹⁹ The idea of a third Secretary of State for America was not new. It had been proposed before in 1751, and again in 1756. It was also mentioned in a desultory fashion by the leaders of Rockingham’s first administration as a possible means of gaining an accession of strength and stability to the government. The suggestion came to nothing and no attempt was made to carry it out. See the king to Egmont, May 18, 1766, *Correspondence of George III*, I, no. 311. See also C. W. Alvord, *The Mississippi Valley in British Politics* (Cleveland, 1917), II, chap. 1. In December, 1767, Grafton, as the head of the administration, approached Shelburne, Secretary of State for the Southern Department, in whose office colonial affairs were included, and desired to know “what were my feelings in case it was found necessary or eligible to divide my present department.” Grafton left Shelburne not much choice by declaring himself “strongly of opinion for a third Secretary for America.” Shelburne to Lady Chatham, Dec. 13, 1767, *Chatham Correspondence*, III, 293–94. Grafton’s motives, however, for desiring a third Secretary of State for America were purely political and had as their design the gaining of support from the Bedfordites, who hated Shelburne and wished him out of office. The project of erecting the new office was undertaken without reference to the incapacitated Chatham, and with no purpose of forwarding a comprehensive American plan—Chatham’s or anybody else’s. Relations between Shelburne and Grafton had steadily deteriorated to the point where Grafton would have been happy to see Shelburne resign, although he assured his colleague that there was nothing personal in his desire to divide the secretary’s office and that he hoped Shelburne would consent to take the new secretaryship for America in order to frustrate any Bedfordite hostility against the colonies. Grafton succeeded in dividing the office in January, 1768, when, in a wholesale reorganization of the cabinet, the Bedfordites were gratified in their desire for office, and Hillsborough, a member of the court party was named Secretary of State for America.

²⁰ Grafton did not consider himself as the head of the administration until Lady Chatham made it only too clear on July 31, 1767, that Chatham was suffering from a complete nervous collapse. See Grafton’s *Autobiography*, p. 155.

* * * * * *Reviews of Books* * * * * *

Custine and Russia—A Century After

A REVIEW ESSAY

I COULD have taken many pages verbatim from his [Custine's] journal and, after substituting present-day names and dates for those of a century ago, have sent them to the State Department as my own official reports.¹

This startling sentence, in the introduction to the literary apparition listed below, was written after World War II by the United States ambassador to Moscow. It sent this reviewer scurrying to the shelves of Custiniana for a check back to forgotten Russian lore. Two surprises were in store: (1) the sheer mass of materials catalogued under the name of the traveling marquis; (2) the fact that certain volumes have been gathering moss since the Crimean War. It suddenly became important to determine whether Custine (and other observers of his period) can help us know where Russia stops and Bolshevism begins.

To understand the attitude of Westerners toward Russia in the second quarter of the nineteenth century we must remember that all Europe was experiencing a hang-over from the French Revolution, and Napoleon. The dramatic impact of Western ideas on Russia was signalized by the Decembrist Revolt, 1825, largely inspired by Russian officers who had been with the armies occupying France in 1814. Russian liberals participated in this movement. There began the controversy between pro-Europe Westernizers and anti-Europe Slavophiles which was to divide the Russian thinkers down to World War I. The advent of the railway and the telegraph in the 1820's made possible a more rapid exchange of peoples and ideas between nations and helped to spread the new faith called "progress." Liberalism was on the march—to the illusions of '48. The lid was kept on the bubbling pot in central Europe by the legitimacy policies of Metternich, and in Russia by the autocracy-orthodoxy-nationalism credo of Tsar Nicolas I. The period in Russia gave rise to the paradoxical tag: "the iron age of reaction and the golden age of literature." To Europeans, however, Russia continued to be a strange darkness on the northern horizon. They resented the Byzantine exclusiveness of Muscovy, which claimed to be the "Third Rome," and they feared the expansionism inherent in the caesaropapism of the tsars (see Thomas G. Masaryk, *The Spirit of Russia*).

The marquis de Custine (born 1790) personified the feelings of the French nobility toward the Revolution. Both his father and grandfather died on the guillotine. His mother, a heroic and talented guardian, devoted her life to his welfare and education. Through her he acquired a "spiritual father," Chateau-

¹ JOURNEY FOR OUR TIME: THE JOURNALS OF THE MARQUIS DE CUSTINE. Edited and Translated by Phyllis Penn Kohler. Introduction by Lieut. General Walter Bedell Smith. (New York: Pellegrini and Cudahy. Pp. viii, 338. \$4.00.)

briand. Like many contemporaries of his class, Custine was a literary dilettante. He wrote novels, plays, poetry—without pleasing the critics. He had begun to travel as early as 1812 and eventually visited most of western Europe, including England and Scotland. It was while gaining experience as a traveler that he found his true medium: "*recit des voyages, sous forme de lettres*." His method, in "*grand rapportage à l'étranger*," was to reduce travel details to a minimum, and to give ample space to ideas and reflections inspired "on the spot" by peoples and places visited. His *Mémoires et voyages* (1830) and *Espagne sous Ferdinand VII* (1838) were well received. His reputation was thus established. When he prepared to turn east, 1839, he was a figure of some note, and a seasoned campaigner in his fiftieth year. There were in France survivors of the campaign of 1812. And a number of travel books on Russia were available (e.g., Masson, Clark, May, etc.). Whether or not Custine consulted such sources we do not know. General Bedell Smith writes: "He was thus, in a sort of reverse sense, the first of the fellow-travelers to make public confession of his disillusionment." That label would apply if Custine had actually believed in tsarism and was seeking in Russia a refuge from liberalism and representative government. One is tempted to suggest, however, that Custine was more of a professional tourist—somewhat of a Burton Holmes in a tarantass—who used travel notes as a frame for literary expression. As is the fate of tourists in Russia, his carriage was often "*kaput*." (For biographical sketch of Custine, see introduction, *Lettres inédites au marquis de La Grange, 1818-24* [Paris, 1925].)

In his *avant-propos*, Custine makes this apologia: "I went to Russia seeking arguments against representative government; I came back a partisan of constitutions." And yet he did not make any organized study of Russian institutions. The *chin*, or system of rank in state service, did capture his interest, a subject on which the Russian critics deplored his ignorance. His letters, written at night and concealed on his person (in fear of "Siberian oblivion"), do not compose into a travelogue. There are long stretches of extraneous materials, such as the chronicle of his family's tragic fate half a century before; also long illustrative recitals pertaining to Ivan IV, Peter the Great, Princess Troubetskoi, etc., as well as chapters from Karamzin, which could not have been intended for transmission through the post. The letter was Custine's medium of recording—writing to himself. At best, it is a contrived method, fashionable in the eighteenth century (e.g., Montesquieu's *Lettres persanes*). However, Custine's anecdotes, chosen mostly to deprecate the autocracy, and the sparkling epigrams native to his style, keep the reader excited and indulgent of the author's historical errors. In twelve weeks' time he covered the distance, leaving Travemünde, July 4, 1839, by boat (S.S. *Nicholas I*) to Kronstadt, by carriage from St. Petersburg to Moscow, then to Yaroslavl for the Volga trip to Nizhni Novgorod, and back by way of Vladimir. He returned overland to Berlin, passing over the Niemen, September 26, 1839, at which moment he recorded: "Finally I breathe!"

The subjects which attracted his interest are too numerous to list here; the autocracy, the church, the architecture, the prisons, the razzle-dazzle of the court, the obedience of the people, etc. His ever-present *cauchemar* was: "Russia's intent to conquer the West, and the World." He used language strangely reminiscent of the Apocalypse, and even more of Heine. Compare for instance:

One day the sleeping giant [Russia] will arouse himself and violence will put an end to speech. . . . the floodgates of the north will again be raised upon us, then we will undergo a last invasion, no longer of ignorant barbarians but of masters [Custine, cited in Kohler, p. 40].

. . . once that restraining talisman, the cross, is broken, then the smoldering ferocity of those ancient warriors [German] will again blaze up. . . . the ancient stone gods will . . . rub the dust of a thousand years from their eyes; and finally Thor, with his colossal hammer, will leap up, and with it shatter into fragments the Gothic Cathedrals [Heine, *Religion and Philosophy*, 1834].

Diligent reading of Custine's original text, and consideration of his previous interests, prompt the belief that he was primarily concerned not with politics so much as with religion. His letters to La Grange reveal his early devotion to the cause of the church. In fact, his *avant-propos* to *Russie en 1839* is a strongly worded manifest on Catholicism. He writes: "I am a Catholic, because outside the Catholic Church, Christianity alters and dies. . . . Do you believe that the Emperor of Russia would be a better visible head of the Church than the Bishop of Rome?" Here, and sprinkled through the text, we find evidence that Custine's chief concern was the Russian identification of church and state, the caesaropapism of the tsars, for which he could not conceal his abhorrence.

It would have been natural, therefore, for Custine to be attracted to any Russians of the pro-Catholic tendency who came his way. And, as a matter of record, two of the personages about whom he makes the most mystery were of that school. Not much sleuthing was required to establish the identity of each.

The first was "Prince K," fellow passenger on the S.S. *Nicholas I*, who briefed Custine with brilliant frankness. Some of the prince's remarks may be said to set the tone for the remainder of the book, e.g.:

Russia today is scarcely four hundred years removed from the invasion of the barbarians, whereas the West was subjected to the same crisis fourteen centuries ago. A civilization a thousand years older puts an immeasurable distance between the morals of nations. . . .

. . . Since the invasion of the Mongolians the Slavs, until that time one of the freest peoples of the world, have become slaves—first of the conquerors and afterwards of their own princes.

. . . I am going to give you a key that will serve to explain everything in the country you are entering. Think at every step you take in this land of Asiatic people that the influence of chivalry and Catholicism has been missed by the Russians [Kohler, pp. 35-37].

Any Western student with a grasp of Russian history could have made such remarks, perhaps substituting for the words "chivalry and Catholicism" the likewise significant phases which Russia missed, "Renaissance and Reformation." One commentator of the time (Milnes) assumed that "Prince K" was a "graceful invention." Not the least interesting aspect is the preservation of the anonymity of "Prince K" in all subsequent editions of Custine, including the present Kohler translations, as well as in the numerous commentaries in Russian which appeared during the following half century. For instance, in 1891, N. K. Schil'der, the biographer of Alexander I and Nicholas I, introduced excerpts from Custine in *Russkaya Starina* with this: "On the steamer Custine became acquainted with a certain Russian Prince K." And in 1906, Professor E. V. Tarle referred to him as "old Russian Prince K, retired diplomat." Struve believes that Tarle did not know the identity of "Prince K." (Gleb Struve, *Russkii Evropeets, Knyaz P. B. Kozlovskii* [San Francisco, 1950], p. 136.)

This continued anonymity is interesting considering the fact that "Prince K" was publicly identified as Prince P. B. Kozlovskii, as early as 1846 in a laudatory volume entitled *Fürst Kosloffsky*, by Dr. Wilhelm Durow, Leipzig, which contains the celebrated conversation on S.S. *Nicholas I*. Far from being anonymous, Prince Kozlovskii was a conspicuous adornment of the era; an erudite diplomat in the service of the tsar; a littérateur and intimate friend of the masters; and the toast of the salons of Europe because of his gay wit and trenchant conversation. He became a secret convert to Catholicism while visiting Rome in 1803. His conversation with Custine was reported to the Russian police at Kronstadt (see below). He did not live to see what Custine did with it, however, as he died in Germany in 1840. His daughter thereafter received a pension from Tsar Nicholas I—one of the many contradictions to baffle the West.

The other mysterious personage who had an important, albeit less direct, influence on Custine was Piotr Chaadayev, who was not a communicant but an eminent apologist for Catholicism. Custine refers to him (Kohler, pp. 336-37) anonymously as a man who "dared to state that the Catholic religion is more conducive to the development of the mind . . . than the Byzantine-Russian religion." Chaadayev was one of the most original thinkers of the time. His *Lettres sur la philosophie de l'histoire* had circulated amongst Russian liberals for several years in manuscript form. The first letter was finally published in Russian, in the *Telescope*, 1836. As a result the editor (N. I. Nadezhdin) was exiled. Chaadayev was declared a madman, and put under house arrest and medical supervision for one year. He took advantage of the time to write his famous tract, *Apologie d'un fou*. Custine considered Chaadayev a "martyr of the truth," and implies that Chaadayev did actually become insane because of the treatment given him. But we find Chaadayev writing vociferously in the 1840's, on the same subjects as before. His central doctrine was acceptance by Russia of religious unity with the West as the key to political unity. Russia's troubles, he

wrote, derived from her long separation from other civilized nations. The only hope, he maintained, was to accept the pope of Rome as the symbol of unity, and thus end Russia's exclusion from Europe's common life. He thus differed from both the Westernizers and the Slavophiles, having a purely religious focus. One is inclined to place Custine in this school. (See Chaadayev, *Sochineniya* [1910]; L. P. Gargarin, *Oeuvres choisies de Pierre Tchadaïef* [Paris, 1862]; Eugene A. Moskoff, *The Russian Philosopher Chaadayev: His Ideas and His Epoch* [New York, 1937]; also, Gleb Struve, *Russkii Evropeets*, especially Section XIII, on Kozlovskii, Custine, Chaadayev, which contains the most complete list of Custiniana.)

Space permits but brief reference to the Custiniana available in the Slavic collections of the Library of Congress and Harvard University. Custine's original text (Paris, 1843) consisted of four volumes, containing thirty-six letters, in nearly one half million words. Five editions appeared within sixteen years, indicating the sensational interest aroused by the controversies which ensued. English and German texts paralleled the French. An American edition, one large volume, was put out by Appleton in 1854 to meet a demand created by the Crimean War.

The commentators of the time were as much given to extravagant phrasing as was Custine. Gossip had it that Balzac, who visited Russia in 1843, was commissioned by the tsarist government to refute his countryman. It was also thought that Balzac himself started that rumor. Nothing came of it.

One of the first critiques in English was an urbane essay in the *Edinburgh Review*, 1844, in which the reviewer (R. Monckton Milnes) declared Custine to be a colossal egoist, whose "work is not a picture of Russia in 1839 but a portrait of the author, with a Muscovite background."

The fiercest polemic came from the pen of a fellow passenger on the S.S. *Nicholas I*, whom Custine distrusted as a phony liberal, "a sort of Russian scholar, a grammarian" (Kohler, p. 47). This was none other than N. Gretsck, an editor, a fervent monarchist, and apologist for the Russian government. It was he who reported the Prince Kozlovskii-Custine conversation to the Russian police. His verdict on Custine's book, which he sought to demolish page by page was: "*un tissu d'erreurs, d'inexactitudes . . . de mensonges, de calomnies et d'injures, en recompense de l'hospitalité.*" His master thrust: ". . . scratch a marquis, the Jacobin shows through." (See N. Gretsck, *Examen de l'ouvrage de M. le marquis de Custine, intitulé La Russie en 1839* [Brussels, 1844].)

Another propagandist attack was made by K. K. Labenskii, secretary in the Russian mission, Paris. His critique was better tempered, and notable for a defense of Peter the Great and for rehearsal of unsavory elements in French history to match the black pages of Russian history recalled by Custine. (See K. K. Labenskii, *A Russian's Reply to the Marquis de Custine's Russie en 1839*, English translation [London, 1844].)

The remark which went the rounds of the salons in St. Petersburg and

Moscow came from the pen of V. A. Zhukovski, poet, tutor of Alexander II, and translator of the classics, who referred to the traveling marquis as "that dog, Custine."

A natural defender of Custine was Alexander Herzen (then exiled to Viatka), who sharply disagreed with Gretsche's harsh critique and wrote of Custine's volumes: "Without doubt this is the most significant and intelligent book written about Russia by a foreigner," which are the words quoted as announcing the Soviet edition, 1930.

Custine's work was forbidden in Russia for nearly half a century. One wonders how so many Russians got around to reading it. The inescapable conclusion is that the foreign editions circulated from hand to hand. Certainly, writers of many sorts made reference to Custine in their memoirs, etc. The first appearance of Custine in Russian was the series of excerpts published in *Russkaya Starina*, 1886, 1891-92. The full text was finally printed in Russian in 1910.

The post-Revolution revival began with the Soviet abridged edition of 1930. As General Bedell Smith points out, it took the Soviet government a few years to sense the analogy between the despotisms of 1839 and 1930; the book was later withdrawn. No copy of this edition seems to be available here.

The revival in France took the form of an abridged edition entitled: *Lettres de Russie* (Paris, 1946). The editor's long introduction to this edition is extremely useful, especially in regard to Custine as a personage in French literature.

Finally comes the present volume, the first abridgment in English, a most welcome stimulus to reassessment of our ideas about Russia via the Custine medium.

In appraising Custine, one over-all observation must be made. His four volumes contain more "facts" and ideas than could possibly have been picked up in three months of sojourn and slow carriage travel. Moreover, the police was ubiquitous, as now. One concludes that the author worked off ideas which had been maturing in his mind, and used "facts" garnered from unnamed sources outside as well as inside Russia. General Bedell Smith reminds us that the great masters of Russian literature and art were still to come, and had not yet made their imprint on Russian thought. While this observation is true, it should be noted that Griboyedev's great comedy and satire on Russian society, *The Mischief of Being Clever*, was printed in 1833. Gogol's *Revizor* (*The Inspector General*) was playing to packed theaters from 1836 on. The luster of Pushkin, who met a violent death in 1837, already shone in the East. And Lermontov was actually in residence in St. Petersburg during Custine's visit. The portents of historic change were in the air; they must have eluded Custine. He seemed well briefed to expect the pretense of the Potemkin-village aspect of Russian life, but not the seedbed of Russian intellectualism from which grew the emancipation of the serfs two decades later. His one-lens view was as much part of the European attitude as was the fear of the "Colossus of the North."

Despite the inadequacy of this approach, we would do well to re-examine

Custine for the historical clues which may throw light on three major questions of compelling interest today: Russia's role between East and West; the permanent significance of religion; and the "acceptance" by the Russian people of despotism.

In respect to the first, the dominant historical fact is this: Russia was easternized at an early date, having been Christianized from Byzance, and occupied by the Mongols for 250 years. It might be that the vast Eurasian plain, unbroken by significant physical barriers, is condemned by nature to be perpetually unfree. Given these facts of history and geography, it is folly to expect the Russian people or their rulers to act in a Western manner. Time and space have made Russia something in between, and astride both, East and West. Amongst those who took an apocalyptic view of tsarist Russia was the eminent Pole, Joseph Conrad (Korzeniowski), who wrote after the Russo-Japanese War, 1905:

The Russian autocracy as we see it now is a thing apart. . . . That despotism has neither an European nor an Oriental parentage. It is like a curse from Heaven . . . lying dumbly on the confines of two continents: a true desert harbouring no Spirit either of the East or of the West [Conrad, "Autocracy and War," in *Notes on Life and Letters*].

One of the world's most pressing tasks for the next half century may well be the modernization of Asia. In this, the geographical *diktat* is that Russia be a bridge, learning in the West, teaching in the East. But since 1945, the areas of the old Eastern marches of Christendom have become transformed and serve as the Western marches of Bolshevism. It remains to be revealed whether Asia will be the end of the bridge, or the *place d'armes* for total war against the West.

In regard to the second, the religious issue of 1839 centered on the long and continued effort on the part of the West to bring about a reconciliation between Catholicism and Eastern Orthodoxy, after a separation of eight centuries. In 1951, the issue is the abyss between Christianity as a whole and atheism. As the Russian Revolution deepens into totalitarian inhumanity, the thesis of Chaadayev (shared in by Kozlovskii, Custine, and others) may prove of more than academic interest; that is, restoration of religious collaboration, if not actual unity, must precede any political integration of Europe. The West itself is sadly in need of self-purification. Should that come, then it is not unlikely that re-evangelization of the Russian people will become one of the most earnest projects of a chastened West in the decades to come.

And lastly the third question, the "acceptance" by the Russian people of despotism, whether tsarist or Bolshevik. It would be more correct to say the Russians seem to want strong leadership. They do revolt, however, given opportunity. Is it possible that Custine made as sound an analysis of tsarist autocracy as his countryman and contemporary, de Tocqueville, did of American democracy? De Tocqueville is a valid text for schoolbooks today. Is Custine? Naturally, there are common denominators peculiar to despotism of all ages. But the dissimilarities between the government of 1839 and that of 1951 are also impres-

sively vast, and prompt this reviewer to query the analogy suggested between Custine and the authors of "The God That Failed." Custine, the ardent Catholic, directed the force of his anathema against the caesaropapism which was basic to the autocracy-orthodoxy-nationalism creed and the central doctrine by which the ruler ruled. His visit to Russia but reinforced his intolerance of the regime. The revolutionists of the 1920's, on the other hand, directed their anathema against the capitalism of their home lands. They flocked to Moscow in search of doctrine to fit their aversions. In time, their refuge became a prison; disillusionment followed. Therefore, it is not sound history to correlate Custine, whose zeal was in the realm of religion, with revolutionists who eventually flipped off the Moscow train, and thus were twice renegade. Moreover there is an implication in the publisher's jacket blurb which might allow our less-informed people to assume that Bolshevism is tsarism continued (albeit in an atheist cloak). That would be misleading, and even dangerous. In all history there is no genuine precedent for Bolshevism, the essence of which is use of ideology and secret police for conquest. Expansion is by paralysis of other nations' will to resist. For peoples who have undergone such paralysis (e.g., those of the Baltic states) there might seem to be a precedent for Bolshevism not in history but in fable—the head of Medusa, a monster *sui generis*, endowed with power, even when severed from her body, to turn the beholder into stone. The unhappy Medusa, victim of Olympian wrath, was finally slain (and thus released from her torment) by a courageous man who used for vision the bright mirror of his shield; for weapon, a sword; and for mobility, the winged horse.

Finally, we must offer thanks to Mrs. Kohler and General Bedell Smith for so happily reintroducing Custine to English readers. They show us a new and profitable way to test our concepts about Russia. Their volume might even ignite a popular zest for reading Russian history! It is here suggested that a follow-up task will be to *préciser* Custine, e.g., to chart those of his deductions which are of permanent value, and which, therefore, could help us to know where Russia stops and Bolshevism begins. It is likewise suggested that the special flavor of Custine can be brought out by reproducing the views of some of his contemporaries on the subject of Russia under Nicholas I. For instance, there was Richard Cobden, England's great statesman and father of free trade.

Cobden's *England, France, Russia, and Turkey*, appeared in its fifth London edition in 1835. A French edition was immediately printed in Paris and was therefore available to Custine. In 1836, Cobden's *Russia* was published in Edinburgh, as by "A Manchester Manufacturer." The masthead of this brochure is "A Cure for the Russo-Phobia." The contents are divided into "I. Russia, Turkey, and England," "II. Poland, Russia, and England," "III. The Balance of Power," "IV. Protection of Commerce." Here, also, is invaluable material for present-day interpretation of the line between Russia and Bolshevism. This little masterpiece was reproduced as a volume of 156 pages (Boston, 1854) with the more comprehensive title, *Russia and the Eastern Question*. The first essay, "Russia, Turkey,

and England," was reprinted as a single pamphlet (London, 1876) indicating a continuing value. Cobden seemed to have a firm grasp of the dictates of strategy in eastern Europe long before the geopoliticians.

Although a staunch liberal, Cobden evidently did not share Custine's alarm over Russia. He found as much to condone, as to deplore. We find Cobden making a five-week tour of Russia in the summer of 1847, visiting some of the same places as Custine (St. Petersburg, Moscow, Nizhni Novgorod), but moving on a much higher level of officialdom and making somewhat happier deductions. He was, it is true, given the red carpet treatment. But, according to John Morley, Cobden returned from fourteen months of European travel, including the five weeks in Russia, with "such a conspectus and cosmorama of Europe in his mind as was possessed by no other statesman in the country." (See Morley, *Life of Cobden* [1881] for excerpts from Cobden's diary of the Russian tour.)

Since Elizabethan times there has been an apostolic succession of "explainers" of Russia; some almost seem to have gone to Muscovy for the purpose of being baffled. It might be that the continuity presumed between tsarism and Bolshevism, is, in the final test, a continuity in the attitude of Western intellectuals. There is also continuity in the Russianism of the people. For instance, Russians, whether old or new, seem not averse to be considered an enigma, a mystery, etc. One clue to that trait can be read between the lines of the following free translation of Tiutchev (1866), and is here offered also as a guide in appraising Custine:

Umom Rossii na poniat',
Arshinom obshim na izmerit',
U nei osobennaia stat'—
V Rossiu možno tol'ko verit'.

By the mind Russia is not comprehended,
Nor with a simple yardstick measured,
She has a nature which is peculiar—
Russia can be taken only on faith.

Harvard University

BRUCE HOPPER

General History

JACOB BURCKHARDT, EINE BIOGRAPHIE. Band II: DAS ERLEBNIS DER GESCHICHTLICHEN WELT. By *Werner Kaegi*. (Basel: Benno Schwabe. 1950. Pp. xxiii, 586.)

THE second volume of Professor Kaegi's great biography deals with seven decisive years in Burckhardt's life (1839-46) as a student in Germany and as a young professor and journalist in Basel. Like the first volume, published in 1947, it is a model of scholarship, with more than 1,500 notes. The author exhaustively presents and analyzes every aspect of Burckhardt's personal development against the background of the times. Thus the biography, while centered on Burckhardt,

becomes at the same time a cultural history of the years preceding the upheavals of the late forties. Professor Kaegi has made use of much unknown and unpublished material, especially from Burckhardt's notes and manuscripts in the generally inaccessible parts of the Burckhardt archives, and of the forthcoming edition of his letters by Dr. Max Burckhardt. Extensive quotations present the most striking passages of these hitherto little-known documents and give a lively picture of Burckhardt's vivacity and versatility, and their detailed analysis illustrates the gradual growth of the humanist and scholar who in the next stage of his life was to produce the *Constantine*, the *Cicerone*, the *Civilization of the Renaissance*, and the *Reflections on World History*. We read also specimens of his considerable poetic talent, and the thirty full-page reproductions of his drawings of landscapes and architecture bear witness to his artistic abilities. The book is a result and a reflection of the growing interest in Burckhardt inspired by the present crisis, many aspects of which he foresaw; it could have been written only by a scholar rooted in the Burckhardtian tradition centered in Basel and *Alteuropa*.

The four years in Germany, treated in the first half of the book, completed the foundations of Burckhardt's character as a scholar and as a man. Although he disliked Berlin, and in his South-German liberal conservatism remained a stranger to the Prussian mind and state, he was permanently impressed by the spirit of the university and his great teachers: Kugler, Droysen, Boeckh, Grimm, Stahl, and especially Ranke. While he had not much respect for Ranke's character, he soon became the master's most successful student, and all his work was to bear the imprint of Ranke's scholarly methods, his art of narrative, and his idea of Western civilization as grounded in the interpenetration of Latin and Germanic traditions. Among Burckhardt's contacts outside the university circles was Bettina von Arnim, a link both to the world of Goethe and to contemporary German liberalism. He was also eager and able to make friends among his fellow students. The happiness and exuberance of this period shine through his words, letters, and poems. Experience had not yet estranged him from the liberalism of his friends, and his boundless enthusiasm for Germany gave him the proud feeling that, as a German Swiss, he was culturally a member of the German community and tradition. This attitude was confirmed by the semester at Bonn, the heyday of his youthful years. He became a close friend to the Kinkels, and Welcker was among his teachers. The Rhineland opened his eyes to a world different from both Basel and Berlin. The medieval atmosphere of his surroundings contributed to the completion of his first historical works, *Karl Martell* and *Konrad von Hochstaden*. His visits to Flanders and Paris further supplemented his German impressions and deepened his interests in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. In Paris Burckhardt was concerned not only with the Louvre, the Bibliothèque Nationale, and St. Denis, but also with the political and social issues of modern France.

The return to Basel ended the romantic period in Burckhardt's life, although,

as Professor Kaegi shows, some romantic elements of his character survived under the surface of his increasingly classical mind. After a difficult time of readjustment, his integration with his home city took two forms: teaching at the university and participating in the political struggle as the editor of the *Basler Zeitung*. The increasing violence manifested by the radicals under the name of liberalism—on the occasion of the federal *Schützenfest* in Basel in 1844 and in the fight against the rights of the conservative Catholic cantons—taught him a lesson he never forgot. It was this experience which made the friend of the German liberals skeptical of the specious catchwords of the century and opened his eyes to the rising tide of mass emotionalism and totalitarian demagoguery. His unusual capacity for work appeared at the same time in his activities as a university professor and lecturer. Medieval history remained one of his major interests. Professor Kaegi's numerous quotations from Burckhardt's lecture manuscripts on the Middle Ages underscore the desirability of a complete publication of all his notes on this period so dear to him—a publication which would take the place of a book on medieval civilization he never wrote, although he discussed many of its phases in courses, lectures, and research papers. Among his further concerns were the age of the Counter Reformation and early Swiss history. His other great contribution was his courses, lectures, and publications on art history, with equal emphasis on its cultural and its technical aspects. There were no slides to illustrate his lectures—he had to rely on the descriptive power of words. Besides research papers on St. Gall and St. Denis, he wrote many articles for Brockhaus' *Encyclopaedia*, some of them little masterpieces. The supreme realization of the classical ideal he found in Raphael. He felt it, too, in the masters of the Catholic and Latin baroque: Rubens, Murillo, and Claude Lorrain. Rembrandt remained a stranger to him, but he did appreciate the Flemish and German masters and he was among the rediscoverers of Grünewald's genius.

The growing political and social unrest and the ominous forebodings of the industrial age, in addition to his own inner unrest, convinced Burckhardt that he was not yet ready to settle permanently in Basel; in 1846 he left for Rome, like Goethe sixty years before, in order to find the confirmation of his plans and ideals through the intimate contact with the ageless and unshakable center of Western civilization.

Kansas Wesleyan University

FELIX M. WASSERMANN

LIFE OF JULIUS CAESAR SCALIGER (1484-1558). By *Vernon Hall, Jr.*, Professor of Comparative Literature, Dartmouth College. [Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, New Series, Volume XL, Part 2.] (Philadelphia: the Society. 1950. Pp. 85-170. \$1.50.)

THE distinguished Italian physician who settled in or around 1525 in Agen

and became a naturalized French citizen in 1528 under the name of Julius Caesar de Lescalle de Bordoms is well known to historians of literature and of learning as Julius Caesar Scaliger, the father of the celebrated Joseph Justus Scaliger, and himself a noted scholar. He wrote Latin poems and letters after the humanist fashion, defended Cicero against Erasmus, composed commentaries on Hippocrates, Aristotle, and Theophrastus, published a bulky and important work on natural philosophy against Cardan, and left a treatise on poetics that influenced writers and critics for several centuries. Professor Hall has given us the first comprehensive and sympathetic biography of this significant Renaissance figure, based on Scaliger's own writings, on the learned literature dealing with him, on the manuscript notes of the late Mark Pattison in Oxford, on the documents preserved in the archives of Agen, and finally on a collection of papers of the Scaliger family that is now in the possession of the American Philosophical Society, which has quite appropriately undertaken to publish this valuable study in its *Transactions*. In a detailed and lively fashion, all the known facts of Scaliger's life from his arrival in Agen to his death are reported, his relations to his contemporaries and to the intellectual currents of his time are adequately discussed, and the content and merits of his writings are amply characterized, with occasional translations of well-selected passages. An appendix tells of the vicissitudes of the Scaliger family papers, and at the end there is a good bibliography and an index.

To the bibliography might have been added the various studies of Karl Borinski, who in his confused but informative manner has a good deal to say on the content and influence of Scaliger's *Poetics* (*Die Poetik der Renaissance und die Anfänge der litterarischen Kritik in Deutschland* [Berlin, 1886]; *Die Antike in Poetik und Kunsttheorie*, 2 vols. [Leipzig, 1914-24]). In citing one of Scaliger's original manuscripts (p. 120), Mr. Hall might have indicated its shelf mark. But these are minor details. The only major point on which I am inclined to disagree with Mr. Hall concerns his treatment of Scaliger's life before his arrival in Agen.

This point is connected with a famous controversy. Scaliger himself in scattered passages of his writings, and his son Joseph in a special work, had made the claim that he descended from the Scaliger family which had ruled Verona, whereas shortly before Joseph's death these claims were attacked by Gaspar Scioppius, who tried to prove that Scaliger actually was of low birth and came from a family called Bordoni. Mr. Hall, who has examined all relevant writings and who knows that the Bordoni theory has been held by most recent scholars, tends to dismiss it because Scioppius wrote long after Scaliger's death and makes a number of false statements, and because Scaliger's claim was apparently accepted by several contemporaries or at least remained unchallenged during his lifetime. Mr. Hall admits that there remain reasons for doubt and that "no final word can be said on the matter unless new documents come to light" (p. 87), but after

these reservations he tentatively repeats the account of his early life as given by Scaliger and his son. On the basis of my limited knowledge of the matter, this is not a satisfactory procedure. The "Bordoni theory" does not rest on the assertions of Scioppius and other late and unreliable sources. Scholars such as Maffei, Zeno, and Tiraboschi rest their case on the fact that the account given by Scaliger and his son is on several points in clear contradiction with known historical and geographical facts, and can at no point be confirmed by external or documentary evidence. The existence of his alleged grandfather, father, and mother is unknown to any genealogist. No record has been found of the military achievements Scaliger claims for his father and himself, of his connections with the courts of the emperor Maximilian and of the dukes of Ferrara, or of his university studies at Bologna. His alleged teacher Fra Giocondo, whom he calls a Franciscan, was actually a Dominican. The professors whom Scaliger in the preface of his work against Cardan lists as his teachers, presumably at Bologna (cf. pp. 89 and 146) either never taught at Bologna (Zimarra and Niphus), or not at the same time (Tiberius de Bacilériis left in 1512, whereas Lud. Boccadefferris began only in 1515). On the other hand, one contemporary (Bart. Ricci, cf. p. 89) wrote a letter to Scaliger recalling having met him in Venice around 1521. Another contemporary, Lilius Gregorius Gyraldus, speaks of "*Julius Scaliger qui prius Burdonis cognomine fuit*," and Tommasini reports that the father of one of his own friends had known Scaliger as Julius Bordonius Patavinus. Zeno and Tiraboschi also found an epigram by "Giulio Bordone medico padovano" printed in 1515, and a vernacular version of Plutarch by "Giulio Bordone da Padova" printed in Venice in 1525. And the name Bordone appears even in the French naturalization paper and was admitted by Scaliger and his son, though they tried to give a different explanation of it. Hence I am inclined to conclude that the real identity of Scaliger cannot be proved, but that his own account is highly unconvincing and partly impossible. Family background counted more in France than it did in Italy at the time, and Scaliger married into the French nobility and had to defend the interests of his children. He may even have believed his own story, or have come to believe it. Scholarly achievement and integrity of personal character are not always combined, and unscrupulous vanity and ambition were not uncommon in the Renaissance. Whatever our judgment of Scaliger's character, however, his standing as a writer, scholar, and thinker rests on his works and will in any case be untouched by the outcome.

Aside from this notoriously involved and controversial problem to which he intentionally gives but little space and emphasis, Mr. Hall has accomplished his task as a biographer admirably well, and students of the Renaissance should be grateful to him for having given them at last a full and documented account of the later life and of the works of Julius Caesar Scaliger.

THE POLITICAL COLLAPSE OF EUROPE. By *Hajo Holborn*, Yale University. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1951. Pp. xi, 207, index. Library ed. \$2.50; text \$1.85.)

PROFESSOR Holborn in a bibliographical note describes his book of historical interpretation as "a determined attempt to condense the events of the international political history of modern Europe to the essentials," and he has selected and compressed what appear to him to be these essentials into 190 pages of readable text.

The book recounts the rise and fall of "Historic Europe," whose fullest political development he finds in the balance of power and the concert of Europe founded on the Congress of Vienna. Almost the entire book is devoted to the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. A brief introductory chapter of ten pages devoted to "Historic Europe and the Rise of Russia" suffices to trace in broad strokes the characteristics of western European civilization and to demonstrate that, although Russia became one of the great powers in the European political system, she remained culturally divided from Europe, essentially Eurasian in character, utilizing "Western ideas and institutions merely as a means for the strengthening of its absolute power" and for her own expansion and conquest. The author in his subsequent treatment of the nineteenth century finds evidence of this in Russia's intervention in central Europe in 1849-50 and suggests that "there is more than a superficial connection between the present-day Russian anti-liberal intervention and that of the Czars."

The author's treatment of the nineteenth century in general follows well-established patterns of historical interpretation in emphasizing the additional strains on the European system created by intensified nationalism, the development of industrial capitalism, and imperialism. Modern capitalism to a great extent "reaffirmed the historical pattern of Europe," and gave to national military organization and planning ominous weight which limited the freedom of action of diplomats, at the same time that the European powers acquired world-wide interests. Though trade rivalries and colonial competition did not of themselves lead to war, they added to the "acerbity of international relations," and they provided a virtual guarantee that any future war, however exclusively European in origin, would become world-wide in character. The international crisis of 1905 (Russo-Japanese War, Morocco, etc.), though it did not lead to war, offered a preview as the "first 'global' crisis in the sense that the course of events in Europe, Asia and America was determined by the interaction of the three continents."

This was the beginning of a system of world powers which was to absorb all continental or regional political systems, as became clear in the course of two world wars, both of which were European in origin. The first of these wars demonstrated that the European political system was no longer viable but depended on overseas support for survival, and Hitler's attack on the Soviet Union

and declaration of war against the United States made non-European powers a second time arbiters of Europe's fate.

The author's criticism of American policy failures in both periods, which he attributes in some degree to a mistaken notion that a European system as such could be re-established, is well sustained, but in the absence of complete evidence for the recent period, one may question his judgment that "it is possible, that Anglo-American policy vis-a-vis the Soviet Union could have been more courageous in exploring Russian post-war intentions and the possibilities of preliminary agreements on basic questions of a new political order." In reviewing the postwar fate of such agreements as were reached, it is legitimate to doubt whether additional agreements would have fared better. The author concludes that what is left of the European system may be preserved from absorption by the Soviet Union by its merger in the Atlantic system, and that though the western European states must unify their policies more closely for defense and prosperity, complete merger is neither necessary, nor desirable, because Britain could not be fitted into such a union, and the other states may still preserve their diversified institutions and manners, "which constitute her [Europe's] historical heritage, still precious in an age of mass civilization."

This is certainly the best book published on so vast a subject in so brief a compass. For anyone who wishes to probe more deeply, it provides an excellent introduction to the profound, and much more extensive, book by Raymond Aron, *Les Guerres en Chaîne*, published in 1951 in France. The bibliographical note does not pretend to be exhaustive, but is designed to be both suggestive and critical for the use of general reader and scholar alike. There is an adequate index.

Paris, France

PAUL BIRDSALL

THE UNITED STATES AND FRANCE. By *Donald C. McKay*. [American Foreign Policy Library.] (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1951. Pp. xvii, 334. \$4.00.)

DESPITE their common heritage of freedom and nearly 175 years of historical association, the peoples of France and the United States have generally found it difficult to understand each other. Today mutual knowledge and appreciation are essential if the two nations are to play their respective parts in the Atlantic Community. Professor McKay's splendid volume provides just the information which the discriminating American needs for the comprehension of contemporary France. The book is essentially a study of the French Republic since 1940 and only secondarily a work in Franco-American relations.

The volume opens with excellent analyses of the land, the people, and the government. The author's comments on basic French institutions are wise and penetrating. The section on the class structure, for instance, is a brilliant interpretation of present-day French society. Those not students of French affairs will note with surprise that despite the nationalization of industry just after the war

"the influence of the *haute bourgeoisie* in France is once again growing" (p. 35).

After a swift review and interpretation of Franco-American relations from colonial days to 1939, Professor McKay turns to the French defeat of 1940 and devotes approximately two thirds of the volume to the past decade. He moves through this period of despair, valor, hope, disillusionment, recovery, and reviving leadership with sure grasp of the facts and with the objectivity of the historian in assessing events of his own time. His discussion of economic problems is admirable, and the description of the political parties is an excellent guide through a forest in which most Americans, even of the college and university world, are perpetually lost. It is unfortunate that the book appeared almost simultaneously with the national election of June, 1951, and that the party statistics and voting procedures discussed are those of 1946. These are the only respects, however, in which the volume is not as up-to-date as is possible for a study of current affairs.

Professor McKay's discussion of France overseas will be for many the most enlightening and useful part of his book. "To those sensitive to the great qualities of the French as a people," he writes, "analysis of their colonial policy is an ungrateful task." Nevertheless, he has given in twenty-eight pages a magnificent interpretation of the revolutionary changes in the far-flung areas of the French Union. It would be of vast benefit to our relations with Asia if the thirteen pages on Indochina could be read by every American.

The concluding chapter treats French and American foreign policy since the war, showing how the two nations have modified their policies toward Germany, Russia, and each other. While France in these years has been "at times more a victim of international politics than a positive agent in their direction" (p. 246), "imaginative leadership [such as the Schuman plan] in the international field may well prove one effective avenue for the recapture of French influence in the world" (p. 256). The author ends with an analysis of America's competence for world leadership and with the belief we can withstand Soviet power in western Europe if the United States and her Atlantic allies act with speed and intelligence.

The two appendixes, "Some Vital Facts about France," and "Suggested Readings," should not be overlooked. The first includes twenty pages of tables and statistics affording the most complete and interesting data on France to be found in English. The topics covered range from population figures of many sorts, to the press, university enrollments, industry, agriculture, foreign trade, and war losses. With only occasional exceptions the suggested readings are limited to works in English likely to be available in most city libraries.

Pomona College

E. WILSON LYON

A SHORT HISTORY OF WORLD WAR I. Compiled by Brigadier-General Sir *James E. Edmonds*, Director of the Historical Section (Military Branch) of the Committee of Imperial Defence and of the Cabinet Office 1919-1949. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1951. Pp. xxxiv, 454. \$7.00.)

GENERAL Edmonds, who became director of the historical section of the Committee of Imperial Defense in 1919, had editorial responsibility for the compilation of the British official history of World War I. He wrote twelve of the volumes devoted to operations on the western front. In order to preserve a balanced view of the war while working on these volumes, General Edmonds prepared a short summary of the war on all fronts which was the basis for the present work.

As a feat of condensation this book is a remarkable one, but as the end product of thirty years of study and thought on the war period it is something of a disappointment. There are more hard facts and figures in this account than in any other single-volume history of World War I. Yet the pattern which emerges from these facts and figures is essentially a noncritical one. British military leadership is almost invariably presented as "sound," political leadership as shoddy. The French are frequently shown to be lagging in joint military enterprises. The weather is shown to have favored the enemy throughout a four-year period of struggle in all but five or six references out of thirty. Very little mention is made of the over-all superiority of the Allies over the Central Powers in terms of military manpower, industrial capacity, agricultural output, and sea power. The war is pictured as primarily a struggle between ground forces, with Germany possessing the advantage of a truly professional army at the outset. In General Edmonds' mind the problem of defeating the Central Powers was simply one of canceling out the advantages Germany possessed in a professional army by means of mutual slaughter. Thus he accepts the loss of 600,000 Allied troops at the Somme in 1916 as a necessary step toward the destruction of the professional core of the German armies. Of the Somme battles General Edmonds writes: "When opposing forces are nearly equally balanced and there is no way around, attrition, as Grant had shown in 1864-65, may be the cheapest way in the end; to plan for victories without heavy losses in such a case usually produces heavy losses without victories."

The victory against Germany and her allies is thus shown to be a matter of casualties. In contrast to the opinions of other writers General Edmonds believes (p. 438) that in wars between civilized states numbers are generally decisive and casualties are about equal. He strengthens his conclusions in these matters by doubling the casualties reported in the German official history on the ground that deaths from sickness, lightly wounded troops, and those treated in corps area hospitals were not included in German casualty lists. A study of German regimental histories and the *Ehrenliste* published in the *Militärwochenblatt* led him to believe that German death casualties in World War I were over four million rather than two million.

General Edmonds does not share the view held by many that the proper answer to trenches, machine-guns, and barbed wire, which ruled out movement and surprise from 1915 to 1918, was to be found in new weapons like the tank,

the origin of which he does not even mention. He feels that the reason why the Germans and the Allies both failed to achieve a decisive breakthrough of the entrenched positions in the West was that the problem was treated like one of field warfare when it was in fact a problem of siege warfare. He believes (p. 77) that the Japanese, who opened parallels and approaches in the old style of siege warfare at Kiao-chau in September, 1914, knew what they were doing. He allows himself to be critical of the German high command for wasting the surprise value of gas in 1915 for a local advantage but condones the British high command's similar misuse of the tank. The device General Edmonds employs to explain British lack of success in various operations is to give a summary of shortages of equipment or lack of replacements, followed by the refrain: "It was the old, old story of the British army being called upon to undertake a great task with wholly inadequate means." He does not remind his readers that in most of the operations referred to the military leaders themselves thought that success was possible *before* the operation was undertaken.

There are a number of errors in this volume which could have been caught by an alert proofreader. General Edmonds has the Archduke Francis Ferdinand of Austria assassinated on two different dates (pp. 2, 16). He has the outbreak of the Russian Revolution occurring in April, 1917 (p. 205), but also in March (p. 207). It is a little surprising in a book published in 1951 to find the Germans beginning financial mobilization for war at the Potsdam Crown Council on July 5, 1914. General Edmonds repeats the ancient cliché about the Germans referring to the B.E.F. as the "contemptible little British army."

In one field General Edmonds renders his readers a valuable service. He makes crystal clear the enormous cost of Britain's campaigns waged outside the main theater in France. He also traces with great skill the relation and effect of campaigns being waged in one theater upon those in another. Air and naval operations are generally dealt with separately from ground operations, in sub-chapters or summary paragraphs. There are thirty-four maps and an excellent index.

University of Missouri

H. A. DEWEERD

ISLAM: BELIEF AND PRACTICES. By *A. S. Tritton*, Late Professor of Arabic at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London. [Hutchinson's University Library, World Religions.] (New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1951. Pp. 200. Trade \$2.00, text \$1.60.)

THIS new addition to Hutchinson's University Library attempts to describe and explain Islam for the general reading public. It is not necessarily for scholars of Islam. It includes within the scope of its chapters the fundamental aspects of Islam which are necessary to an understanding of that religion, and of the political and philosophical systems that have grown out of it.

The author begins with Mohammed and the Koran, showing the religious unrest that was prevalent in Arabia when he assumed the prophetic mission. Then he outlines the six personal responsibilities of each Moslem: faith, prayer, almsgiving, fasting, pilgrimage, and holy war. The next three chapters discuss theology, philosophy, and law, explaining the methods used in collecting Hadith, and the use they were put to in erecting the legal system, Sharia. There is a chapter devoted to many of the sects into which Islam has split; another to mysticism which has played such an important role among both orthodox and heretical sects; and another which shows how the theocratic theories of Islam have functioned in the practice of government. The ninth chapter is a disproportionately long one which catalogues certain aspects of social life and some of the popular ideas of present-day Islam, including ethics, marriage, adoption, slavery, saints, sacrifice, magic, and dreams. The last chapter is concerned with modern movements within Islam which seek to change a system which for centuries seemed to be inalterably fixed.

It is regrettable that the author has performed only one half of his duty in such a book about Islam. Though he has provided enough material for the reader to acquire the general background of Islam, he fails to explain the material presented or to integrate it. For instance, he has not analyzed, sufficiently, the philosophy behind the growth of Hadith or the Sharia, and it would be difficult to determine from his work the relative importance of one sect over another, or their relationship to orthodox Islam. Professor Tritton's work has no footnotes, but he has provided a bibliography and a useful glossary.

Perhaps these failures are explained, in part, by the deficiencies of his style. He has a habit of making terse statements about important tenets of Islam and then explaining them by quoting an anecdote, in the manner of an Arab writer of the Middle Ages. In general, matters of importance and trivia receive similar treatment, and are not defined in terms of their historical development or of their relationship to Islam generally. Furthermore this extravagant use of anecdote consumes space, which, in so short a book, is needed for more important matters. It is regrettable that these elements break the continuity of the work and make the reading of it very trying.

Yale University

EDWARD S. CHASE, JR.

THE STRUGGLE FOR THE MEDITERRANEAN, 1939-1945. By Raymond de Belot, Rear Admiral, French Navy (ret.). Translated by James A. Field, Jr. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1951. Pp. xix, 287. \$4.00.)

WHILE this small volume, first published in France under the title *La guerre aéronavale en Méditerranée, 1939-1945*, is not intended to be a detailed or definitive account of all military operations in the area, it is a brilliant analysis of these operations with major emphasis on the naval struggle. Admiral de Belot knows

the Mediterranean and appreciates its importance. He has used French accounts and most of the published works in English and Italian to produce an important book. The translator and the publisher are to be congratulated for making this work available to more readers.

The major contribution is an analysis of the weaknesses and mistakes of the Axis powers. Developments in France hastened the implementation of Mussolini's prior decision to enter the war. Italy came into the war "profoundly disturbed in conscience" and with all her hopes placed in a short war. The speed with which she declared war caused the loss of about a third of her widely dispersed merchant marine. Italy did not have the industrial base for the role she attempted to play. She was never able to produce more than 250 planes in a month. She was an economic burden to her German ally. Her army was not ready for war. Proper co-ordination between the navy and the air force was never achieved. The air force started the war with no torpedo planes and with little attention to dive bombing. The navy had no carriers and lacked radar. There were also some technical defects in Italian ships. "The Italian high command maintained too rigid a control over the lower echelons." There was no strategic plan. Mussolini dispersed his strength outside the Mediterranean and did not concentrate his remaining strength on the most important Mediterranean objectives. His failure to gain control of French North Africa in the armistice with France and his failures to seize Malta and Alexandria were blunders. Relations between the navy and the air force became very bad as a result of the battle of Punta Stilo in which Italian airmen bombed their own ships for several hours. After such defeats as Taranto and Matapan there was increasing caution on the part of naval leaders. Fuel shortages and the necessity of using Italian warships to get supplies to Libya also weakened the striking power of the Italian fleet. Italian heavy ships did not intervene during the British evacuation of Greece and Crete.

Although Italian failures brought Germany into the Mediterranean theater, effective teamwork was never established between the two nations. German operations were largely defensive. First importance was given to other areas. In 1941 and 1942 Germany could have driven the British from Suez but each time she weakened her air strength in order to bolster the Russian front. The Germans should have taken Gibraltar and Malta at an early date. Not until the fall of 1941 were German submarines sent to the Mediterranean.

Admiral de Belot praises British operations except for the Mers el Kébir encounter with French ships. The British regarded the Mediterranean as "the preferred area in which to counterattack a power seeking to dominate Europe." Unlike the Italians, the British masked their weakness by greater activity. The Takoradi airway greatly aided them in holding a strong position in the Mediterranean. The resolution to contest the mastery of the central Mediterranean was one of the great decisions of the war. Malta's defense probably saved the Mediterranean.

The last two sections of the book give a good summary of the Allied landings in Africa, the invasion of Italy, and the landings in southern France. After the Normandy landings General Maitland Wilson, the Allied commander in chief in the Mediterranean, advocated an advance into the Po valley, landings in the Istrian peninsula, and a push through the Ljubljana gap into Hungary in preference to the landings in southern France. Eisenhower felt that all resources should be devoted to the battle of France.

Admiral de Belot does not mention the role which armed merchant ships played in defeating Axis air power in the Mediterranean. An incorrect date is given in the last paragraph on page 8.

Colgate University

WILLIAM C. ASKEW

Ancient and Medieval History

A HISTORY OF AUTOBIOGRAPHY IN ANTIQUITY. In two volumes. By *Georg Misch*, Professor of Philosophy at Göttingen University. Translated by *E. W. Dickes*. (3d ed.; Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1951. Pp. xii, 352; vi, 353-706. \$8.50.)

THIS interesting but difficult work is not so much a history of autobiography—there was little of it in antiquity—as a consideration of the contribution of antiquity to the “growth in Western civilization of man’s awareness of personality” (I, vii). Hence also other forms of literature are considered. At the beginning of one chapter we are told that “attention will be focused on the relations of the idea of personality to the ultimate problems of life as revealed in the philosophic meditation, the criticism of society, and the religious impulses that found their way into literature” (p. 355). Moreover, as background there are given characterizations of the culture and philosophy of the times. When it is added that several ancient works are analyzed rather fully, it becomes easy to account for the length of the two volumes.

The present edition is a translation and expanded version of a work which first appeared in German in 1907. The English version, which was prepared while the author was an exile from his country, has been used as basis for the third German edition, which actually was published before the English. The two are considerably longer than the original edition, the most important addition being a detailed discussion of Plato’s autobiographical *Seventh Letter*. Otherwise much remains the same. The style is rather heavy, and there are some infelicities due to the difficulty of rendering in English something which has been formulated in another language. The author, who became professor of philosophy at Göttingen in 1919, is a sufficiently good classical scholar to have an independent judgment on problems considered. Thus, while many scholars regard Plato’s *Seventh Letter* as genuine, Misch states that he himself does not.

The manner in which the image of a caged bird already used in the *Phaedrus* (249 d) is reused in the *Seventh Letter* (348 a) is unworthy of Plato; the letter is rather the work of a disciple (pp. 149 f., 155). The argument is hardly convincing in itself, but it shows a laudable independence of judgment. On the other hand, there are statements which suggest that, outside his special interests, the author's knowledge of classical culture is superficial. Thus, the statement that the boy in Vergil's fourth eclogue was the expected son of Octavian and Scribonia (p. 268) treats with excessive dogmatism one of the most controversial points in history.

The object of autobiography is defined by Misch as "the revelation of the full content of the life of an individual considered as a characteristic whole" (p. 65). These words immediately suggest a difficulty. In spite of all the emphasis on personality, the individual must not be too individual but is important only as a "characteristic whole." It is as if he were a particular embodiment of a Platonic idea or form. This approach to the subject means that Misch actually is afraid of too much intimacy with the persons considered and objects not only to excessive details but to many details which others would consider significant. Details are valued only if they have a bearing on his special interest, the awareness of personality. This found its highest expression in antiquity in Augustine's *Confessions*, a work which in a sense corresponds to the psychological novel in modern literature (p. 542).

Consequently it is not surprising to find emphasis on psychological analysis and religious thought and particularly on accounts of conversion. Greek culture is credited with discovering and freeing human personality (p. 6r), though "the full reality of the unique life of the soul was not revealed to the ancients" (p. 66). The beginning of the discovery belongs to post-Homeric Greece with Hesiod, Sappho, Archilochus, Solon, etc. Here justice is not done to the ebullient egoism of the early Greek aristocrats of the kind probably best illustrated by Herodotus' story (6. 127-29) of the suitor of Agariste who almost won the bride but by the exhibitionism and bad taste of his dancing disgusted the girl's father. When the latter exclaimed "Son of Teisander, you have danced away your wedding," the suitor answered, "Hippocleides doesn't care," and danced on. Obviously personality as such does not interest Misch as much as conscious and self-conscious analysis of psychological evolution and conversion in biography and autobiography. He barely mentions Sappho and seems to pass over Anacreon and Theognis altogether but is interested in Solon and even more so in Empedocles, on account of the "self-portrayal of the religious teacher" in his *Purifications* (p. 83), and in the autobiographical narratives in Plato's *Phaedo* and *Apology*, on account of their relation to conversion.

The author's methods and points of view are well illustrated by his discussion of Cicero's letters (pp. 357-71). In these "we have before us a sort of intimate diary in which a famous man, a historic personality of the highest order, gives us

a revelation of himself, free from all artificiality" (p. 360). It is this self-revelation which interests Misch, though he finds that Cicero did not evaluate his own personality correctly. "His soul had been filled by the national history with an ideal of personality that associated the true greatness to which he aspired with statesmanship, and at the same time with simple moral firmness of character. . . . Thus he based his self-esteem on an illusion, so that it turned into vainglory, and the inner freedom of an independent mind which he really possessed was not appreciated by him as what it was, the fulfillment of his individual existence" (p. 364). This is an acute remark, and it is followed by excellent appreciations of Cicero's statements concerning his emotions and points of view. These include his efforts "to sustain his moral consciousness" (p. 366) and particularly to live up to the standards of his consulate. "To be true to himself, or, as he also expresses it, *se tueri*, to watch himself, remains his standard, dictating matters of conscience, which he places before himself and answers not with 'yes' or 'no' but according to the political situation of the time" (p. 367).

Here, incidentally, is an example of the difficulty of translating. The last clause quoted, which contradicts what has gone just before, must startle the attentive reader. Does Misch really mean this? Apparently not. The German version has "nicht *nur* [*italics mine*] mit einem Ja oder Nein"; the omission of any English equivalent of *nur* has stultified the meaning. The author did not mean to accuse Cicero of abandoning his standards completely but merely of stretching them a bit.

Thus Misch has made excellent use of Cicero's letters and is grateful for their self-revelation. He also praises Cicero's ability to make thumbnail sketches of personages and situations. Nevertheless, he goes out of his way to warn against precisely the kind of material which Cicero's letters contain. He speaks of "unfruitful intimacy" and the danger of knowing too much. Cicero's correspondence has given us so many intimate details "that in his case the process could set in that gives access to the character by way of trivialities and, if sufficient material could be got together, would degrade most men to the common level and allow only a few to stand out from their age as great figures" (pp. 359 f.). Yet, in spite of this, "the editors, with all their lack of respect, must be thanked for the preservation of these letters. For Cicero had more to offer than mere stuff for the curious" (p. 360). What use Misch has made of this "more" has already been noticed; the other material which historians seize upon avidly is "stuff for the curious." When he writes: "Cornelius Nepos . . . is able to tell us that in them [the letters] a true history of those days is to be found, with all the changes in the State and with the secret views and secret vices of the leading persons, all made entirely clear and manifest with acuteness, or, rather, with a prophetic gift" (p. 370), this statement is meant not as an appreciation but as a criticism of Nepos.

But does not his own work refute the general point of view of Misch? How

can one study personality and individuality if one ignores particulars? In the case of Cicero's letters, Misch does not do this but makes use of those particulars which apply to his own investigation. The rest, however, he condemns, not stopping to realize that in them may be found the solution of many another problem. To illustrate, the discussion of Roman agrarian legislation by the great Mommsen is faulty in part because he overlooked a reference in a letter to the use of lot in assigning land to veterans (cf. my brief discussion, *Classical Philology*, XXV [1930], 279). The point of view of Misch can find some excuse in the use made of details by those who allow them to obscure the larger issues. Thus, Cicero's revelations of his weaknesses have caused many to overlook his better qualities, but surely here the fault is not with the material but with the interpreters. Yet there is an even more fundamental point at issue. It is felt that too much intimacy and the realization that the great possess weaknesses detract from their greatness. Therefore, Misch is glad that he need not consider Plato's *Seventh Letter* as genuine, for then "we have no need to allow our conception of Plato as a man to be lowered by this letter attributed to him" (p. 154).

It is necessary to protest against this point of view on several grounds. In the first place, a historian should never be afraid to face the evidence; if the greatness of a supposedly great man vanishes when the details of his life become known, it will have to go. In the second place, acquaintance with the redeeming weaknesses and vices of the great should not destroy their greatness but, as it were, bring them closer to us and make us appreciate better their real value. In the third place, a study of personality and of awareness of personality should be based on the observation of individuals as they really are and not, so to speak, divorced from reality. Certainly, there are those who, like some interpreters of Cicero, become too absorbed in details and scandal, but Misch himself has shown that this is not necessary.

Professor Misch, to conclude, has produced a work of considerable acumen of interest primarily for its theories and philosophy rather than for its contribution to the study of history. Yet, even those historians who feel that the individual cannot be studied with complete success by one who regards him primarily as a "characteristic whole," will find much that is stimulating and valuable.

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J. A. O. LARSEN

THE VEDIC AGE. By R. C. Majumdar, general editor, and A. D. Pusalkar, assistant editor. [The Bhāratiya Itihāsa Samiti's History and Culture of the Indian People, Volume I.] (London: George Allen and Unwin; New York: Macmillan Company. 1951. Pp. 565. \$8.00.)

THIS is the first book of a history of India being compiled in Bombay by the Bhāratiya Itihāsa Samiti (Indian Historical Association) and to be completed in ten volumes. Of the introductory chapters to this volume those on the nature,

sources, and geographical background of Indian history are written by the general editor of the series, R. C. Majumdar. I particularly recommend the first, for I have seldom seen so well expressed both the value that may be derived from a scientific study of Indian history and the danger which prejudices, on the one side Indian and on the other Western, oppose to this type of study.

The long introductory section of this volume also contains outlines of Indian archaeology, geology, flora, and fauna. The remainder of the book is given over to prehistory (*ca.* 60 pages) and to the Vedic period (*ca.* 300 pages).

In making a general estimate of *The Vedic Age* it is natural to compare it with the first volume of the *Cambridge History of India*, now almost thirty years old. The present work has two noticeable advantages. First, the material is treated in greater detail than in the older work and more emphasis is laid on cultural history, for example on religion and philosophy. Second, it can and usually does make use of the increase in knowledge that has been won in the last three decades. In some fields this increase is very considerable. As an example one may cite the archaeological work on the Indus Valley civilization, the results of which are surveyed in chapters III, VII, and IX. On the other hand, the bibliographies, with the exception of that on chapter IX, are more "selective" and less useful than one might have hoped. Again, although most of the contributions to the new history are well done, there is more than one chapter which falls below the standard of the older work. By way of justifying these remarks let me refer to the work of three contributors only.

The work of B. K. Ghosh impressed me more and more favorably as I read the book. His chapters on language are comprehensive, well-annotated, and seem to this reviewer basically sound. His contributions on Vedic literature will prove valuable to laymen and specialists alike. Especially praiseworthy are his translations, which remain as literal as possible (how rarely one can say this of translations from the Veda!) and yet are capable, as in the great earth hymn or the prayer for concord from the Atharvaveda (pp. 410-12), of giving the reader a sense of the literary power of the original.

V. M. Apte deals with a wide range of subjects: political and legal institutions, religion and philosophy, social and economic conditions. His chapters on these subjects are divided according to period: Rigvedic, the later Samhitās, and the age of the Upanishads and Sūtras. I find him best on the latest period, his own special field, where he gives a useful summary of known facts to which he has added more than one discovery of his own. But his chapter XIX is disappointing. Many pages of it are simply a cento drawn from Heinrich Zimmer's *Altindisches Leben*. Much of Zimmer's work, although it is now seventy years old, is still valid, but the method of borrowing produces a jerky effect and one has a right to expect fresher fare. Disappointing also is the fact that none of this borrowing is acknowledged.

Of A. D. Pusalkar's chapter on "Traditional History from the Earliest Time

to the Accession of Parīkshit" I cannot refrain from the strongest censure. The general editor warns us (p. 27) that traditional history "must not be confused with history proper." But no such doubt besets the author of the chapter himself. He accepts the Puranic statement that Parīkshit was born 1,015 years before the accession of Mahāpadma Nanda (ca. 382 B.C.). Since legend has Parīkshit born the year the Bhārata War ended, Pusalkar derives the date 1397 B.C. for the end of the Bhārata War (p. 269). Traveling back from here he accepts ninety-five Puranic generations before coming to the reign of Manu Vaivasvata (the Indian Noah). Taking one generation to equal eighteen years (Pargiter's figure, which Pusalkar has expressly disregarded for the period between Parīkshit and Mahāpadma) he arrives at 3110 B.C. for the rule of Manu. "This date, viz. 3110 B.C., curiously enough, approaches 3102 B.C. which has been taken as the beginning of the hypothetical Kali age for astronomical calculations. There is no doubt that the date 3102 B.C. signifies some important and epoch-making event in the traditional history of India" (p. 269). We are not long kept in suspense; the epoch-making event soon turns out to be the mundane flood (p. 270). Kings of the Puranic dynasties are dated accordingly: Yayāti 3010 B.C., Mandhātṛ 2740 B.C., and so on. Presumably it is such a travesty of logic that leads Pusalkar elsewhere (p. 194) to find it "not unlikely that the Rigveda represents an earlier phase of the culture found in the Indus valley," thus pushing back the date of the Rigveda to the fourth millennium, that is, at least 1,500 years beyond what is warranted by the evidence of both language and archaeology. The clearest evidence is that offered by a comparison of war chariots as they appear in the Rigveda with representations from Asia Minor, Egypt, and the Aegean. The war-car with spoked wheels drawn by horses first appears in Mesopotamia early in the second millennium before Christ. It reaches the Aegean and Egypt about 1500 B.C. The Vedic type, as Stuart Piggott has shown comprehensively in his *Prehistoric India*, parallels the Aegean or even later types down to the most minute details (e.g., single felly, lashing of the pole to the yoke, etc.).

For the sake of brevity I have passed over many chapters without criticism. Yet they deserve praise, for they have helped to make *The Vedic Age* a valuable compilation despite its few serious faults. One hopes that the future volumes of the series may live up to the best parts, for they are very good, of this initial effort.

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DANIEL H. H. INGALLS

EXCAVATIONS AT GÖZLÜ KULE, TARSUS. Volume I, THE HELLENISTIC AND ROMAN PERIODS. Edited by Hetty Goldman. [A Publication of the Institute for Advanced Study.] (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1950. Bound in 2 parts: pp. 420, text; 276 plates. \$36.00 per set.)

THE importance and interest of Tarsus of Cilicia from early times until the end of the Roman Empire needs no emphasis. It rested upon a rare combination

of strategic position, fertile territory, and connections by land and sea. In addition, in Roman times scholars and teachers added luster to its name, and Saint Paul immortalized it with his phrase, "a citizen of no mean city." Yet Tarsus and the important region which it led has had little scientific archaeological study and excavation. Professor Goldman and her able group of assistants made an excellent beginning when they chose Gözlü Kule, a mound on the periphery of the classical city, as the site of their excavation. Their purpose was primarily to illuminate the prehistoric and early historic ages of the city, and a number of preliminary reports have made known their success, but in the course of their work they uncovered a series of Roman and Hellenistic strata and found a wide range of objects of no slight archaeological value. These are now published in the form of a final report in the large volumes of text and plates here under discussion.

In form and content these volumes represent everything that the final report of a carefully conducted excavation ought to be. The various chapters have been written by well-qualified specialists in each field. Professor Goldman, who had charge of the excavation as a whole, discusses the building periods, the stratification and the chronology, and wrote the chapter on the terra cotta figurines, and, in collaboration with Miss Frances Follin Jones, also the one on the lamps. Miss D. H. Cox publishes the coins, Miss Virginia Grace the amphora stamps, and Professor A. E. Raubitschek the inscriptions. Carefully prepared tables describe the plans of the buildings and the stratigraphical context of each object. In each of the chapters an analytical introduction is followed by a full descriptive catalogue of the finds, while the volume of plates provides an unusually large body of illustrations, particularly of the amphora stamps, the coins, and the figurines. Every effort has been made to give others the means of testing description and analysis at each point.

The structural remains contribute little to our knowledge of ancient building. They are important in connection with the other finds in establishing the stratigraphic divisions; and even the most elaborate find among them, the pebble mosaic, gives evidence of poor workmanship. What is most striking is the absence of signs of habitation on the site during the Persian period. Even Persian coins are absent. The coins begin with a single bronze of Philip II. They consist almost entirely of bronze and furnish a good representative series of the bronze coinage up to Herennius Etruscus in 251 A.D. Dr. Cox has added a useful survey of the bronze coinage as a whole. Here one point may be remarked. On page 61 it is stated that the title metropolis first "appears on the coins of Tarsus in the reign of Hadrian." (On the last line of page 47 "from" should be read for "to.") This is surprising because the literary evidence suggests that Tarsus acquired the title under Augustus (Strabo 14.5.13; Dio Chrys. 34.7-8). And what should be said about the bronze coin with the head of Augustus and the title metropolis (mentioned in Mionnet 3.624, no. 419), or the silver one with the name, portrait, and titles of Domitian, and the title metropolis and the monogram of Tarsus (British

Museum Catalogue, Cilicia 186, no. 144). Besides the absence of silver coins it is also noticeable that coins of other cities are rare and belong mostly to the region of Tarsus.

The series of lamps has independent value, for although they correspond most closely to the Antiochene series they show the development of a local industry in a little-known region. The pottery provides also its local variants, and a large part of the finds were of local manufacture, even though a great proportion of the known Hellenistic and Roman types are represented. Probably the most striking group is the lead-glazed ware, which flourished briefly in northern Syria and Cilicia before it was brought to the west. Miss Jones has suggested in an earlier study that this was perhaps the ware that Atticus wanted Cicero to send him when he asked for *Rhosica vasa*. In general the wares illustrate the interaction of outside influences and local manufacture in a comparatively poor quarter of Tarsus. The terra cotta figurines tend to reinforce the impression given by the pottery. There are a few pieces of high quality, but workmanship was uneven, manufacture was largely local, and outside influences came in through the makers of molds. The inscriptions are few, fragmentary, and mostly late.

The excavators have published their finds and published them well. It was not a part of their task to speculate upon the historical problems that emerge. Yet there are points that deserve mention. Did the city, which is described as opulent when Alexander came, actually shrink in size or change its site during the Persian period? Or was it merely a matter of chance that the site of Gözlü Kule remained uninhabited then? No certain answer appears. The prevalence of Rhodian amphora stamps not only is proof of Rhodian trade but helps to explain the political interest Rhodes showed in this region when in 188 she attempted to detach Soli from the empire of Antiochus the Great. Moreover, the aspect of Tarsus which these excavations have revealed has some importance for social history. There were no fine public buildings on Gözlü Kule, nor was it a good residential quarter. The simple dwellings, the workshops (the remains of a foundry and of a pottery were excavated), the rarity of silver coins and of the coins of other cities, the large amount of cheap pottery, and the nature of the inscriptions, all indicate that the finds are the remains of the homes and workshops of a poorer part of the population of Tarsus. It happens that Tarsus is one of the few cities in the ancient world in which the lower classes figure in the literary tradition. Termed "linen-weavers" because of the dominant industry, they were keeping the city in turmoil at the time when Dio Chrysostom came to Tarsus. His solution was to urge the Tarsians to abolish the fee of five hundred denarii for citizenship and allow their poorer neighbors to participate in the political life of the city. These excavations have, I believe, supplemented our literary tradition by showing us something of the material remains of life and work among the "linen-weavers" of Tarsus.

CITY-STATE AND WORLD STATE IN GREEK AND ROMAN POLITICAL THEORY UNTIL AUGUSTUS. By *Mason Hammond*. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1951. Pp. x, 217. \$4.00.)

For the general reader Hammond's study may be summarized as a discussion first of the rise of an orthodox political theory, built about the ancient city-state and expressed by Plato and Aristotle; and secondly of the conflict of this theory with the actual emergence of the Hellenistic monarchies and the Roman Empire. His central theme, which has its bearing on the conflict of modern nationalism and One World, is the argument that the ancient world was intellectually unable "to escape from a dominant concept and to find a theoretical basis for the world state which had in practice become the necessary form of political organization." The Roman Empire, as a result, was "a government imposed from above and divorced from the governed."

For the student of political theory this work may be recommended as one resting firmly on classical scholarship but designed to be generally read. Though the author is not concerned with political history, he sketches the background against which political theory operated.

The orthodox political theory, in Hammond's terms, called for the organization of men in small states where all citizens participated directly, and in which monarchic, aristocratic, and democratic elements were judiciously mixed; in this system the aristocratic element should predominate. The federal leagues of the Hellenistic Age produced no significant theory, and the factually dominant monarchies received inadequate theoretical justification.

On the Oriental aspects of this justification the strain represented by pseudo-Aristeas might have been noted; and one may have considerable reserve on the argument (from Kaerst) that the Stoics endorsed kingship. Hellenistic monarchies had a repressive effect on the freedom of the individual; as exponents of the essential freedom of the inner man the early Stoics can be argued to have "thought little of kingship as a form of government," as Tarn (*Alexander*, II, 424 ff.) asserts flatly on a different line of reasoning. Consideration of this aspect might lead us to understand why political theorists refused to abandon the orthodox political theory or to direct their minds to justifying Hellenistic autocracy.

More than half the book is devoted to the Roman Republic and the attempts of Polybius and Cicero to analyze the Roman constitution; both the limitations and the contributions of Cicero are carefully discussed. Hammond argues ingeniously, but not convincingly in my judgment, that Augustus was directly indebted to Cicero. Since the book, originally delivered as the Lowell Lectures, must be brief, Hammond does not go into the empire itself. One may note, however, that the theoretical justification of monarchy had interesting developments in this period, and the ideal of a common citizenship in the empire became conscious. In many ways the system of Diocletian and Constantine provided the final ancient answer to the problem of organizing and justifying a world-state, in which the

cities became merely units of local administration. The Germanic kingdoms of later times looked back not to city-state theory but to a system in which large areas were governed by one man with an echeloned bureaucracy.

The bibliography, though brief, is good; notes and index are also present.

University of Illinois

CHESTER G. STARR, JR.

ROMAN POLITICS, 220-150 B.C. By *H. H. Scullard*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1951. Pp. xvi, 325. \$6.00.)

THIS is a difficult but important book dealing with an equally difficult and important subject. The stream of Roman politics from the beginning of the Second to the eve of the Third Punic War is muddy and tortuous, and only an experienced navigator should attempt this dangerous stretch. Scullard, who has devoted virtually all of his scholarly life to this period, is one of the few persons fully qualified to discuss it.

Although historical analogies are sometimes misleading, it seems admissible to make, as Scullard does, a comparison between the Rome of 220-150 B.C. and the England of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries when political power gradually passed from the aristocracy to a somewhat wider group in which "birth and connexion" were keys to public office. On the other hand, it is also essential to remember that in Cato's lifetime Roman politics was dominated not by parties, but by factions. These factions were based on the family and the clan; their size depended upon alliances, marital or otherwise, between families and clans and the extent of the personal obligations of outsiders to the central group. This point Scullard drives home since his whole reconstruction of the political history of the period depends upon it.

Scullard reasons that the political ascendancy of any faction may be gauged by its success at the polls in any given year, sometimes by the sheer number of its representatives elected to the major offices. Thus, in 194 B.C., to cite a conspicuous example, the Scipionic group was definitely in the saddle: Africanus was consul, and his colleague was Ti. Sempronius, "whose father had been consul with his father in 218." Of the six praetors, three were Cornelii and two others (Sex. Digitius and Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus) had been intimately associated with Africanus. Factional strength is not always so obvious, but Scullard is able to provide a very plausible reconstruction of the struggles of the Fabians, Aemilians, and Claudians which led to the formation of the groups which he calls Aemilian-Scipionic, Fulvian-Claudian, Servilian-Claudian, Postumian, Popillian, and so on. It is inevitable that lack of evidence on occasion encourages him to unprofitable conjecture, but in most instances he resists the temptation to speculate.

In addition to the fourteen chapters and an epilogue which make up the body of the text, there are four appendixes, entitled (I) "Sources for Senatorial

Politics," (II) "Notes on Cato's Speeches," (III) "Notes, Political and Personal," and (IV) "The Trials of the Scipios." Of these, the second appendix is perhaps most noteworthy. The book ends with lists of consuls and censors, praetors, and several genealogical tables.

There can be no doubt that this is a study of fundamental and permanent importance, one of the most significant contributions to the history of the Roman Republic to be made in recent years.

University of Minnesota

TOM B. JONES

CICERO: THE SECRETS OF HIS CORRESPONDENCE. Two volumes. By *Jérôme Carcopino*. English translation by E. O. Lorimer. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1951. Pp. vii, 275; vi, 279-596. \$7.50.)

THE eminent historian, Jérôme Carcopino, well known for his novel and ingenious solutions of historical problems, has surpassed himself in these volumes. The problem concerns the publication of perhaps the most remarkable collection of letters that the Western world possesses today, the correspondence of Cicero. When and under what conditions were these letters, and particularly the intimate correspondence with Cicero's friend Atticus, made known to the Roman public? Professor Carcopino tries to show that the letters were published in 34-32 B.C. as propaganda—perhaps the masterpiece of propaganda of all time—for the man who proscribed Cicero, Octavian, the future emperor Augustus. Octavian's agents in the selection and editing of the letters are identified as Atticus, who had become Octavian's close friend, and Cicero's son Marcus, whom Octavian had pardoned and honored.

In a detailed analysis of the letters Carcopino tries to show that Atticus and Marcus, under Octavian's tutelage, selected and expurgated the letters in order to strip Cicero in his private life "of every rag of respectability" (p. 42), to show up his vacillations, his duplicity, and his cowardice in public life, to whitewash Caesar and Octavian, and to blacken their enemies. Many reviewers of the French original, which came out in 1947, have pointed out the manner in which Professor Carcopino, in expounding his views, has made his own omissions, as well as his own emendations and interpretations. This reviewer, who sees much in the letters that Carcopino does not see and who considers them a revelation of the virtues as well as the faults of a significant and an essentially lovable individual, refrains from going over the ground again. But it is perhaps worth noting that the average Roman, without Carcopino's ingenious explanations, might have found it hard to see how the letters clear Caesar of the rumor that he was the father of Brutus (pp. 349 ff.) and of Cleopatra's son known as Caesarion (pp. 313 ff.). If that was what Atticus wanted to prove, why didn't he alter the text to make the situation clearer? It is curious that the villain Carcopino makes of Atticus never stoops to outright falsification.

There are, moreover, strong objections to Carcopino's hypothetical reconstruction of the circumstances under which the letters were published. Atticus certainly did keep and in large part arrange the most valuable part of the collection, Cicero's confidential letters to him. This correspondence was still unknown to the public when, about 35-34 B.C., Cornelius Nepos, in his life of Atticus, mentioned the rolls of the letters in Atticus' possession and commented on the historical importance of the collection. Carcopino, who, with a technique borrowed from the detective story, saves this well-known statement to spring it on the reader at the end of the second volume (p. 495), holds that Nepos was writing an advance notice, a "blurb," to rouse interest in the forthcoming publication. But Nepos' additional statement that Cicero in his letters showed ability to divine the future would not have been suitable for the edition that Atticus is supposed to have produced.

Furthermore, Carcopino fails to mention the fact that, while most of the correspondence with Atticus is in chronological order, the letters are unsorted in two places in the collection—in the first eleven letters of Book I and in much of Books XII and XIII, a series of short missives of 46-45 B.C. As Carcopino repeatedly points out, Atticus was a careful scholar. He would have published nothing until his task as editor was finished. The confusion in the correspondence is, to my mind, conclusive proof that these letters were still unpublished when Atticus died in 32 B.C.

As for the letters to Cicero's friends, there is no evidence whatever for the role of the younger Marcus as editor. Carcopino does not appear to realize that in antiquity the sixteen books that we have circulated separately and not as a collection. His theory of a first edition which Marcus had to suppress because Octavian objected to it would, I think, have been abandoned if he had considered carefully all the citations from Cicero's letters in ancient sources, and if he had read Wallace M. Lindsay's work on Nonius Marcellus, the glossographer who quotes from the lost letters to Octavian.

Yet there is much of permanent value in these volumes. Carcopino has argued, to my mind convincingly, against the generally accepted view that the letters to Atticus were not published until the reign of Nero (pp. 19-32), and he has provided support for the belief that some, if not all, of the letters were published as propaganda for Octavian. The private correspondence with Atticus has in it much that is damaging to Cicero's reputation, and I believe that for that reason it was brought out soon after Atticus' death. The letters would have been readily available, for Atticus' only child was the wife of Octavian's chief general and minister, Marcus Agrippa (pp. 464 ff.). Octavian himself may have published the correspondence of Cicero with him, for the fragments of these lost letters reveal pitiable episodes from Cicero's last days, which would have provided justification for Octavian. Books X, XI, and XII of the letters to Cicero's friends may also have been brought out in Octavian's interest, for they contain letters

which reflect on the reputation of Marcus Lepidus, with whom Octavian broke in 36, and of C. Asinius Pollio and T. Munatius Plancus, two men who were closely associated with Mark Antony. Plancus did not leave Antony for Octavian until some time in the year 32, and I agree with Carcopino that these three books may have been published before that date.

The author seems not to have revised his work for the English version, and he evidently did not read the proof. Otherwise he would certainly have caught the recurring misprint *comitia*, the reference to Pompey's consulship instead of Cicero's (p. 11), the description of Caesar's great-niece Octavia as Caesar's "other daughter" (p. 206), the translation of *aristocrates* by "patricians" (p. 312), and the confusion between the *De oratore* and the *Orator* (pp. 340, 479). The translator had to make his own versions from the Latin, and it is no reflection on their accuracy to say that they support Carcopino's interpretations less successfully than the skillful translations in the French text. The problem of English style was difficult, and the result is nothing like so consistent as the vivid style of the French original. This reviewer, who sat up most of the night to read the French text, doubts whether either the specialist or the general reader will find the English version as enthralling.

Bryn Mawr College

LILY ROSS TAYLOR

DE L'UNITÉ À LA DIVISION DE L'EMPIRE ROMAIN, 395-410: ESSAI SUR LE GOUVERNEMENT IMPÉRIAL. By E. Demougeot. (Paris: Librairie d'Amérique et d'Orient. 1951. Pp. xv, 618. \$5.30.)

THIS work of great erudition is to be welcomed as another in the long and steadily growing list of historical works on the early Middle Ages, more specifically the period of the end of antiquity and the beginning of a new way of life in what had been the Western Roman Empire. In the reviewer's opinion the tremendous interest shown in this period and in the problems in which it abounds, chiefly by Continental and British writers, and the importance and solidity of their works in the last quarter of a century mark this era as one of the liveliest and most fertile in historical research today. The names of the scholars who have contributed to this great accumulation of historical learning read like a special page from some *Who's Who* of international historical scholarship—Pirenne, Rostovtzeff, Dopsch, Baynes, Lot, Laistner, Cessi, Mickwitz, Sanchez-Albornoz, Courcelle, Piganiol, Moss, Calmette, Halphen, Schmidt, Marrou, to name but a few. It seems not unlikely that before long a complete roster will include the name of Demougeot.

In her preface Mlle. Demougeot sets forth the view that historical studies of brief periods strictly delimited in chronology have a special value denied to large general works or to studies of one or another aspect of civilization, such as literature or religion, or the biographies of outstanding men of affairs. Short periods of

great importance can be isolated and studied systematically with full attention to established facts. Such a period occurs in the years following the death of the emperor Theodosius I. The year 395 may be considered a turning point in the history of the later empire, for the *partitio imperii* was to be permanent. Early in the fifth century the year 410 is another turning point, for Alaric's capture of Rome marked the beginning of the barbarization of the West. How the separation of East and West came about in the fifteen-year interval is the theme Mlle. Demougeot develops in her detailed study.

Part II, two thirds of the whole, is devoted to "Events and Men between 395 and 410" and it is truly a period "rich in deeds and ideas" (p. xv). Much attention naturally is given to Stilicho's friendly policy in respect of the barbarians, the attempts to hold East and West together, and the antibarbarian movement among Roman "nationalists" that led to Stilicho's execution. Alaric's capture of the city of Rome is retold and it is noteworthy here that the author rejects the view propagated by St. Augustine and Orosius that the Visigoths did relatively little damage in their three days of mastery (pp. 471-77). To the general student of history doubtless the most interesting aspect of this essay will be the careful comparison of East and West at the beginning and end of the period. Mlle. Demougeot grants in Part I of her book that, in 395, the similarity was not always so great as it appears; though unity was preserved, the West was weakening. By 410, considered in Part III, the contrast is inescapable; whereas the East remained strong and prosperous, the deterioration of the West was far advanced.

The book is intended primarily for specialists and the author has consulted recent studies of all kinds, including the American learned journals, with extraordinary thoroughness. There will inevitably be some skepticism about placing the turning point of so vast a historical development in so brief a period. Were not the power and prosperity of the West by 395 much less real even than the author admits? And if a specific date for a significant internal change has to be fixed, it would be difficult to find a better one than 330, when Constantine, the first Christian emperor, moved his capital to the new Rome and named it after himself. The great problem, however, remains the difference in the status of East and West and the historical reasons therefor. Mlle. Demougeot has contributed much by raising this question again and her work will help considerably to supply the answer.

Stanford University

WILLIAM C. BARK

ROMAN RULE IN ASIA MINOR: TO THE END OF THE THIRD CENTURY AFTER CHRIST. Volume I, TEXT; Volume II, NOTES. By *David Magie*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1950. Pp. xxi, 723; 725-1661. \$20.00.)

PROFESSOR Magie's work, the product of more than twenty-five years of con-

centrated study and research, is an extraordinarily valuable contribution to our knowledge of one of the most important sections of the Roman Empire. Other recent works on Asia Minor have tended to stress primarily social and economic factors. Professor Magie has chosen, without neglecting these, to keep the chief emphasis upon the Roman administration, and to allow the various aspects of the development of Asia Minor itself, social, economic, and municipal, which compose an allied and inseparable theme, to appear within the framework provided by the first. The result is a work with an independent emphasis which is at the same time a most important synthesis of the history of Asia Minor in Roman times.

But this alone would be a quite insufficient statement of the value of the work. It is admirably arranged to suit the needs of both the general reader and the critical scholar. The first volume contains the narrative, clearly arranged and written in an easy and lucid style, while in the second the 854 pages of notes do everything that is possible in citation and discussion of ancient sources and modern bibliography, and elucidation of critical questions, to satisfy the needs of specialists. Here is revealed particularly the great strength of the work, the care, comprehensiveness, critical acumen, and caution of the author. It will take a considerable time and many new discoveries to make necessary any serious revision. The materials on which to base differences of opinion or interpretation are there, and the author's very caution will stimulate some to attempt to complete structures the proved and tested parts of which are so clearly marked. One should mention too the wealth of information on allied topics which is contained in many of the notes, such for instance as those on the constitutional and financial arrangements of the Greek cities in chapter III. The task was one of unusual difficulty, not only because of the complexity and variety to be found in Asia Minor but because the literary sources are meager and fragmentary, and the inscriptions and coins are not gathered in any convenient corpus but scattered through hundreds of volumes and scores of journals, while the modern literature is equally scattered and diffused.

The opening chapters contain an excellent review of the history of the Pergamene kingdom, and bring before us the geographical background of the future province of Asia in all its variety of political, social, and economic structure, the Greek cities, the Hellenized communities, the native villages, the tribes and the temple states, and traces their development during the Hellenistic age up to the moment of the Roman annexation. Other chapters perform the same function for other regions as they too came under Roman sway. A fine series of chapters presents the history of Asia Minor under the Roman Republic as a continuous pattern, the annexation, the Gracchan legislation, the Mithridatic wars and their results, Pompey's organization, the civil wars with Caesar's reforms and the sufferings of the country under the Liberators and Antony. The empire brought first a period of recovery in the Augustan age, and then a period of closer integration and partnership in the Roman imperial system as a whole until the

development of cities and the spread of citizenship brought the provinces to a virtual equality with Italy itself. This process of integration appears in the account of the annexation of the client kingdoms, the organization of the frontier defenses, the tendency of the Roman government, while encouraging and developing the cities, to bring them to a single norm and pattern in relation to the regime. It is interesting to note how it has imposed itself upon the form and proportions of this book. The background material requires about 150 pages, and it takes about 300 to carry the discussion through little more than a century from the death of Attalus III to the beginning of the empire, while the three centuries of the empire require only another 300. Moreover, the earlier part falls naturally into an independent narrative about Asia Minor very largely as a separate unit, but the evidence for the period of the empire, though vast in amount, tends to fall into largely unrelated parcels the full meaning of which comes out only as they are related to the general conditions and trends of imperial policy. The author has met the demands of this pattern. See, for example, the discussion of Hadrian's monetary policy (pp. 623, 628 f.).

It is difficult and perhaps unfair to select points for special mention. The author's emphasis on geographical factors, especially important in Asia Minor, on lines of communication, on the significance of changes and repairs to these, and his careful description of boundary lines, all are wholly admirable. He rightly agrees with Jones in minimizing the original extent and importance of the temple lands in western Asia Minor, and rightly sees that the Hellenistic kings did not despoil temples but rather, as the inscription recently found at Aezani reveals, tended to support them (pp. 1016-18). It is clearly recognized that Pompey's city foundations were primarily intended as administrative centers and only secondarily as urbanizing agents. Pompey's position at the end of the Mithridatic wars as a sort of patron with all the East in clientage deserves a bit more emphasis. The discussions of the status and development of the cities are especially noteworthy, particularly those on their relations with the Roman government in the second century before Christ (pp. 103 ff.), and the survey of their condition in the Antonine period (pp. 630 ff.). The work concludes with useful lists of governors and other officials, the more useful because Chapot's lists for Asia are not arranged in chronological order and are now incomplete.

Significantly, suggestions and objections arise mainly about points of detail. I present here a few, drawn in part from recent studies of my own. Much of northern Phrygia about Dorylaeum is practically timberless today (see p. 50), and though fine timbered tombs of an early period are now being found at Gordium the lack of trees in the region of Dorylaeum was known in Cicero's time (Cic. *Flacc.* 41, the man of Dorylaeum who had never seen a tree). The Bithynian marble mentioned by Pliny (*Epist.* 10.41) may perhaps be the Potamogallene variety named in the newly discovered Aphrodisias fragments of Diocletian's edict setting maximum prices. The reviewer believes that the traditional dating of *OGIS* 435 in 133 is correct, and that Passerini has correctly dated the *S. C. de*

Agro Pergameno to 129 (see pp. 1033, n. 1, and 1055, n. 25), that the Third Mithridatic War probably began in 74, and the proconsulate of Lucullus in Asia by or before the beginning of 73 (see pp. 1204, n. 5, and 1127, n. 47). Scaevola's proconsulate is dated in 94 after his consulate instead of 97 to bring it nearer in time to the trial of his legate Rutilius in 92, yet in that period Norbanus was tried in 94 for offenses he probably committed in 103. The presence of Oppius in southern Asia Minor in 88 is rather against the view that there was no regularly organized province of Cilicia before the Mithridatic wars (p. 1162, n. 12). If however this view is correct L. Gellius should be placed in the list of governors of Asia as a proconsul in 93, since his colleague in the praetorship of 94 became governor of Macedonia, the other organized province in the East. The title proconsul was so frequently given to ex-praetors in provincial commands, especially in Spain but often elsewhere, that I doubt if it should be termed incorrect (p. 1242, n. 1; see now Jashemski, *The Origin and History of the Proconsular and Proprætorian Imperium*, Chicago, 1950). It is not clear that Gabinus, consul in 58, had the cognomen Capito (p. 298; see *CIL* 1².22500). The Fabius who was governor of Asia in 57-56 (p. 383) should probably be distinguished from the man who was a legate under Caesar. The latter probably held the tribunate in 55 and was one of the authors of the *Lex Mamilia Roscia Alliena Peducaea Fabia*. I doubt Wilhelm's explanation of the word *koinonia* in the inscription of Pogle of Pisidia (p. 1317, n. 25; see *IGRP* 3.409) as a charitable foundation. The inscription describes a public career and a contrast is drawn between the years of the *politeia* and the years of the *koinonia*. When the word *koinon* in Asia Minor so frequently designates a union of villages the contrast between the years when Pogle was *koinon* and the years when it was a *polis* seems almost mandatory.

In two passages (pp. 629, 687) the author expresses the view that the Antonine policy of extending the citizenship and of equalizing the provinces with Italy and "the ruled with those who had been their rulers," was the precursor of the dissolution and decay of the Roman world. The reviewer is inclined to a more optimistic interpretation. That same process, begun under Caesar and extended greatly from Claudius on, gradually won the loyalty of the whole Roman world, and enabled the empire to survive so long, both as an empire and as a symbol of a strong, secure, and united world. These remarks however are largely concerned with matters of opinion and interpretation, and do not detract from the solid worth of a thorough, comprehensive, and careful work which has placed all historians of the Roman Empire very greatly in debt to Professor Magie.

Bryn Mawr College

T. ROBERT S. BROUGHTON

CROWN, COMMUNITY, AND PARLIAMENT IN THE LATER MIDDLE AGES: STUDIES IN ENGLISH CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY. By Gaillard T. Lapsley. Edited by Helen M. Cam and Geoffrey Barraclough.

[Studies in Mediaeval History, No. 6.] (Oxford: Basil Blackwell. 1951. Pp. xiii, 420. 25s.)

So long has Gaillard Lapsley been identified with England that the present generation may well be reminded that he was a native of New York City, graduated at Harvard, and then, after studying law, took his doctorate in history under Gross—his “master,” as he always called him. In 1904 he went to England and in due course became university reader in constitutional history at Cambridge. Yet he kept his American citizenship and spent his last years in New England.

Lapsley belonged to that happy generation of teachers and researchers who, at the turn of the century, were touched by Maitland’s “flash of genius,” were devouring the introductions to the Selden Society Publications, the commentary on the “Records” of the 1305 parliament, and discovering the wealth of constitutional history in Pollock and Maitland. His apprenticeship in law and under Gross exactly fitted him to grow aware of Maitland’s glory, and later of McIlwain’s great thesis. Parliament became his theme, but parliament related to the crown, to administration, and to the local communities. Stubbs’s volumes were no longer sacrosanct, and Lapsley entered vigorously into the “seventy-five years after Stubbs.” He was in the turmoil of research along with such notables as Tout, Pollard, Pasquet, Cam, Baldwin, Kern, Richardson, Sayles, Gray, Willard, Plucknett, Chrimes. His century is *par excellence* the fourteenth, and in his articles and reviews, while we feel a dash of the polemical, much of the “analysis of minutiae,” and the etymological urge, there is above all the sane, pliable, untiring search for truth. Few scholars illustrate better the delicacy of caution in word and thought which is instinct in all of Maitland’s work.

We may venture to hang much on the latest (1941) of the nine essays here republished, “The Interpretation of the Statute of York.” After a convincing argument against the more recent financial interpretation of the critical word *estat* in the conclusion of the statute, it seems demonstrated that there was a conscious attempt to place on the broadest parliamentary basis all the more fundamental legislation. This appears in the crises of 1327, 1341 (the subject of Essay VI), 1376, 1388, and 1399, where there was parliamentary action, “as the Statute of York intended.” It is the editors’ feeling that Lapsley’s work culminated in the most famous of his essays, “The Parliamentary Title of Henry IV,” “in which he, so to say, set the seal on his studies of fourteenth century government by undermining the foundations of Stubbs’ Lancastrian Experiment.” But even so, Lapsley concludes his argument that no legal parliament existed at the moment when Henry assumed the crown by asserting that he “could have had a complete and technically correct parliamentary title and that his supporters intended the revolution should be accomplished in that way.”

Outside the fourteenth century, we have the study dealing with Bracton’s well-known and puzzling mention of the local *Buzones*, in which, as in the

following essay, the author studies the activities in the communities. Later in the thirteenth century, there is the essay on the familiar rusty sword episode of the Earl Warenne, in which Lapsley ran a delightful tilt against the redoubtable Round on the field of historical method. Latest of all in period, but the earliest written (1900), is "The Problem of the North," in which it is shown that the Council of the North was no *ad hoc* creation of Henry VIII's to meet the disturbances incident to the protestant revolution, but was grounded on the age-old history of march organization and march law.

To name the titles of these studies—most of them appearing in the *English Historical Review*—or to show the crises or incidents about which they center, indicates comparatively little of their substance and value. Their author entered profoundly into the sources and literature of his field and knew all its phases. He who reads or re-reads them will feel a full-bodied awareness of the English "constitution *im werden*," as the author phrased it, and of the continuing work of English and American scholars. Essay I, "Some Recent Advance in English Constitutional History," is more than a critical bibliography. In this framework Lapsley revealed his "theory of the medieval constitution and the nature of its principal organs and their relation to each other."

As life passed and achievement accumulated, Lapsley felt that a synthesis was due. But there seemed always something to add, more positions to defend. Ill health overtook him and he gratefully entrusted this collection to editors whom he counseled and advised. It is obvious that more able and sympathetic editors could not have been found. With skill and great fidelity to the author, they have included his own annotations, selected and arranged his work, and brought bibliographical references to date.

Each specialist in this field will of course have his own reaction to the theories and conclusions here presented, but all will feel the sincerity and great importance of Lapsley's lifework. While acutely wary of generalizations or premature conclusions, there was not a trace in him of the cynic or defeatist in facing the deeds and thoughts of men of other times. He actually believed it possible to make continuing advances toward finding out "exactly how it was."

University of Minnesota

A. B. WHITE

Modern European History

LES DEBUTS DE LA PRESSE FRANÇAISE: NOUVEAUX APERÇUS. By *Folke Dahl*, Conservateur Adj. à la Bibliothèque municipale et Universitaire de Göteborg; *Fanny Petibon*, Conservateur Adj. à la Bibliothèque nationale; *Marguerite Boulet*, Professeur à la Faculté de Droit de Nancy. [Acta Bibliothecae Gotoburgensis, Vol. IV.] (Göteborg: Wettergren & Kerber; Paris: Librairie Raymann. 1951. Pp. viii, 75. Kr. 7,50; 500 fr.)

As the editor of this volume has stated, the history of newspapers has only

recently received the serious attention of scholars. Significant studies of the early dissemination of news by means of the printing press have been few in number, since research in the field ideally requires the co-operation of many experts working in different countries and trained in many special techniques. The present volume modestly claims, with some justification, to fulfill these exacting requirements.

The three contributors to this volume examine the exact circumstances surrounding the beginnings of French newspapers, and all deny Hatin's dictum that Renaudot originated such literature when he founded the *Gazette* in 1631. In the first essay, "Les premiers journaux en français," Mr. Dahl applies to French newspapers the thesis which he earlier used with success relative to those in English. He finds that the first true French newspapers were simply French translations of the news sheets of well-established Dutch commercial houses. Mr. Dahl proves the existence of such a French newspaper, the *Courant d'Italie et d'Almaigne, etc.*, during the 1620's, with presumption that it existed during several decades.

More important, the remaining three essays treat the circumstances surrounding the establishment of a regular news press in Paris during the 1630's, and particularly the struggle between Renaudot and the *corporation des libraires, imprimeurs et relieurs* over the rights to issue news publications. The existence of this controversy has been previously known, but the discovery of many key documents has permitted it here to be completely rewritten. The details are pieced together in three essays whose titles suggest the argument: "Découverte d'un journal parisien antérieur à la *Gazette* de Renaudot" by Folke Dahl, "Les précurseurs de Renaudot à Paris, Martin et Vendosme" by Fanny Petibon, and "Le plagiat de Renaudot" by Marguerite Boulet. Herein it is shown that there existed prior to Renaudot's *Gazette* a similar weekly publication, the *Nouvelles ordinaires de divers endroits*, published by Jean Martin and Louis Vendosme under the privileges of the corporation mentioned above. However, Renaudot, already high in Richelieu's favor, was issued an unprecedented privilege giving him a monopoly over all Parisian newspapers. The ensuing struggle lasted several years and included plagiarism by both parties, the buying out of key personnel, and the usual jurisdictional disputes between the courts of customary law and the *Conseil du roi*. In the end, Renaudot triumphed completely because of royal favor, and his *Gazette* became the recognized mouthpiece of the government. Thus is unfolded another historical episode showing how Richelieu overrode traditional constitutional forms when it suited his purpose, and how, realizing the power of the press over public opinion, he was determined to keep control of it by giving exclusive rights of news publication to a trusted royal servant. The essays thus provide new insight into the forces which channeled public opinion in support of early seventeenth-century absolutism. The studies represent the fruit of disciplined scholarship and should be regarded as authoritative in their field.

A DOCUMENTARY SURVEY OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION. By *John Hall Stewart*, Associate Professor of History, Western Reserve University. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1951. Pp. xxviii, 818. \$6.00.)

PROFESSOR Stewart's book will fill a place that no other has ever quite occupied. It resembles Anderson's, its best-known predecessor, in being limited to official documents, but it is much fuller, with 170 documents compared to 56 in Anderson for the same years. It differs from Legg, the only other comparable anthology, in that where Legg leaves his documents in French and covers only the two years from 1789 to 1791, Stewart has translated his into fluent English and covers the whole decade to 1799. It differs from both, and may be uniquely valuable, in that the editor, without sacrifice to the documents, which are unabridged, has written extensive connecting passages of his own. Hence the book may serve as either textbook or source book.

Criticism of such a volume falls largely on purely optional matters. A reviewer's opinions may, however, serve the constructive purpose of showing what the book actually is. It is a collection of official and public papers of the French revolutionary governments, indeed mainly of legislative and constitutional enactments, though *cahiers*, speeches, and treaties are also represented. The limitations of such a principle of selection are evident, and sometimes the author has broken through them, as when he gives excerpts from Sieyès famous pamphlet on the Third Estate, or from the writings of Babeuf. More such unofficial material would in principle have given a more rounded picture but would in practice have resulted in both too big and too diluted a book. As for legislative documents, a broad point of view has presided over their selection, with especial attention to economic and cultural matters. Of subjects of the highest importance, possibly the only one to be under-represented is the disposition and resale of confiscated wealth. Within the general category of official papers, more space might have been given to executive, as distinguished from legislative and constitutional, documents; for example, to the work of the Subsistence Commission, instructions to military commanders or civilian commissioners, or the decree of the Convention ordering the destruction of rebellious Lyons. More such material, along with more on the counter-revolution both in France and outside France, might have lent more of an air of effort and struggle to the Revolution. As it is, the student of this book, or at least the beginning student, may form an impression of the Revolution such as that for which Aulard was criticized half a century ago. It was said of Aulard that, relying mainly on official sources, he thought of the Revolution as an essentially parliamentary phenomenon, or at least one that took place within the halls of political assemblies.

Professor Stewart attributes the inspiration for the present volume to conversations with the late Carl Becker years ago. He has worked at it ever since, he has done all the selecting and translating himself, and it is doubtful whether any other American scholar either would or could have brought it to so successful a

conclusion. Carrying on the tradition of Henry E. Bourne at Western Reserve, and adding to the effect of his own highly useful bibliography of relevant works in Cleveland libraries, he has again signalized himself and Cleveland as a main center of French Revolutionary studies in America.

Princeton University

R. R. PALMER

LES INSTITUTIONS DE LA FRANCE SOUS LA RÉVOLUTION ET L'EMPIRE. By Jacques Godechot, Professeur à la Faculté des Lettres et à l'Institut d'Etudes politiques de Toulouse. [Histoire des Institutions, Collection dirigée par Louis Halphen.] (Paris: Presses universitaires de France. 1951. Pp. viii, 687. 1.800 fr.)

It seems strange that anyone has ever really worried over the fractionalizing, the compartmentalizing, of learning. Of course the reason is clear enough: here as elsewhere the worrier looks at what men say they want to do instead of at what they are doing. In the real doing, what happens is that the specialist simply tries to take over the whole, drawn by a naïve but fruitful sort of imperialism of field. Thus economic history comes to recognize it is dealing with human beings, begins to edge over into intellectual history, begins to absorb some social psychology—and ends up by being history *tout court*.

So too is it, to judge by Professor Godechot's excellent study, with the history of institutions. That specialty, after a slight nominal decline in the heyday of social and intellectual history, is rising again. But in Professor Godechot's hands it comes to something much more than the older analysis of administrative subdivisions, political frames of action, and the like. He starts with an analysis of "*les idées nouvelles à la fin du XVIII^e siècle*," goes on to describe the origins and redaction of the Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen, and then in four major subdivisions discusses the Constitutional Monarchy, the Revolutionary Government, the Bourgeois Republic (Directory), and the Military Dictatorship (Consulate and Empire). In each case he pays due attention to political institutions, but in total rather more to social and economic institutions, to business, finance, religion, education, poor relief, the family. His bibliographies, which follow the not altogether convenient pattern set by the Lavisserie series and appear as footnotes at the beginning of sections and subsections, are extremely full. And here, certainly, his subject is almost literally the history of France, 1789-1815. These footnotes stand at the moment as probably the best and most up-to-date bibliography of the subject, foreign affairs and military institutions excepted. Professor Godechot has been exceptionally alert in following work done in other languages than French, and notably in English. He adds to many of his bibliographical paragraphs a suggestive list of "*questions à étudier*." One wishes all the more to see these scattered bibliographical paragraphs all put together in one place.

This is, in short, an admirable advanced manual for the study of all but the more dramatic and personal history of the French Revolution and Empire. It is fair-minded and quite unexplosive even on religious questions. In fact, anyone brought up to recognize the atmosphere of the *école officielle* of Aulard finds himself almost bewildered by this evidence of the inroads of historical-mindedness and objectivity into what was once a most sectarian group. But Clio is surely the gainer.

Harvard University

CRANE BRINTON

NAPOLEON AND THE DARDANELLES. By *Vernon J. Puryear*. (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1951. Pp. 437. \$5.00.)

EVER since Peter the Great pushed his campaign of conquest toward the Danube, the Black Sea, and the Caucasus, the Straits question has been the hinge on which the Eastern question turned. Yet, not until the appearance of a Russian fleet in the Mediterranean in 1771 and the signature of the treaty of Kutchuk Kainardji in 1774 did the situation become one of the major factors in European international affairs. When Bonaparte in 1798 decided to substitute for an invasion of Britain his Egyptian campaign in order to short-circuit the long British line of communication with India, Russia promptly sent a fleet through the Bosphorus to the Ionian Islands. The failure of Bonaparte's expedition and later the Peace of Amiens postponed French and British interventions in the Levant.

The first great crisis of the Eastern and Straits questions in the nineteenth century was precipitated by the outbreak of the War of the Third Coalition. Both France and Britain realized that their intervention in the Levant had become of serious import. Though, as emperor, Napoleon reverted to his interest in the short route to India, the British forestalled him. Following Nelson's victory at Trafalgar they restored their naval supremacy in the Mediterranean. In 1807 Sir John Duckworth did force the passage of the Dardanelles only to find it discreet to withdraw promptly, as was likewise done from a brief occupation of Alexandria. Even so France could not challenge the British fleet in the Mediterranean. In Persia Sir John Malcolm and Harford Jones, British agents sent from India, proved successful.

Napoleon, on his side, sent General Horace Sebastiani as ambassador to Constantinople and General Antoine Gardane to Teheran. The former's brilliant and energetic activities were responsible for Duckworth's failure to reach Constantinople, but Napoleon himself sacrificed the advantage at Tilsit and Sebastiani returned dejectedly to France. In Persia, a false move by Gardane lost the game, but the romantic interest of his mission remains undiminished. Whatever else may be said of Napoleon's maneuvers at Tilsit, he bungled the Straits question by offering the tsar freedom of the Straits, though at Erfurt he cut his offer in

half in order to reserve the Dardanelles for himself. No less serious was his failure to undertake the development of a land route to India across the Balkan peninsula to the Dardanelles and thence eastward. Basic was his decision to come to terms with the tsar rather than with the Habsburg emperor. It was grim irony that the Crimean War was later waged by Britain allied with Napoleon III. Which was wiser: uncle or nephew?

Professor Puryear's interest became focused on the Straits question while preparing his doctoral dissertation. Between 1931 and 1941 he published three volumes dealing with this problem in the middle of the nineteenth century, each of which received a deservedly favorable review in this journal. Given time, it was inevitable that he should turn attention to the very dramatic and significant earlier phases of this problem, as he has done in the present volume. Like Driault in *La politique orientale de Napoleon* (1904) he has centered his attention on the years 1806, 1807, and 1808, but, more extensively than Driault, has relied on archival materials both manuscript and printed. He has not only utilized the wealth of documentary material printed within the last fifty years but has also accomplished far more extensive research in the archives than did Driault. The author's systematic treatment is very helpful as he devotes eighteen chronological chapters to the period from 1802 to 1815, thirteen of which deal with the years 1806 to 1809, and divides each chapter on a geographical or topical basis with excellent introductory and concluding paragraphs, but unfortunately the printer has failed to provide proper indications of the chapter subdivisions. There is a good index and a very useful bibliography.

The problem of presenting his mass of data has limited the author to revealing the how of history at the expense of the why of history and to things done rather than to the doers, but he has admirably demonstrated how the diplomacy of the Napoleonic period was conducted. The style is succinct, orderly, clear, and precise. No one will read the volume consecutively, but historical students will frequently consult it with gratitude, for it is an outstanding contribution to the diplomatic history of the time.

Wesleyan University

GEORGE MATTHEW DUTCHER

MODERN FRANCE: PROBLEMS OF THE THIRD AND FOURTH REPUBLICS. Edited by *Edward Mead Earle*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1951. Pp. xiv, 522. \$6.00.)

It is clear that the Fourth Republic is in an unheroic mood, that its government is animated by a fearful and quasi-Directory spirit hostile to a new August 4 from the Left and an 18 Brumaire from the Right, and that it has taken a stand on the proposition that to temporize is to make progress and to tackle problems head on is to court the danger of civil strife. What is the background for this state of affairs, how explain it, what are the probabilities of its continuation?

There are no final answers in this admirable symposium under consideration, but much valuable data, balanced judgments, insight, and some clues. The volume incorporates the formal papers that were presented early in 1950 at a three-day conference held in Princeton on the problems of modern France. To the contributors, the sponsoring institutions, and in particular to Edward Mead Earle, the *deus ex machina*, students stand greatly indebted. If the authors make no prophecies about the solution of the besetting problems which the Third Republic failed to solve and with which the Fourth Republic is resolutely not coming to grips, their discussion nevertheless illuminates the complexities and the difficulties of the task ahead. Without attempting to do justice to individual contributors, one should note that they are in substantial agreement that the most that can be said for the Fourth Republic now is that it is marking time. However, they would not agree were the question oversimplified and bluntly put in the following form: Is marking time to gain it or to lose it? All take note of the extraordinary persistence of the nineteenth-century pattern of behavior, including that emotionally gratifying and pragmatically frustrating practice of coping with today's needs in terms of the divisive sentiments of yesterday. But while some tend to stress weaknesses and contradictions, others see France making a virtue of necessity and displaying flexibility and vitality in pursuing a temporizing course.

Most of the articles do not address themselves directly to this problem but in different ways throw out suggestions concerning its solution. On the whole the articles on politics, foreign policy, and social-economic developments are the most interesting and the most valuable—although the thought-provoking study of business and the businessman by D. S. Landes must at least be mentioned. Read together and compared with one another, they provide useful clues to an understanding of the present dilemma.

E. W. Fox's article on the Third Force might be singled out in that it poses the central issue most clearly. His main point is that temporizing has worked in the past, even if at a high price. The historic Center-Right policy of avoiding revolution by consent did satisfy or was suffered by enough Frenchmen and well enough to see the Republic through from 1896 to 1939 without overwhelming civil strife. The key postulate of the several Center-Right blocs, that the true solution lay in defending the republican form of government and in trying to compose class differences within the frame of the existing parliamentary forms, was in part a convenient rationalization to which the dominant bourgeoisie could comfortably resign itself. The policy was accepted on sufferance and it operated precariously. Is it likely that the successor of the Third Republic can also survive, even gather strength, by staggering along?

Fox does not go beyond 1939, but a series of articles on the post-Liberation period points to the contrary. Those are the admirable articles by H. E. Ehrmann on the failure of the Socialist party; Val R. Lorwin on the Communist capture of the trade unions; G. Wright on the Communist infiltration into the peasantry;

R. F. Byrnes on the decline of the Christian Democrats; and H. S. Hughes on Gaullism. They point to the contrary in the long run, but for the present a Center-Right bloc is in power, thanks to some out-and-out electoral gerrymandering. It can retain power, the analyses make clear, if a *détente* between the United States bloc and the USSR bloc eases the crushing fiscal burden, and if the directors of domestic policy pursue (which is unlikely) a farsighted, generous, and imaginative course of social reform. The two articles by H. B. Hill and F. L. Hadsel on France's European policy find merit and strength in what she has done since 1947. Their assumption, like that of the volume in general, is the necessity of French governmental adherence to the American conception of the proper course to pursue toward the USSR. But not all Frenchmen accept the validity of that interpretation, and it would have been interesting to have an article developing the implications of an alternative conception. The reviewer regrets also the absence of some discussion of the clear if not present danger of Neo-Vichyism, and of a realistic treatment of the relations between parliamentary and extra-parliamentary forces in French political life. But these are minor cavils that would not impair the reader's admiration for this outstanding work of American scholarship.

New York University

LEO GERSHOY

RAPPORT FAIT AU NOM DE LA COMMISSION CHARGÉE D'ENQUÊTER SUR LES ÉVÉNEMENTS SURVENUS EN FRANCE DE 1933 À 1945. Par *Charles Serre*, Rapporteur général, Député. Première partie: LES ÉVÉNEMENTS DU 7 MARS 1936. ANNEXES (DÉPOSITIONS). [Assemblée Nationale, Première Législature, Session de 1947, No. 2344.] (Paris: Presses universitaires de France. 1951. Pp. 167; 1-836 [3 vols. of *Annexes*].)

IN 1946 the French National Constituent Assembly appointed a commission of forty-two deputies and eighteen representatives of Resistance organizations, veterans, and "victims of war and fascism," to inquire into the "political, economic, diplomatic and military events which, from 1933 to 1945, preceded, accompanied, and followed the armistice, in order to determine the responsibilities incurred and to propose, if there is cause, political and judicial sanctions." The commission, after extensive hearings in 1947 and 1948 and additional investigations, undertook to publish its findings and conclusions in a report of four parts: (1) the German reoccupation of the Rhineland, 1936; (2) the formation of the Rome-Berlin axis, the war in Spain, Austro-German *Anschluss*, and the Munich agreement, 1936-38; (3) the outbreak of war and the operations of the French armies, September, 1939, to the armistice; and (4) the armistice and the overthrow of the Republic. The book considered here is Part I of the report and three volumes of the verbatim testimony before the commission.

This report, a brief ninety pages in length, summarily reviews French foreign

and domestic policy from 1919 to 1936 and recounts in detail the reaction of the French government to the German re-entry into the demilitarized zone of the Rhineland in 1936. There are no startling revelations here nor in the appended documents, which include the minutes of two meetings of the *Conseil supérieur de la Guerre* in 1935 and 1936 and a number of secret reports on the state of the French and German armies in 1934 and 1935. As one would expect from such a multiparty group, the conclusions are general. Partisan strains within the commission are carefully concealed, and no accusations are made against persons or parties.

The commission concluded that the French government failed to act in the national interest when it did not forcibly expel the German army from the demilitarized zone and neither international legal restrictions nor British pressure for a diplomatic settlement but only the inability of the French army to carry out the necessary operation prevented the use of force. Since 1919 the army had not been reorganized or re-equipped to make it an effective instrument of France's postwar policy of security through collective agreements. It was, as in 1914, a citizen army, designed to meet a mass invasion; it was incapable of undertaking a police action in enforcement of international agreements. In assessing responsibility for this fatal cleft between military and foreign policies the commission blamed the army for its willful failure to understand the policies of the civil government and for its resistance to technical innovation; but the commission also held the civil government responsible—by its surrender of control of military policy to military men and by its pursuance of a foreign policy that put too much faith in paper agreements to the neglect of definite commitments to military action against aggressors. The commission reported, however, no evidence of violation of laws nor disloyalty and recommended no "political or judicial sanctions."

The three volumes of testimony are not restricted to the subject of Part I of the commission's report but range over the whole period from 1933 to the armistice of 1940. Eighteen men, including Daladier, Blum, Reynaud, Gamelin, Weygand, Petain, and Sarraut, appeared before the commission. Each, except Petain, made a long, prepared statement (Sarraut's ran to some ninety pages, Gamelin's to seventy) and then answered specific questions from members of the commission. In contrast to the report itself the testimony is an important addition to the published sources on European diplomatic history of the period, and it illuminates a number of obscure points of French history in the 1930's and 1940's: for example, the crisis of February 1934; Sarraut's German policy in March, 1936; Blum's conduct of relations with Spain in 1936; military operations in 1940; and the decision to seek an armistice in 1940.

HISTOIRE DE GENÈVE DES ORIGINES À 1798. (Geneva: Alexandre Jullien for Société d'Histoire et d'Archéologie de Genève. 1951. Pp. x, 564.)

At a time when France is celebrating the two thousandth anniversary of Paris it is interesting to read of a city in Switzerland, Geneva, which had existed as a settlement for several thousand years before Caesar finally mentioned it in his *Bellum Gallicum*. This bulky and handsomely printed volume represents the fulfillment of an old dream of the Historical and Archaeological Society of Geneva, which long ago had hoped that its indefatigable preparatory labors some day would allow it to undertake this vast synthesis of the history of Geneva. Its twenty-seven chapters were written by more than twenty scholars and specialists, and it can surely be said that this book represents the last word in scholarship with regard to the history of Geneva. At a later date the society hopes to be able to publish two more volumes.

Like Basel-Stadt and Schaffhausen, the canton of Geneva is one of the smallest cantons of Switzerland, comprising little more than the city itself—but with regard to its history, its cultural development, and its international significance Geneva is nevertheless one of the most important cities of central Europe. The present work subdivides the subject into three parts: Part I (pp. 3-66) discusses the origins, from prehistoric times through Helvetians and Romans down to the Carolingian era; Part II (pp. 67-220) sketches the medieval episcopal city, with special emphasis on the constant tension with Savoy (the curse of Geneva's history), and the beginnings of a military and political alliance (*combourgeoisie*) with Fribourg and Berne—which, however, it should be emphasized, did not mean a full-fledged membership in the old Swiss Confederacy; and Part III (pp. 221-540) outlines the exciting history of the city from the Reformation to the French Revolution and the French Occupation. It is particularly gratifying to see that this third part is increasingly preoccupied not only with purely historical questions, but also with the ecclesiastical and cultural history of Geneva—the economic aspects of its development being perhaps the only field somewhat neglected by the planners of this fluently written work.

Students of the vaster aspects of this city's history will be especially fascinated by the pages about the Reformation under Farel, the coming of Calvin, the leadership of Théodore de Bèze, the sudden international significance of Geneva as the Protestant Rome, the increasingly strained relations with France and Spain, the supreme importance of the Protestant printing presses of Geneva, the endless stream of religious refugees seeking a shelter from persecution, beginning prior to the English refugees in the time of Bloody Mary and lasting well beyond the revocation of the Edict of Nantes and the constant influx of French Huguenots. The one incident to demonstrate best the sturdy preparedness and local-pride of the citizens of Geneva is the famous Escalade of December 12, 1602—the abortive attempt by the duke of Savoy to capture the city by surprise which to this day is

celebrated with a patriotic fervor second only to the celebration commemorating the birthday of Swiss freedom on the first of August, 1291. No less interesting were the frequent conflicts between the patricians and the bourgeoisie of the city—ever-recurrent clashes which led not only to trials and executions, but which at times also necessitated the intervention of such fellow Protestant confederate cities as Berne and Zurich, or, at the time of the Swiss Catholics' greatest submissiveness to a powerful neighbor, of Louis XIV of France. In the eighteenth century also Rousseau and Voltaire became mixed up in these and other internal struggles and the political writings of Rousseau, the greatest son of Geneva, against the patricians (*Le Contrat social*, *Lettres écrites de la montagne*) and against the "pernicious" influences of the Voltairians (*Lettre à d'Alembert sur les spectacles*) assume a new significance if read against the background of the turbulent history of a city soon doomed to be invaded by the revolutionary hordes of France.

University of North Carolina

W. P. FRIEDERICH

THE LIFE OF JOSEPH CHAMBERLAIN. Volume IV, 1901-1903, AT THE HEIGHT OF HIS POWER. By *Julian Amery*. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1951. Pp. xvi, 533. \$4.50.)

THE appearance of Mr. Amery's volume signals the resumption of publication, after a seventeen-year hiatus, of the official life of Joseph Chamberlain, the first three volumes of which were among the principal achievements of the late J. L. Garvin but which, at the time of his death in 1947, he had completed only as far as the Khaki Election of 1900. For another and younger author to assume the responsibility for what his predecessor had regarded as his life's work was certainly no easy assignment. But that the decision to entrust the task to Mr. Amery—himself a recently elected Conservative M.P. and son of the former cabinet member, Leopold S. Amery—is a wise one will be apparent to readers of these judiciously written if overly detailed chapters in the life of the British colonial secretary. He has, to be sure, relied heavily upon material collected by Garvin, but at the same time he has produced a work which is distinctly his own and which possesses no less merit than the preceding volumes.

Since the author has intentionally desired to maintain the scale of Garvin's work, he has confined his narrative to less than three years of Chamberlain's life. The manifold activities of the seemingly tireless colonial secretary were both diverse and important, and they assuredly merited close attention. However, the narrow concentration upon such a restricted span of years has resulted in a volume which not only lacks dramatic unity but which also, of necessity, devotes an excessive amount of space to the examination of subjects already explored in the writings of Mr. Garvin.

The five separate sections into which the volume is divided furnish an almost exhaustive study of a man who used the post of colonial secretary and his own

talents to achieve a position of primary importance, if not actual leadership in the cabinet of Lord Salisbury. Two of the five are specifically concerned with South African affairs—the first section is an analysis of the issues of war and peace in the seemingly endless struggle with the Boers, and the other, part four of the volume, an almost day-by-day account of Chamberlain's journey through South Africa shortly after the termination of hostilities. The former, coming after Garvin's more dramatic story of the war's outbreak, is something of an anticlimax and relates events in which Chamberlain's personal role is perhaps of lesser significance, but its minute detail does have the distinct advantage of revealing all of the difficulties and intricacies of co-ordinating policy between Chamberlain and the cabinet, on the one hand, and Kitchener and Milner, on the other. The chapters concerning his tour, dealing with the still pertinent questions of the relationship between Briton and Boer, are among the most interesting in the entire work; yet while they indicate the wisdom of Chamberlain's policies, they also show that he was far too sanguine in his expectations of an early and final reconciliation.

The second section of Mr. Amery's volume deals exclusively with foreign policy; it recounts at length the third and last futile attempt to associate Great Britain with the German Empire and goes on to chronicle the steps by which Chamberlain, rebuffed and angered by the Wilhelmstrasse, turned instead to the alternative policy, an entente with France. Both accounts are based primarily upon published materials, particularly the German and British documents relating to the origins of the World War; the Chamberlain papers, unfortunately—as the author admits—contained little that was relevant (pp. 137 n., 179). The author engages in a bit of special pleading when he makes the exaggerated claim that the colonial secretary was "the chief author of the revolution in British foreign policy" and insists that "... he was the initiator of the French alliance project, just as he had been of the German alliance project before it" (pp. 206, 179). On the other hand, the experience of yet another war with Germany has made Mr. Amery more skeptical than Garvin in his appraisal of the wisdom of Chamberlain's proposals for a German alliance. To be sure he castigates the kaiser and his advisers for their truculence and regrets the failure of what he feels might have been a turning point in history, but, even so, he concludes with the judicious verdict: "It must always be dangerous for Britain to ally itself with the strongest power in Europe; and Chamberlain was wrong, as the event would show, to believe that Imperial Germany could be made to serve our Imperial purposes."

In addition to a section devoted to showing Chamberlain's many and varied secondary interests—tropical medicine, the economic plight of the West Indies, the establishment of Birmingham University—the fifth, and concluding, portion of the volume deals with the origins of tariff reform. This question, arising out of Chamberlain's experiences with the various colonial conferences, was of course the last and possibly the most significant of the many causes for which he labored.

But it was also an issue which reveals the unintentional irony in the subtitle of Mr. Amery's book, *At the Height of His Power*. For tariff reform, involving revision of fiscal policies as sacred to Hicks Beach as to doctrinaire free traders, was to divide the cabinet, lead to Chamberlain's resignation, and, ultimately, influence the great Liberal victory of 1906. And perhaps more than any single issue it was to show that Chamberlain, whatever his personal popularity, was a political hostage to a Conservative ministry and was to be remembered as the man whose actions produced disaster for both of the great political parties with which he was associated. But for the full story of the consequences of the tariff question we shall have to wait. Mr. Amery is content to trace the evolution of Chamberlain's ideas and, reserving the climax of the Chamberlain story for his final volume, to terminate his narrative at the point where the battle lines are barely beginning to form.

Princeton University

RICHARD D. CHALLENGER

THE HOLY SEE AND THE IRISH MOVEMENT FOR THE REPEAL OF THE UNION WITH ENGLAND, 1829-1847. By *John F. Broderick, S.J.* [Analecta Gregoriana, Volume LV.] (Rome: Pontificia Università Gregoriana. 1951. Pp. xxvii, 237. L. 1200.)

THIS is an illuminating study of one of the most controversial episodes in the history of British rule in Ireland during the past century. It will take its place among a number of recent monographs which are gradually providing the material from which the history of Ireland from the Union to the establishment of the Free State will eventually be written. The author has had access to papal archives that have not previously been used. Many of these are quoted at considerable length, and on most contentious points the documents are left to speak for themselves. The result is the most scholarly account of this episode that has yet been written, one that would seem to justify the author's prediction that, whatever new evidence may yet come to light, his conclusions are likely to stand.

The chapters on the repeal agitation in Ireland are vivid, but the evidence is at times unduly repetitious, and the author has relied too much on that portion of the Irish press which supported the movement. The figures given for attendance at some of O'Connell's meetings are scarcely credible. The most interesting feature is the evidence of the extent to which the Catholic clergy took part in the movement. The more moderate men, such as Archbishop Murray, stood aloof; but O'Connell's statement that he had the support of a majority of the bishops and of virtually all the lower clergy seems to have been justified.

The most original chapters are those on the papacy. In general, the authorities at Rome were more than ready to comply with the requests of the British government whenever it was possible to do so; and on its part that government was not backward in making its requests. A secret agent was maintained in Rome

from 1832 onward; and, on one occasion at least, the support of Metternich was sought and obtained. But there were limits beyond which the papacy could not go, and the repeated demand for a public condemnation of the activity of the Irish clergy was never complied with. The situation caused grave anxiety at Rome, and admonitions were issued from time to time, pointing out the danger to religion that would result from this mingling in politics. But the matter was not so simple as it appeared to politicians like Palmerston and Metternich. To the Irish clergy the matter of repealing the Union and securing a native Irish government was not simply a matter of politics. It involved the moral and spiritual life of the Irish people as well as their form of government; and a good deal of clerical support was given in the belief that, in the interests of peace and order, the change must be effected during O'Connell's lifetime. What is evident from this study is that any direct command from Rome such as the British government desired, would almost certainly have been flouted. It was a curious situation: a Protestant government, forbidden by law to hold any communication with the papacy, earnestly and repeatedly seeking the intervention of the pope; and a devoutly Catholic people firmly and persistently denying the right of the pope to intervene in any way. Father Broderick appropriately prints Greville's comment on the situation.

Toward O'Connell himself Father Broderick is sympathetic, but not uncritical. He emphasizes the lack of judgment which led the Liberator to assume that what had been achieved in 1829 in the matter of Catholic emancipation could be repeated on a larger scale and by the same methods in the matter of the Union. The book is written clearly and simply, and the discussion of sources in the introduction will be of the greatest value. But the printing and the binding are inexcusably bad. Italian typesetters have played havoc with the English language, and there seems no reason why so many errors should have escaped the proofreader.

University of Toronto

D. J. McDougall

A WEST-INDIA FORTUNE. By *Richard Pares*. (New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1950. Pp. viii, 374. \$4.50.)

THE sugar islands were incontestably the jewels of Britain's first empire, yet, when the serious investigator seeks details and specific supporting evidence, he meets constant frustration through the impersonality of government records, the paucity of unofficial source material and its wide gaps. Planter family papers have seldom gravitated into public archives, but have, rather, normally suffered destruction or wide dispersal among several generations of descendants. The fact that occasional surviving collections, such as one known to the reviewer for more than thirty years, have not been made available for research, adds appreciably to

scholarly woes. The appearance of any new work like Professor Pares's study, resting upon virgin participant records, is consequently an event of extraordinary importance to specialists in expansion and business history alike.

There is here presented the first comprehensive account of any family's activities in the British Antilles during the whole period covering the rise and decline of the sugar industry—from the late seventeenth century to the middle of the nineteenth. The Pinneys were West Dorset folk one of whom, Azariah, a lace merchant, participated in Monmouth's Rebellion and was subsequently deported to Nevis in 1685, £15 in hand. Moderate business ability, innate shrewdness, and beckoning economic opportunity combined to lay the foundations of a great colonial fortune. By 1735, the Pinney estate was among the largest in the colony.

John Pinney, great-grandson of Azariah's sister Mary, inherited the family properties in 1762 and became a topping Caribbean planter, cannily investing a substantial portion of his profits in a Bristol merchant house founded in 1784. His precise accounts overlook no detail of plantation economy. After twenty-one years in the colony, he carried on as an absentee proprietor for another quarter century, encountering steadily mounting complications without being engulfed by them. The Nevis estate was at length sold in 1808 and, while several properties falling to the Pinneys as mortgagees were not finally liquidated until 1853, they continued basically West India merchants after 1808, enjoying a substantial position in the field for forty-two years and prospering mightily. Their fortune reached £340,000 at its peak, shortly after Waterloo.

In the ultimate liquidation of varied tropical American assets, they managed to salvage £242,000, an amazing feat considering the acute depreciation suffered by Caribbean interests at the time. Seldom has a £15 investment in any area paid off so handsomely. The Pinneys continue a substantial Dorset house, one of the few surviving British families which rose to wealth through early New World connections.

This monograph, based upon a meticulous study and careful interpretation of the Pinney Papers recently reassembled in Bristol, is notable in presenting the best extant accounts of British Caribbean finance, the vicissitudes befalling an outport sugar trader and manifold problems confronting a plantation factor.

Ohio State University

LOWELL RAGATZ

FRANCESCO GUICCIARDINI DALLA POLITICA ALLA STORIA. By *Vittorio de Caprariis*. [Istituto italiano per gli studi storici.] (Bari: Gius. Laterza & Figli. 1950. Pp. 136.)

THIS study is a very necessary and successful attempt to apply methods of modern intellectual history to an investigation of the origin of Guicciardini's historical views. The chief thesis of the book is well indicated by its subtitle: "From Politics to History." "The great crisis which began with the expulsion of

the Medici in 1527 destroyed the false political doctrines which Guicciardini believed to have extracted from history"; he turned away from the exploration of political theory and became a true historian because "he realized the insufficiency of his previous intellectual efforts and became aware of the collapse of the system which he had constructed with great effort" (p. 108). The author seeks to prove this thesis by an analysis of Guicciardini's chief works, namely, of the *Storie Fiorentine*, of his political writings on the Florentine constitution, of the recently discovered *Cose Fiorentine*, and of the *Storia d'Italia*. The aim of the first two of these works is discovery of the laws of politics. According to the author, the *Storie Fiorentine* is chiefly an attempt to analyze tyranny and democracy—the Medici rule exemplifies a typical tyranny, the constitution, established by Savonarola, a democratic regime. While the *Storie Fiorentine* is intended to show why these forms of government cannot work, Guicciardini's various drafts for a Florentine constitution attempt to find a form of government which will function. According to the author, variations in these constitutional projects are not determined by changes in the political situation, by opportunism, but must be explained as stages in the evolution of a continuous effort to establish the rules of good government. The *Cose Fiorentine*, begun in the critical year 1528, represents a different approach; Guicciardini now writes history. The author believes that Guicciardini was aware that he attempted something new; otherwise he would not have taken up a subject with which he had dealt twenty years before, without referring, in his later work, to his earlier effort. The *Cose Fiorentine* gives increased attention to historical details, and shows a new realization of the complexity of historical causation. Because, instead of the problem of political norm, the question of historical causation had become Guicciardini's chief concern, he could not continue to write in the framework of a Florentine history; Guicciardini abandoned the *Cose Fiorentine* and began to work on the *Storia d'Italia*. His search for complete understanding of the net of causal connections resulted in a really comprehensive and objective picture of the great crisis of the Italian political system at the beginning of the sixteenth century.

In my opinion, there is no doubt that the author's reconstruction of Guicciardini's intellectual development is correct. One may regret that, while the writings of Guicciardini's "political period" are analyzed at great length, the historical works of his later years are treated much more briefly and somewhat sketchily. In his eagerness to make his point, the author becomes sometimes one-sided; for instance, though, in my opinion, he is correct in stressing that the *Storie Fiorentine* is chiefly an exercise in criticism of tyranny and democracy, he should have mentioned the importance of the traditional patterns of family chronicles and city histories for the composition of this work. In general, there is a tendency to slight the influence of external events and of the intellectual trends of the time; Guicciardini's development appears as a self-generating, somewhat automatic process. But if the work does not solve all the problems connected

with Guicciardini's development, it has the solid merit of providing a new and sound basis for further research.

Bryn Mawr College

FELIX GILBERT

SEEDS OF ITALIAN NATIONALISM, 1700-1815. By *Emiliana Pasca Noether*, New Jersey College for Women. [Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, Number 570.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1951. Pp. 202. \$3.00.)

DR. Noether in her study of the seeds of Italian nationalism in the eighteenth century rightly stresses the fact that Italian nationalism did not appear as a moving force until the nineteenth century. Then it grew in Italy, as in other European lands, under the influence of the French Revolution and of Napoleon's wars and rule. But the French Revolution itself and its theories of secular patriotism and national, instead of royal, sovereignty, were the outcome of the eighteenth-century Enlightenment which, though of English, Dutch, and French origin, became a general European phenomenon. Italy had its share in it. Thus the new nationalism brought by Napoleon found the soil well prepared among the intellectuals by the eighteenth-century development.

The spread of the Enlightenment in Italy was facilitated through the disappearance of the Spanish impact on Italy. It was replaced by the progressive rule of the Habsburgs and Lorrains in Milan and Tuscany, and by the Bourbon dynasty in Naples. Throughout Italy, the eighteenth century witnessed great activity in literature, historiography, and economic reform movements. Interestingly, the new historiography, as Dr. Noether points out, was hardly favorable to Rome and the Roman tradition with its universalism. Italy was claimed to be older than Rome; the Italian Etruscans were regarded as the cultural parents of Greeks, Romans, and Europe alike, so that the Italians, then politically and socially a backward part of Europe, could feel themselves superior to the rest of the world.

Pietro Verri, an official of the Habsburg government in Milan, and Antonio Genovesi, the first professor of commerce and applied mechanics at the University of Naples, fought for the introduction of modern political economy to Italy. Men like Verri, children of the Enlightenment who looked to England and France as models, did much to shake the Italian traditionalism, but it was only the French Revolution and the Napoleonic era which marked the beginning of a national awareness in Italy. The first clearly nationalist thinker who "formulated the principles which were to direct the Risorgimento," was Vincenzo Cuoco (1770-1823), a Neapolitan who as a young man participated in the revolution of 1799 and went insane a few months after the restoration of 1815. He was "undoubtedly the first Italian to see" that Italy must solve its own problems and must remember that she had a mission to fulfill.

Vico taught Cuoco that the Italians had no need of foreign help or doctrine; "Machiavelli supplied Cuoco's realistic approach to politics." Like Machiavelli, he sought to persuade the Italians that the prime necessity of political life was military strength. Cuoco based his call for Italian unity upon the legend of Italy's political and cultural greatness under an Etruscan leadership many centuries before the foundation of Rome or the glory of Greece. With such a past the Italians had a great mission ahead of them once they would develop "military organisation, discipline, love of hard work, courage, and love of country to the degree where they would willingly face death to save it." Cuoco was the first Italian nationalist, the product of the Napoleonic era. With him Dr. Noether concludes her able survey of the preparatory period of Italian nationalism, the various early expressions of which she has presented with warm sympathy for the aspirations of Italy.

City College of New York

HANS KOHN

THE EVOLUTION OF MODERN ITALY, 1715-1920. By *Arthur James Whyte*. (Reprint; Oxford: Basil Blackwell; New York: Macmillan Company. 1950, 1951. Pp. vii, 275. \$3.75.)

THE qualification 1715-1920 is somewhat misleading in the title of a book which concerns itself primarily with the nineteenth century: the first chapter alone deals with the period prior to 1815, and, allowing for the far greater importance of the nineteenth than the eighteenth century in the history of Italy, the earlier period is too summarily sketched.

The survey of the nineteenth century is well done, especially where it deals with the domestic scene. An often complicated tale is unfolded with the assets of good organization and clear exposition, showing the thorough digestion of a large mass of material. Within the period of the Risorgimento proper, the importance of 1831 as a turning point in the direction of the movement; the nature of the movement thereafter; the events of 1848-1849; the significance of these events and their aftermath in the emergence of Cavour and his successful policies, are brought out in illuminating perspective and relationship.

The treatment of the period of the sixties, often relatively neglected, is one of the merits of this book. The same applies to the excellent analysis of military operations, treated in greater detail than is usually the case. The military record of modern Italy is set in its proper light.

The characterization of the whole century as "a history of the rise and fall of parliamentary government in Italy" (p. 263) is apt. On the reasons for failure, the author takes the widely accepted view of political immaturity. But the point is rather slurred that the unexpectedly large effort called by the First World War put too great a strain on a system which was not otherwise necessarily doomed.

Giolitti's forecast was sounder than that of those who brought the country

into the war. The figure of Giolitti is not congenial to the author, more attracted by the picturesque Crispi, though the record of both is fairly presented. That Crispi was colorful no one will deny, but the quality of his imperial vision may well be questioned.

The treatment of foreign policy is, in fact, the chief weakness of this work. The superficiality of this treatment is probably the result of too great sketchiness and condensation, resulting at times in misleading impressions. The comment on the poor quality of Italian foreign ministers (p. 215) is surprising, and there was much more steadiness and continuity in the direction of Italian foreign policy than one would gather here.

There are also annoying, if minor, inaccuracies. War between France and Austria broke out in 1792, not 1793 (p. 11); Beauharnais was not Napoleon's brother-in-law (p. 15); the comments on Mazzini on page 42 seem contradictory; socialism was not purely Reformist in Italy at the beginning of this century as seems implied on page 218; the Franco-Italian colonial agreement was not made in 1904 (p. 233). The list could be extended, but these remain secondary blemishes on an otherwise useful and basically sound contribution to the literature on the subject in English.

Barnard College, Columbia University

RENÉ ALBRECHT-CARRIÉ

ROMMEL, THE DESERT FOX. By *Desmond Young*. Foreword by Field-Marshal Sir *Claude Auchinleck*. (New York: Harper and Brothers. 1950. Pp. xvii, 264. \$5.50.)

INVASION 1944: ROMMEL AND THE NORMANDY CAMPAIGN. By *Hans Speidel*. Introduction by *Truman Smith*, Colonel, U.S.A. (Retired). (Chicago: Henry Regnery. 1950. Pp. xiii, 176. \$2.75.)

GENERALS who win wars seldom achieve more than run-of-the-mill distinction. To become famous in history and literature as a military genius, the ambitious battlefield commander should arrange to be on the losing side. As warriors, Alcibiades, Hannibal, Wallenstein, Napoleon, Lee, Jan Smuts, Ludendorff, and von Hindenburg were losers all! But how many persons outside the history profession can name the perhaps better generals who defeated them? Now Erwin Rommel, the defeated Desert Fox, is emerging from World War II with battle honors eclipsing those of Patton, Bradley, Montgomery, and Mark Clark, not to mention higher level, Allied victors such as Eisenhower, Wavell, and Alexander.

Rommel was perhaps the heaviest loser of them all. He lost his Afrika Korps and North Africa. He lost most of France, plus fifteen or twenty divisions organized into a group of armies. He lost the confidence of his own government. He retained only his honors. He traded his life for those honors in order that his wife and son might not be persecuted by the tyranny he long served but ultimately distrusted.

The drama inherent therein is illustrative of one of the several reasons why

losing generals often become more famous than their victors. The narrative of a bold, dynamic, quick-witted leader against overwhelming odds, probing and improvising, and at last going down in a final, great, heroic effort, always provides a superb vehicle for historical drama. It attracts authors. Fame is usually somewhat proportional to the number of printed pages that a career creates. Rommel had attracted buckets of printers' ink long before Brigadier Desmond Young, English soldier and journalist, took up his story. Much of this ink was expended by the Nazi propagandists who sought to build up Rommel and through him prestige for their party. Many of their claims were purposely untrue. They claimed he was a party member. This falsehood is said to have made him indignant.

Across the English Channel, other forces were at work that brought Rommel a good press in England. The British often gave Rommel praise that was all the more eloquent because it seemed so reluctant. Wittingly or unwittingly, it was a gracious, pride-saving way of explaining defeats. The cowboy who is thrown out of a barroom by Jack Dempsey has little to explain. But what happens to his self-respect if the ejection is made by a pint-size, unknown bouncer? Some such thoughts could have been in Churchill's mind when that genius at explanations stood in the House of Commons and said of Rommel: "We have a very daring and skillful opponent against us, and may I say, across the havoc of war, a great general."

It is out of this welter of propaganda and counterpropaganda that Brigadier Young extracts his story, the first full-length, English biography of the Desert Fox. The research technique is not that of the academician. It is that of an inquiring journalist seeking intimate knowledge of a casual acquaintance. In structure the narrative is that of a novel, complete with flashbacks and warmed-over emotions. Neither Rebecca West nor Erich Remarque ever conceived a character more enmeshed in his own environment who thereby is being dragged onward toward a "pitiless destiny" than is Desmond Young's happily married Rommel.

Historically, the book makes no pretense to being a definitive biography. The author hopes it may prove a stimulus to further study of and the translation of a great mass of Rommel papers that Manfred Rommel turned up just as Young's book was being printed. Rommel the man, his inherent qualities and character, receives more emphasis than tactics and battlefield decisions. These last, Young cheerfully leaves to more pedantic pens. The opinions, often by interview, of many friends, subordinates, and opponents are collected, analyzed, correlated, and interpreted. Much of this has the solid ring of good, authentic reporting.

These are the very qualities that give the narrative its action and rapidity of movement toward the climax of the drama—Rommel's incredible, fiction-like death, followed by the grandiose, hollow propaganda of a Nazi state funeral. Like the climax of any well-written tragedy, all this, under Young's adroit pen, seems to have been foreordained. It seems almost incidental that the author

explodes many wartime, propaganda myths. For example, Rommel was never a Free Corps crony of Göring, Hess, Röhm, Borman, *et al.* He was never of the S.A. or S.S. He was never a policeman. He was not a noncommissioned officer who had risen from the ranks, nor was he the son of a laborer.

Desmond Young's Rommel is the modest son of a talented but humble German schoolteacher. His amazingly brilliant record as an audacious, small-units leader in mountain combat guaranteed his retention in the small, peacetime army between the wars. His textbook on infantry tactics called him to Hitler's attention. He, in turn, reacted favorably to Hitler purely as a World War I ex-corporal who was still endowed with the physical courage of a combat soldier. Rommel had no interest in politics and, Young insists, loathed nearly all the men about Hitler. Young suggests that Rommel's genius for command fully blossomed in Africa because that theater was beyond the contamination range of wartime Nazism.

Command of the armies in western France gave Rommel a station sufficiently high and near enough to Germany that malodorous facts of Nazism and the certainty of ultimate defeat could no longer be concealed from Rommel. That he would have succeeded Hitler as chief of the German nation, had the assassination plot succeeded, Young takes for granted.

Thus, many myths concerning Rommel are dispelled. But there is little assurance that new myths have not been created. A bold, colorful, losing general attracts myths the same way that a lodestone draws a compass needle from the north.

Lieutenant General Hans Speidel's *Invasion 1944* supplements that part of the Rommel story that concerns his defeat in France. Speidel was Rommel's chief of staff. It is an unblushing apology for disaster. It is undocumented and contains so many minor errors of fact that the author could not have had access to many contemporary materials for refreshing his memory. Therein lies its only value—the rationalizations of a scholarly, professional soldier as he gropes through his memories for the reasons of defeat. The German chain of command was faulty. Intelligence of the enemy was inadequate. "Unscrupulousness was balanced by amateurishness in the German Supreme Command." Hitler's military education was still a World War I corporal "enmeshed in the memories" of static fronts. Speidel mentions some Allied lost chances for quicker victory, but briefs no convincing case.

Wisconsin State College, Superior

JIM DAN HILL

HITLER'S INTERPRETER. By Paul Schmidt. Edited by R. H. C. Steed. (New York: Macmillan Company, 1951. Pp. 286. \$4.00.)

For nearly a quarter of a century Dr. Paul Schmidt, an interpreter of extraordinary ability and memory, played a modest but not unimportant part in the

political events in Europe and the rise and fall of Germany. He served Hitler during the dark days of German diplomacy from 1935 to 1945. On occasion, he was the only third party present at meetings of world-shaking import. In this book, the English version of Schmidt's memoirs, the editor, R. H. C. Steed, has omitted the pre-Hitlerian part altogether, from the period from the end of the Ruhr occupation (1923) to the end of reparations (1932). In the full German edition, Schmidt describes his services for Stresemann, Müller, Marx, Luther, Curtius, and Brüning.

Although Schmidt's account is that of a technical expert whose main function consisted in translating or recording what he heard, it is at the same time a testament to the futile tragedy of appeasement. There is nothing sensational or new in these memoirs, for the record of the Hitler era has been completely exposed. What this book does is to substantiate and round out the conclusions that have already been reached about the Nazi era. Schmidt gives further light on the mood of the participants in the big conferences, how they phrased their questions and answers, and what side remarks they made. There is a full description of Chamberlain's tragic failure at Munich. In addition, there are such interesting sidelights as Hitler's firing of his *chef de protocole*, who made the grievous error of allowing the Führer to go bare-headed in evening dress to inspect a guard of honor while the king of Italy appeared resplendent in full uniform; how the completely misled Lloyd George judged Hitler to be "really a great man"; how Hitler admitted that "if the French had marched into the Rhineland, we would have had to withdraw with our tail between our legs"; how the Führer miscalculated England's will to fight; how Ribbentrop sulked with jealousy; how Göring showed off his model trains; how Hitler showed his disappointment when an "ungrateful" Franco failed to join him in the war; and how Hitler doggedly carried on after his escape from assassination.

Schmidt goes through the usual process of disapproving the acts of those he served so intimately and so long. In this respect, his book is similar to virtually all the postwar memoirs of German officials (for example, Herbert von Dirksen, *Moskau, Tokio, London: 20 Jahre deutscher Aussenpolitik* [1949]; Eric Kordt, *Nicht aus den Akten* [1950]; and Ernst von Weizsäcker, *Memoirs* [1951]). As the others, Schmidt is damning and contemptuous in his judgments of Nazi leaders, particularly Hitler and Ribbentrop. He describes Hitler as an absent-minded brooder, pale from sleeplessness, who, almost without transition, would suddenly fly into a rage, who was always averse to any precise statements, and who had an extraordinary capacity for self-deception. The author condemns Ribbentrop for his "inferiority complex with an assumed brusqueness," his "monstrously suspicious nature," his persistency and obstinacy, his bull-in-a-China-shop techniques, and his slavish repetition of what he believed his idol wanted him to say.

Schmidt concludes his memoirs by expressing two convictions resulting from

his long experiences: (1) the ineluctable rule of moral laws in the lives of people; and (2) the irresistible power of the laws of economics. Unfortunately, he does not attempt to correlate the first of these convictions with his long service for Hitler. Nowhere in his memoirs does he confess that it might have been better not to have continued to serve the hypomaniac who, he admits, was driving inexorably toward war. Dirksen, on the other hand, acknowledged a reservation: "That it was honorable perhaps not to serve the Hitler régime altogether was a thought that lay far from me at that time." Schmidt considered himself only a technical supernumerary who could only seek to soften Hitler's more bombastic threats by shrewd translations. He asks us to believe that he felt a sense of satisfaction when Berlin was bombed in retribution for the bombing of London. "During those nights I knew I could look my English friends in the face."

The editor writes that "Schmidt might fairly be described as an enlightened, cosmopolitanised German nationalist." Perhaps so, but the impression received by this reviewer is that Schmidt's apologia, as those of Dirksen, Kordt, and Weiszäcker, is unconvincing. Curiously, many "enlightened German nationalists" supported Hitler during his heyday and became vociferously anti-Nazi only after he had lost his bout with destiny and was safely dead in the ruins of Berlin.

City College of New York

LOUIS L. SNYDER

DIE GESCHICHTE ÖSTERREICHS. Volume II, 1648-1918. By *Hugo Hantsch*. (Graz: Styria Steirische Verlagsanstalt. [1950]. Pp. 636.)

THIS is the second of a three-volume history of Austria by Professor Hugo Hantsch, of the University of Vienna. The first volume was completed in 1937, just before the author lost his professorship and ultimately wound up in a Nazi concentration camp. The volume under review was written chiefly during vacation times under all the difficulties confronting central European scholars in the trying years immediately following the war. Professor Hantsch has succeeded in bringing out a volume based on some actual source material, on most of the best monographs, and on a large number of good doctoral dissertations written under his direction.

Professor Hantsch's volume is an excellent one. He has no particular axe to grind and makes a sincere attempt to write the history of his country "*wie es eigentlich gewesen war*." If any particular predilections are evident in the volume, they are the author's genuine religious spirit, his appreciation of the values of the monarchy, his recognition of certain turning points in history, and his sympathy for the masses of people. One can not say that Professor Hantsch has not been at all influenced by the German point of view. His treatment of the nationality problems of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries is in sharp contrast to the views expressed by some of the more nationalist Slav and Magyar writers. But a sense of fairness permeates the volume which is not found in many of the historical works produced in central Europe during the past half century.

Although the volume deals with Austrian affairs, the author does not hesitate to describe general European conditions when it seems appropriate to do so to give the reader a better understanding of Austrian matters. In the chapters dealing with the period between 1648 and 1740 the main emphasis is on diplomatic and dynastic problems. Chapter VIII has one of the most brilliant descriptions of baroque culture which this reviewer has seen. Maria Theresa's reforms are described in a sympathetic vein, while in three excellent chapters on Joseph II both the emperor's positive accomplishments and his shortcomings are analyzed. There is an excellent evaluation of Metternich and his policies. Like Professor Blum, the author has done much to correct the distorted views in regard to the pre-1848 Austrian nobility spread by liberals of the late nineteenth and early part of the twentieth century. The analyses of the October diploma, February patent, and the making of the compromise of 1867 are especially good. Leopold I, Leopold II, Taaffe, and Aehrenthal are portrayed in a much more favorable light than has been customary in the past. Considerable attention is paid to the decay of liberalism and the origins and early history of the Christian Socialist and Social Democratic parties. Developments in Hungary after 1867 have been neglected, but there are short though adequate treatments of the Czech and South Slav national movements.

There are forty-two pages of notes and a long index which add much to the usefulness of the volume.

University of Texas

R. JOHN RATH

THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF POLAND: FROM THE ORIGINS TO SOBIESKI (TO 1696). Edited by *W. F. Reddaway, J. H. Penson, O. Halecki, R. Dybowski*. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1950. Pp. xiv, 607. \$8.50.)

THIS is Volume I of a three-volume history of Poland planned in 1936 and delayed by war and by the exile and the deaths of some of the editors and contributors. The second volume (1697-1935) appeared in 1941 (see *AHR*, XLVII [July, 1942], 849). Polish scholars apparently played a decisive role as initiators and collaborators in the project, although other scholars, too, participated. In addition to a well-presented account of political developments, this volume contains chapters on "The Church in Poland," "The Renaissance in Poland," "Reformation," "Counterreformation," "Constitutional Conditions," "Social and Economic Structure," and "Polish Cultural Life and Art."

The nationalistic tendencies of pre-World War II Poland, the dream of a great Poland (from the Baltic to the Black Sea), of forming a western bulwark against the menace of the East (Russia), and of the struggle against the Germans, have left their imprint on the volume under consideration. The authors of different chapters often reinterpret medieval Polish history in the light of contem-

porary conflicts. Thus Professor S. Ketrzynski, dealing with the early kings of Poland (chap. II), Professor A. Bruce Boswell on "The Twelfth Century" (chap. III), and Professor M. Z. Jedlicki on "German Settlement in Poland" (chap. VII) attempt to minimize the dependence of Poland in its early stages on the Holy Roman Empire and frequently appear apologetic with respect to co-operation with Germany or Germans.

In this reviewer's opinion the fact that "the Imperial claim to . . . allegiance only became effective when an Emperor had the desire and the strength to enforce it" (p. 43), proves nothing about Poland since the same situation prevailed in most parts of the German Empire. As a matter of fact Polish princes sought independence from imperial allegiance by becoming fief-holders of the Holy See and paying Peter's pence (pp. 76-77). Similarly, it is unsound historically to regard the early struggle for the conquest of Pomerania and other provinces on the Baltic Sea as attempts to Polonize these regions culturally. Rather a lust for conquest and the religious zeal for Christianizing the pagans played the main role. In fact, Boleslaw III called in Otto, bishop of Bamberg, and German missionaries for the purpose of Christianizing Pomerania.

This reviewer also considers it rather exaggerated to present the struggle for power among the princes during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries and their efforts to enlarge their principalities as a nationalistic attempt to build up Polish unity. This mistaken attitude leads the author (chap. V) to become apologetic for Polish-German co-operation during the thirteenth century, for the invitation to the Teutonic Order to Poland, or the invitation to German settlers to build towns and villages, and to interpret them as a sort of conscious attempt to learn Western ideas, "to go to school" in order to assimilate them into Polish thinking. The facts which are related in the same chapter, however, give another picture. Not only could the princes not foresee that the Order would subsequently grow strong and become a menace to Poland but German colonization was regarded simply as a means of increasing revenue and the income of their principalities. Neither did "Polish consciousness" or "craving for unity" play much part in the policies of that time. These were rather, as elsewhere, guided by the contradictory particularistic and centripetal forces and by dynastic rivalries. The very author who desires to see in the church and the nobility "more permanent forces directed toward unity" has to admit "any general movement towards unity, however, was checked by jealousy between the nobles of Great and Little Poland."

The first one to unite most of Poland was not a Polish prince acting on an impulse of national consciousness, but the Czech Vaclav, as a result of conquest. And this foreign king was crowned in the cathedral of Gniezno, which the author several times depicts as the stronghold of Polishness. And again: "The decline of Bohemian rule in Poland was connected with exterior events" (p. 115) and not with Polish nationalistic trends, which hardly existed in those times. Yet again, modern nationalistic or exaggerated nationalistic attitudes, prevalent in interwar Poland, are attributed to earlier centuries.

Polish nationalists of the interwar period did not "recognize" the fact that about a third of the population was non-Polish and saw them only through the prism of assimilation and absorption. The same attitude is somewhat noticeable in the treatment of non-Polish minorities throughout the work under review. Here and there such minorities as Armenians, Jews, Ukrainians are mentioned, but neither their role in the country nor their suppression is recounted. Concerning the Ukrainians we learn of the union with Rome formed in 1596 (p. 285) and that, at the time of the Chmielnicki uprising (1648), "everywhere armed troops were formed" by peasants and townsmen (p. 511). Hardly anything, however, is said about the suppression of these Ukrainian peasants by the Polish landlords, of the religious discrimination which became the reason for their insurrection. Similarly lacking is the story of the role played by the Jews as the middle class in Poland, and as international traders. Aside from a few sentences about Jews scattered throughout the work, Professor A. Brueckner devotes about a page to them in the chapter "Polish Cultural Life." But this offers no more than a few generalizations and a number of misstatements (*gazibas* is probably meant to be *Yeshibahs*). In Warsaw Jews were neither numerous nor were they allowed to settle for a number of centuries. In 1423 there were in Warsaw twenty Jewish families. The Jews were expelled in the middle of the century and again in the 1480's, and in 1527 the act of *de non tolerandis Judaeis* was passed by the king. And this legal situation remained in force for about two and a half centuries.

These and similar shortcomings in the work are only partially outweighed by the good presentation of the political history of Poland and by a number of illustrations and a fine map.

Columbia University

BERNARD D. WEINRYB

GESCHICHTE SÜDOSTEUROPAS. By *Georg Stadtmüller*. [Geschichte der Völker und Staaten.] (Munich: Verlag von R. Oldenbourg, 1950. Pp. 527. DM. 27.50.)

THE peoples of southeastern Europe are so numerous, and the languages in which their records have been kept are so varied, that few scholars have attempted to write general histories of this complex region. Only Ferdinand Schevill's *A History of the Balkan Peninsula, from the Earliest Times to the Present Day* (rev. ed., New York, 1933), among recent surveys, attempts as comprehensive a treatment as that of Stadtmüller. This comparison is only an approximate one, however, for the new German history limits itself primarily to the period before the seventeenth century, while Schevill's more extended account places particular emphasis on the years since 1800. Stadtmüller interprets the region somewhat more broadly, moreover, to include the Czechs and the Slovaks. It should also be noted that this volume is intended as a general account for the informed reader,

and the many names and dates which Schevill includes in his more didactic text have been largely relegated to several appendixes.

The particular emphasis which Stadtmüller gives to the medieval and early modern development of southeastern Europe reflects his own specialization. Trained in the Roman and Byzantine periods by the late Carl Patsch of Vienna and by Franz Dölger of Bonn and Munich, the author is known for his publications in scholarly journals on topics related to Byzantine and Ottoman influence in the Balkans, and particularly in Albania. His discussion of the extension and decline of Byzantine rule in southeastern Europe, which forms the heart of the volume, is based on the great European tradition of historical scholarship in this field. To this involved subject Stadtmüller provides a balanced and comprehensive introduction, with the aid of numerous maps and a valuable selective bibliography. At the same time the author's approach is limited primarily to a political narrative, and his interpretation offers little that is original. This volume can nevertheless serve as a useful guide for those who desire a rapid survey of the facts and historiography in this field.

Stadtmüller's treatment of the organization and decline of Ottoman rule in southeastern Europe is not as successful as his discussion of the earlier period. Such problems as the political development of the Balkan peoples under Turkish rule, and the ideological and economic factors in their struggle for national independence, are scarcely mentioned. Moreover the considerable body of historical thought on the relationship between power politics in this region and the domestic affairs of the new national states is ignored, and the result is a treatment which is both too brief and too superficial to be of serious interest. Particularly striking in this connection, and doubtless reflecting the state of historical scholarship in Germany during the past generation, is the author's neglect of the great amount of historical work in this field produced outside of central Europe. Stadtmüller has failed to consult numerous British, American, and Russian studies bearing directly on this subject, and the important new school of Turkish historiography similarly goes unmentioned.

Princeton University

C. E. BLACK

TITO AND GOLIATH. By *Hamilton Fish Armstrong*. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1951. Pp. xi, 312. \$3.50.)

TITO'S COMMUNISM. By *Josef Korbel*. (Denver: University of Denver Press. 1951. Pp. viii, 368. \$4.00.)

Tito's Yugoslavia has become a central point on the political scene, in more than one sense. It plays a vital part in the "cold war" and is likely to be in the forefront of some future conflict, but to the student it is more interesting still as providing a first test case of relations between communist states, and equally a

test case of possible relations between a communist state and the "bourgeois" states of the West.

Mr. Armstrong reports an interesting conversation he had in Paris in 1938 with Bukharin, who "with the amiability of a tired professor, but with complete assurance," explained at length that "national rivalry between Communist states was an impossibility—'by definition an impossibility'" (p. ix). The temper of the present quarrel suggests rather that intercommunist conflicts, like civil wars, can be if anything more bitter than a conflict between ideological strangers. Yet from a theoretical point of view, this in itself may not be enough to disprove Bukharin's argument. To justify the soundness of Marxist theory, in answer to those who had pointed out that Soviet practice often makes hash of it, an old and prominent Indian Communist, Mr. N. M. Roy, has argued (in *The Russian Revolution*) that the Bolshevik affair has never been a true Marxist revolution. Similarly, were he still alive, Bukharin could blunt Mr. Armstrong's point by arguing that Soviet policy toward the satellites is not a true Marxist-Communist policy.

The central argument of these two books would indeed help to support such a view. Both writers agree that the ideological accusations which the Cominform leveled at Tito were false or meaningless; as the Stalin-Tito correspondence, since disclosed, has shown, the real difference lay in the part which Yugoslavia was to play in the satellite system. The whole system was planned from Moscow and for Moscow; as Mr. Armstrong points out, the more the economy of the satellite states became "socialistic," the more was it dependent on Moscow's master plan. That explains, what otherwise would be paradoxical, why Moscow objected to Tito's plans for speedy industrialization; and Mr. Korbel produces some evidence (p. 281) to show that, like Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia was ready to join the Marshall Plan until instructed by Moscow not to do so. The issue that hurt most, however, was Stalin's "promise" in the spring of 1946 to re-equip and reorganize the Yugoslav army, already plastered with a large number of Soviet officers. This touched off the pride of Tito's partisan army, and not least the pride of Tito himself, who knew that they had won their war and gained power without Soviet help; in fact, in spite of the failure of the Soviets to send them help when they were hard pressed and asked for it.

In a way the two books are complementary. Mr. Korbel's is largely an account of life in Tito's Yugoslavia, where he acted as Czechoslovak minister for three years from September, 1945. It is sharply critical, but obviously sincere and well informed, though in painting the shadows of the present Mr. Korbel fails to relate them to the old sins of abuse and misgovernment. He deals with the Cominform conflict only in his last two chapters; Mr. Armstrong devotes the first half of his book to it, and then examines some of its repercussions in the other satellite countries, with side glances at Italy and France, at China and Japan. The whole is a valuable if summary survey, based on personal visits and

contacts with some of the protagonists in the struggle, and carefully balanced in its judgments. Mr. Armstrong makes it clear that not a few of the eastern Communist leaders objected to the Cominform's action against Tito but were overruled; a good many of them have since lost their positions or even their heads. Both writers believe that the Kremlin badly miscalculated its power to impose obedience, and Mr. Korbelt points out that not a single Yugoslav Communist leader has succumbed to its pressure. But that makes the conflict all the more tense and dangerous all around. As Mr. Armstrong puts it, "from the Cominform's schism of June 1947 there grew and spread the very thing which Stalin must have wanted most fervently to avoid—a heresy with a general and lasting appeal" (p. 273). To see "Trotskyism" followed by "Titoism" must indeed be a constant threat to that unquestioned supremacy which the rulers in the Kremlin have come to expect; all the more so as both these heretical groups have also been vigorous in denouncing, and in a measure disproving, the supposed Marxist orthodoxy upon which the Soviet rulers have based their claim to infallibility.

At the same time, it remains to be seen how far the break with the Kremlin will force Tito to modify his own professed Marxism. Both writers mention the difficult task which faces the satellite states in trying to collectivize the peasants; neither of them considers the far-reaching political implications of that policy. It could not be done without first suppressing the widespread and democratic Peasant movement, and not only moderate Socialists but inexplicably after the war even the regime of President Beneš suicidally took a hand in this. In so far as they wanted to set up a communist state the new regimes had to use dictatorial means, and these in turn made them dependent on the moral and material support of Moscow. After breaking with Moscow, can Tito fall back on popular support without paring down substantially the "dictatorship of the proletariat"?

Oxford, England

DAVID MITRANY

THE NEW SOVIET EMPIRE. By *David J. Dallin*. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1951. Pp. viii, 216. \$3.75.)

Mr. Dallin's new book contains twelve chapters and covers a number of highly varied, although interlocking, topics. The first two chapters describe the growth and the basic nature of the new Soviet empire, the third is a brief essay on cold wars in Russian history, and the fourth, entitled "Once again Inferior Races," is a sparkling argument against all the different proponents of "diaperology and racism" as keys to the understanding of Soviet society or Russian history. Then Mr. Dallin takes up in succession "The Six Wars of the Soviet Union," "The Hundred Nations of the USSR," "Nationalism Old and New," "The Social Revolution Completed," "The Soviet Elite and the Second Generation," "The Communist Party after the War," "His Majesty Blat," and, finally, "Pretense and Reality." This last chapter is a summary and a prognosis on "the Soviet question." A useful index completes the book.

Mr. Dallin's main asset as a writer on the Soviet Union is his intimate, comprehensive, and thorough knowledge of Soviet life in its many manifestations. Indeed, Mr. Dallin is one of the few students of this complex subject who appear to possess the knowledge and the perception of "insiders." Therefore his works on the Soviet Union are invariably interesting and informative. In *The New Soviet Empire* that is especially true of the chapter on the Soviet black market ("His Majesty Blat"), and of the section on the Soviet wartime propaganda policy, particularly concerning the Jews (pp. 110-19).

The very nature of Mr. Dallin's sources, many of which consist of personal accounts of former Soviet citizens who refused to return to the USSR, often prevents precise documentation. In general the author handles his sources well. Nevertheless the reader is entitled to better documentary support for the extremely high figures on the Soviet economic exploitation of eastern Europe (p. 23), and he could question the reliability of Mr. Dallin's account of the workings of the Politburo, in particular of the relationship between Stalin and the other Soviet leaders (pp. 133-34).

The author's use of earlier Russian history also sometimes raises doubts. For instance, Mr. Dallin interprets the nineteenth century as a great victory of England over Russia in a series of cold wars, whereas many historians consider Russian occupation of central Asia and her penetration to Afghanistan and India and into Persia as victories for Russia, not England. Again, the author's analogy between the rise of the Communist privileged class and the earlier rises of the boyars and the gentry is much too glib and oversimplified (pp. 133-34).

In terms of organization, Mr. Dallin's work is rather disjointed, as the mere listing of the chapters suggests. Mr. Dallin may also be accused of an excessive devotion to insignificant detail, which at times replaces or obscures the more essential evidence. Trivial details swamp the chapters on "The Social Revolution Completed" and on "The Soviet Elite and the Second Generation": the reader becomes hopelessly bogged in the intricate comforts of the villas of the Soviet "great," the overwhelming luxuries of their "blue express," and in Ana Pauker's expensive wardrobe and chic life (that, by the way, is the only reference to Ana Pauker to be found in the book, pp. 135-36).

Most debatable of all, however, is Mr. Dallin's interpretation of his material. The new Soviet empire, as presented by the author, is a narrow and cliquish *Interessengemeinschaft* based entirely on power and prestige. Marxist ideology which Mr. Dallin used effectively to explain much of *The Real Soviet Russia* is almost entirely absent from the new book. Consequently the latter throws little light on the crucial problem of why Communists rather than others have obtained and held power and prestige in such a huge area of the globe, evoking at the same time a great support beyond its boundaries. Mr. Dallin's position on foreign policy needs further elucidation. The author considers prestige as the foundation of the new Soviet empire which its leadership will never agree to surrender. He urges a "tough" American policy to break that prestige. Yet, he states that war

can be avoided. Mr. Dallin presents his views quite dogmatically, and that hurts rather than helps his cause.

Mr. Dallin's *New Soviet Empire* is not a complete description of the Soviet Union and its European satellites, nor is it a convincing and methodical interpretation of the nature and purposes of Soviet policies. Still, it is a work full of interesting material, suggestive insights, and challenging arguments. It can make useful and stimulating reading for both the scholar and the general public.

State University of Iowa

NICHOLAS V. RIASANOVSKY

THE NEW TURKS: PIONEERS OF THE REPUBLIC, 1920-1950. By *Eleanor Bisbee*, Former Professor of Philosophy, Robert College and the American College for Girls, Istanbul, Turkey. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1951. Pp: xiv, 298. \$5.00.)

Dr. Bisbee, in her important book *The New Turks*, has attempted to describe the characteristics and aims of the people of modern Turkey and, while sympathetically interpreting them, not to overlook the weaknesses and shortcomings which handicap progress (p. 250). To give an accurate picture of the hopes and ambitions of a nation of twenty million people is at best an imposing task, for conditions inevitably vary between social strata and in different areas. In Miss Bisbee's case it was made more difficult by the fact that her notes made during several years' residence in Istanbul as professor of philosophy at the American College for Girls in Istanbul were lost at sea during the Second World War. By gathering the latest information, however, from Turks and friends in this country and in Turkey Miss Bisbee has been able to put before the public a sympathetic and accurate picture of the modern Republic of Turkey and of its people. The book covers a wide range. Much of the material is devoted to a description of the people themselves, how they live and work, the level of education, religion, and general culture. One whole section also is devoted to the "Affairs of the Nation," how it is governed, the place of Turkey among the nations of the world, and prospects for the future. With conscientious effort to be fair Miss Bisbee is eminently successful in making the Turks appear human and attractive, possessed of unusual strength of character, yet with human frailties and faults like all the other people of the earth.

Since her avowed purpose was to write about conditions and trends as "currently displayed" (p. 250) it has been impossible for the author to show in proper perspective the historical process by which the modern Turkey came to be. On page 237 it is explicitly stated that the trend toward democratic ways can be traced back to the early reforms of the nineteenth century. A proper exposition of these developments would have required a larger book if not a second volume. But the absence of this historical background gives the impression that an

artificially sharp difference exists between the Turks of the Ottoman regime and the New Turks of the Republic.

True and accurate as the general pictures are of the various phases of Turkish life which are described, the reader needs to be cautioned against the literal acceptance of many of the detailed statements. Travelers on the road from Istanbul to Ankara will be surprised to learn that a four-lane asphalt highway exists (p. 71). An engineer just returned described the road as a two-lane highway, not over 25 per cent of which can be called asphalt. The "one-hundred-mile gorge" of the Cilician Gates (p. 77) seemed to this reviewer who passed through the gates for the second time a little over a year ago more like a real gorge for not over one mile. Kadir Gecesi is the evening before the twenty-seventh day of Ramazan and not the night before Şeker Bayramı (p. 138). The Koran was revealed to Mohammed through a period of years, not on one night, although tradition says it came down to Gabriel on Kadir Gecesi (p. 138). The Land Law of 1945 described on page 111 has so far resulted only in division of some public lands, not having yet been applied to private holdings. At no time did the Ottoman Empire hold the land "all around the Black Sea" (p. 202).

In general, these errors in particular statements, of which the above are merely samples, are not material to the over-all picture. Although the book is commendably accurate in the impressionistic picture as a whole, particular statements that fill in the details should be accepted with reserve.

At a time when Turkey is proving herself one of America's staunchest allies and is exhibiting to the world a social marvel of adaptation to political ideals common with our own, it is to be hoped that this friendly and sympathetic interpretation will receive a wide welcome. Especially it should be on the reserve shelves of all university courses that deal with the Near East or with matters of current world affairs.

Hartford, Connecticut

J. K. BIRGE

Far Eastern History

JAPAN. Edited by *Hugh Borton*, Assistant Director, East Asian Institute, Columbia University. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1951. Pp. viii, 320. \$4.00.)

THIS convenient volume offers an excellent summary of background information on Japan. Each of its twenty-three chapters represents an article for the new edition of the *Encyclopedia Americana*; almost all of the twenty contributors are leading specialists on Japan in American universities. Topically, items relating to history and government share with economics the fullest coverage, but the arts, social life, and geographic background also receive highly competent treatment. On the whole, the sections devoted to economics seem most successful. They

combine skillful condensation of earlier summaries with a judicious use of recent research to present in capsule form a very stimulating and cogent account of developments in industry, trade, and agriculture since the opening of Japan in the nineteenth century. The authors make it abundantly clear why Japan's economic problems, interwoven as they are with those of the rest of Asia, remain far from solved despite the coming of peace with the West.

Inevitably, there are differences of emphasis among the contributors. Some of the articles are limited largely to the pre-modern period, others to events since Perry, while still others relate chiefly to developments since World War II. The writers concerned with social institutions prefer, on the whole, to slight the Occupation and its works, while the sections on government and education deal almost entirely with postwar reforms. In some cases this results in a rather unfortunate lack of balance. The early labor movement, for instance, comes in for more coverage than the more significant struggle for parliamentary government, while prewar education is slighted in favor of the more recent, American-inspired models which have yet to prove themselves. The contents of directives and programs for reform would have seemed somewhat less visionary had they been placed more squarely against the background of earlier universal education and parliamentary experience. These institutions, whatever their drawbacks, provided in Japan a more workable basis for democratic reforms than was to be found in any other Asian country.

Given the handicaps of multiple authorship and the topical approach, however, it would be difficult to improve on the impressive factual content and breadth of coverage which Mr. Borton and his associates have achieved. Encyclopedia articles seldom make for leisure reading, and it will be a hardy layman who assimilates all that is here presented. Few specialists will fail to find some items worth noting in these competent summaries, and the book will prove of decided use for teaching needs.

University of Washington

MARIUS B. JANSEN

American History

THE FLORIDA OF THE INCA [GARCILASO DE LA VEGA]. Translated and Edited by *John Grier Varner* and *Jeannette Johnson Varner*. (Austin: University of Texas Press. 1951. Pp. xlv, 655. \$7.50.)

JOHN Grier Varner, Jeannette Johnson Varner, and the University of Texas Press have joined in making available for the first time in English the complete text of the fourth and last of the important chronicles of the De Soto expedition. It would be difficult to say who did his job the best. El Inca, Garcilaso de la Vega, three and a half centuries ago set down an extravagant story which has lost little of its flavor in this remarkable translation in which the Varners leave no doubt

as to their scholastic and linguistic abilities. Also they could hardly have asked for a better medium of presenting the results of their efforts to the public, as the University of Texas Press has produced a beautiful volume both artistically and editorially.

The translation, based on the Madrid edition of 1723 and then collated with the Lisbon edition of 1605, is "complete and without alterations other than those required by the process of translation."

El Inca completed *La Florida* approximately a half century after the remains of the greatest "army" up to its time in the New World straggled into Pánuco, destitute and physically exhausted. Garcilaso makes clear that he used the brief memoirs of Alonso de Carmona and Juan Coles but fails to inform his readers who furnished him with the bulk of his material. The Varners, along with most other authorities, conclude that the narrator was probably Gonzalo Silvestre, whose imagination and self-esteem apparently were but slightly dimmed by the passage of time.

This could lead us directly to the question of the authenticity and reliability of the Inca's account, a question upon which there is considerable divergence of opinion. But the Varners in their preface state that "we are not attempting to estimate the relative value of the early reports or to establish time sequences and geographical location." By seemingly justifying their "act" on the grounds that the volume was needed in English if for no other reason than that it is the first classic on America written by an American and because it is the longest and best-written story of the De Soto expedition, the translators avoid the issue. However, it should be noted that the United States De Soto Expedition Commission, whose final report appeared in 1939, held Garcilaso de la Vega's account in relatively low regard while praising the efforts of Ranjel and the Gentleman of Elvas. The position taken by the commission marked the scholarly rejection, generally speaking, of *La Florida* which had been so widely accepted in the United States during the nineteenth century—it still is in France—in favor of Ranjel, whose account was first made available to the public in Oviedo's *Historia general y natural de las Indias* (Madrid, 1851), but whose popularity in the United States was due to his very able presentation by Professor Edward Gaylord Bourne between 1904 and 1912.

It is possible, rightly or wrongly, now that *La Florida* is available in English, that it will regain some of its earlier popularity and acceptance by scholars. Whether it does or not, the Inca's colorful romantic spirit, so ably captured by the Varners, will make delightful reading for those who prefer their history "watered down" and who can forgive the half-Indian Garcilaso his putting such impassioned discourse into the mouths of unsuspecting Chickasaws and other savages.

This is a welcome volume; to relate its contents would be banal; to recall its few scholastic lapses cavil.

THE DWELLINGS OF COLONIAL AMERICA. By Thomas Tileston Waterman. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1950. Pp. 312. \$10.00.)

THE untimely death of Thomas Tileston Waterman on January 20, 1951, deprived the field of American colonial architectural history of one of its most capable scholars. During the past quarter of a century, he recorded numerous historic monuments, participated in the reconstruction of Williamsburg, directed a number of skillful restorations, and published, in addition to many articles in periodicals, handsome volumes on *The Domestic Colonial Architecture of Tidewater Virginia* (1932), with John A. Barrows, *The Early Architecture of North Carolina* (1941), with Frances Benjamin Johnston, and *The Mansions of Virginia* (1945).

It was a fitting climax of a distinguished career that Waterman was able to complete *The Dwellings of Colonial America* in which his wide knowledge is focused on a general account of domestic architecture in the Atlantic seaboard settlements. It does much to satisfy a curiously neglected need.

Following a brief review of the settlement of the English, Dutch, and Swedish colonies, the text is organized around four major geographical regions. The southern colonies occupy 108 pages, the Delaware Valley and Pennsylvania 74 pages, the Hudson Valley and eastern New Jersey 46 pages, and New England 50 pages. Within each area, the story is carried chronologically from the first rude shelters, through the first permanent structures, and finally through the more formal and sophisticated eighteenth-century examples of the mature colonies.

Of particular interest is the author's concern to reveal the cross fertilization of colonial building, effected by the later emigrants from other British colonies and from other European countries. The Huguenots, the Swiss, the Moravians, the Scots, the Palatines, and other groups contributed architectural ingredients that flavored the composite picture. All of these are carefully noted.

It is, however, in tracing the reception and colonialization of the high styles, Georgian and Palladian, that the primary emphasis quite properly is placed. Here the quality of colonial ambition, conception, and execution furnished a body of material worthy of the most serious study and exposition. Here, too, the author's long experience, profound knowledge, and warm sympathy are especially apparent.

In format and typography the volume is handsome and comfortable. The 272 illustrations are valuable adjuncts to the text. They include thirty-nine floor plans, and five rendered reconstruction views that recapture the form of monuments lost or altered. The half-tone reproductions of 228 photographs, however, vary considerably in clarity. Part of the difficulty arose from the necessity of using rare old views, but, even for those prints which seem to have been technically excellent, the final result is often fuzzy and muddy. It is curious that for all our pretension to mechanical perfection, American printing should still come so far short of German, Swiss, and Swedish production. At the price of the present book it

would seem that a more adequate quality could be expected. The volume closes with a three-page bibliography, a five-page glossary, and a useful index.

Without detracting from Waterman's solid achievement, it remains to note a few reservations. One misses the concept of architecture as an amalgam of function, structure, and form. One seeks in vain for a hint of the activities housed within the various rooms. None of the plans designates room uses. The author's preoccupation with form for its own sake is revealed particularly in his thoroughgoing endeavor to isolate the transatlantic sources of American examples. This needs to be done because the colonists were always mature members of European civilization. In seeking too specific models, however, the case is overpleaded.

Some readers will be disappointed at the imbalance of space given the northern regions in contrast to the South. This is partly due to the grouping together of Virginia, Maryland, and the two Carolinas as a single unit, whereas the North is split into three foci. Another cause, cited in the introduction, that the South was more heterogeneous and thus demanded fuller treatment, will raise a number of Yankee eyebrows. One paragraph for Connecticut, for example, seems over-brief. Extant examples of eighteenth-century work in Georgia are indeed few, but they deserve at least some recognition.

Nevertheless, all who aspire to understand American history and the noblest material products of its culture will stand in debt to Thomas Waterman. His contributions to our knowledge have been great and, by example, he has challenged his colleagues and his successors to further search into the evolution and meaning of our uncommon creative heritage. Such is an epitaph in which any historian of American architecture would well find satisfaction.

University of Illinois

TURPIN C. BANNISTER

APPEALS TO THE PRIVY COUNCIL FROM THE AMERICAN PLANTATIONS. By *Joseph Henry Smith*. With an Introductory Essay by *Julius Goebel, Jr.* [Foundation for Research in Legal History, Columbia University School of Law.] (New York: Columbia University Press, 1950. Pp. lxi, 770. \$10.00.)

THIS massive study evaluates the work of the Privy Council as a judicial body exercising appellate jurisdiction over the courts of the American colonies. To a large extent it represents a re-examination of the problem first studied in some detail by George A. Washburne almost thirty years ago. While Washburne saw fit to confine his inquiry to appeals from the thirteen colonies and restricted his sources to the Public Record Office, Mr. Smith has placed the problem in a broad imperial setting and combed an impressive mass of documentary materials not only in Great Britain but also in the principal American depositories of colonial records. Furthermore, since the author is convinced that the council's jurisdiction over the Channel Islands constitutes the core of its appellate powers, he has deemed

it expedient to preface his study of the colonial period with an examination of the medieval status of the Channel Islands and the problems of judicial supervision of that area under the early Stuarts.

Did the council confine its appellate functions to determining the mere matter in controversy or did it actually expound the law and take politics into consideration in making its rulings? These questions are raised at numerous points in the volume and the answers should seem quite obvious to students of constitutional and legal history. The basis of the review power in England was traditionally the superintendence of inferior jurisdictions. It was to be expected, therefore, that the council would propound broad statements of the law transcending the narrow interests involved in a specific litigation. Since a primary impulse to the exercise of appellate jurisdiction was the protection of the crown's interests, it was not unlikely that political rather than legal considerations would govern under certain circumstances.

The position of the crown was that English law was a standard with which, all things being equal, compliance would be exacted in the colonies. Hence, the extent to which judicial review was exercised over colonial decisions would determine the degree to which American courts conformed to the common law. That such conformity was found to a greater extent in the eighteenth century than in the seventeenth bespeaks in no small measure the activities of such regulatory agencies as the council. As the author brings out in his review of the Parsons' Cause, the question as to whether or not colonial laws could be void *ab initio* as a result of decisions of the Privy Council was still unsettled by the eve of the Revolution, although the better opinion was that they were not.

The author has tallied fifteen hundred appeals in the council register between the years 1696 and 1783, coming from thirty-five different jurisdictions. But such a quantitative evaluation by itself may give a distorted impression of the operations of the council. In the field of common law civil jurisdiction only the courts of Rhode Island, Virginia, and Massachusetts, of the continental colonies, were subject to fairly well-sustained control by the council. Neither criminal appeals nor chancery matters were effectively supervised. The former were largely restricted to the early decades of the eighteenth century and relate primarily to Barbados. Control of chancery was confined to the West Indies. While in most of the colonies affirmances and reversals are fairly evenly divided, with the latter having a slight edge, in Rhode Island reversals outnumbered affirmances by three-to-one.

From such statistics it would hardly be safe to conclude that the colonists were enamored of the common law. Only where its procedure coincided with their own interests did they demand it as they did other rights of Englishmen. The council, on the other hand, took a dim view of colonial law and lawyers and devoted little effort to determining the economic needs of the colonists. In the long run, this contemptuous attitude toward colonial interests encouraged a spirit of independency. On the basic issue of the transplantation of the common law and the

growth of an indigenous legal system in America both Mr. Smith's evidence, unfolded in exhaustive detail, and his commentary, often too tightly interwoven to be easily untangled, must henceforth be carefully considered by scholars who address themselves to the problem.

Columbia University

RICHARD B. MORRIS

LIBERTY AND PROPERTY. By R. V. Coleman. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1951. Pp. xiii, 606. \$5.00.)

IN 1948 Mr. Coleman published *The First Frontier*, giving a vivid account of the planting and early development of England's first colonies in America. In the present volume he continues the story for another century, from the British conquest of New Netherland in 1664 through the Stamp Act Congress of 1765.

In discussing the events of this century the author achieves the widest possible geographical coverage. Not content merely to fill in the links in the chain of English colonies along the coast—the Carolinas, Pennsylvania, and Georgia—he gives ample attention to French and Spanish activities within the confines of what is now the United States. Thus the intrigues of the French in the Iroquois country, French exploration and expansion in the upper Mississippi and Ohio Valleys, La Salle's attempt to found a colony in Texas, Spanish expansion into New Mexico and Texas, and the beginnings of Louisiana are all treated in considerable detail, especially the last-named enterprise.

If the scope of the book is broad, territorially speaking, that is no less true in other respects. Mr. Coleman is interested in politics, military affairs, and constitutional issues, but he is also concerned with the economic, social, and cultural life of the time. At least eight of his thirty-one chapters deal exclusively with non-political subjects, while other chapters contain a goodly admixture of the same sort of material.

Basing his volume upon a wide range of original sources, as well as upon many of the standard secondary works, Mr. Coleman has related the story of one hundred years of colonial life interestingly and well. He writes with zest but he makes no attempt at fine writing. Interest never lags. Anyone wishing to refresh himself on the events of this period may spend several pleasant evenings perusing this book. The author has written an excellent work for that large segment of the literate population whose individual members are commonly referred to as "the general reader."

Attempting, as he does, to cover the varied aspects of colonial development over a relatively long period of time, Mr. Coleman could scarcely be expected to uncover any large amount of new material. Undoubtedly he would be the first to admit that he has largely re-examined familiar sources. Nor has he presented a new or novel interpretation of the century in question.

In spite of the variety of topics touched upon by Mr. Coleman, certain

chapters essential to a well-rounded discussion of the period are conspicuously absent. There is no adequate or systematic consideration of the relation of British policy to the economic development of the colonies. The Navigation Acts are sketchily presented, even though frequently referred to in the index. The Iron Act of 1750 is not mentioned. There is no connected account of the problem of colonial currency. The Currency Act of 1764 is omitted. Paper money is discussed only in reference to Massachusetts. Other colonies were more notorious offenders in this respect. This reviewer finds little evidence of the use of Wertenbaker's researches either in the discussion of Bacon's Rebellion or in the treatment of the evolution of the tobacco economy of Virginia.

The proportions of the volume may be questioned by some of its readers. The author devotes twenty-eight pages to the founding of Louisiana. But he disposes of the era from 1754 through the Stamp Act Congress in thirty-seven pages, even though he derives the title of the volume from a slogan used in those momentous years.

Mr. Coleman has done his work with great care. Only an occasional slip is to be found. On page 568 C. W. Alvord is correctly cited, but elsewhere on the same page he becomes "Alford."

Ninety illustrations enhance the general attractiveness of the volume.

Brown University

JAMES B. HEDGES

LETTERS OF BENJAMIN RUSH. Volume I: 1761-1792. Volume II: 1793-1813. Edited by L. H. Butterfield. [Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society, Volume XXX, Parts 1 and 2.] (Princeton: Princeton University Press for American Philosophical Society, 1951. Pp. lxxxvii, 624; 627-1295. \$15.00.)

THOSE who have cherished the scattered letters of Dr. Benjamin Rush owe a debt of gratitude to all concerned in the publication of these two volumes of letters, about two thirds of which have never been published before. Mr. Butterfield has been an associate editor of the Jefferson writings, and he maintains the same high standards in this work. The footnotes at the end of each letter are a mine of information. They add value to every letter and are often more important than the letters themselves. The letters are placed in context, people and events are identified, and problems are clarified.

The letters of such men as Rush are of particular importance for the history of the Revolutionary era. Too many ideas concerning the period have been determined by the partially published letters of a few political leaders; almost never have the letters to them been published. Thus we see the issues as a few men saw them and we see them without knowing what was in the letters they were answering. The one exception is the edition of Jefferson's writings now under way. The letters to Rush are not printed by Butterfield, but they are identified and located and often their main points are summarized.

Rush was one of the "secondary figures" of his time (politically speaking at least); yet in many ways his letters are as important for an understanding of the history of the period as are those of a Hamilton or a Jefferson. He knew most of the great political leaders. He wrote to them and they to him. Rush was a man with vigorous opinion. He had warm friends and even warmer enemies. He never hesitated to write what he thought about both. Doubtless he was indiscreet, as the editor suggests, but Rush declared that "prudence is a rascally virtue" and we can be grateful that he thought so.

Rush's greatest influence was in the field of medicine. He was busy most of his adult life as a doctor, as a teacher of medicine, and as a vigorous pamphleteer and essayist. He had vast influence on his own and subsequent generations of doctors. Not all of that influence was good. It could be said that a nation bled for Rush and his disciples for he was convinced that bleeding was the remedy for almost every ailment. Nevertheless, he believed in the importance of sanitation, fresh air, and good diet, and urged these as vigorously as he did bloodletting. He advised all of his friends about their ailments and how to cure them. His advice to President Jefferson on how to cure his digestive ailments is highly diverting. His letters on the yellow fever epidemic in 1793 are an extraordinary series. His enemies said that he killed as many patients as the yellow fever did, but he displayed magnificent courage and left a remarkable record of the event. He was for a time surgeon general in the Revolutionary army. His accounts of the horrors of military hospitals illuminate a little-known side of military history. He battled Dr. William Shippen, director general of the hospitals, and charged him with incompetence and outright corruption. Rush was forced to resign although he seems clearly to have been in the right.

A busy life as doctor and teacher was not enough for Rush. He was active and influential in the movements for prison reform, the abolition of slavery, temperance, and modernizing education. In addition he played a sporadic though often important part in politics. He was a member of Congress in 1776 and ardently supported independence. He took part in the debates over the Articles of Confederation and showed himself to be a strong nationalist—and loyal—when he argued for representation in Congress according to population, rather than by states. He opposed the Democratic Pennsylvania Constitution of 1776 and joined in the fight against it until it was replaced by the Constitution of 1790. He was a supporter of a strong central government for the United States, but he split with the Federalist party because of Hamilton's financial program. He believed it to be shot through with injustice and corruption and became a follower of Jefferson. Yet he remained a friend of John Adams and brought about a reconciliation between Adams and Jefferson in 1811 and 1812. He was thus directly responsible for the great series of letters between those two men, 1812-1826, which are soon to be published in full for the first time.

This account by no means covers all the facets of Rush's career but enough

has been said to indicate its variety and importance and the significance of his letters.

University of Wisconsin

MERRILL JENSEN

GENERAL CHARLES LEE: TRAITOR OR PATRIOT? By *John Richard Alden*. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1951. Pp. ix, 369. \$4.75.)

LEE has waited long for a competent biographer. The same was true of Mr. Alden's previous subject, Thomas Gage, who played an equally crucial role in the American Revolution. But there the resemblance ends. Gage, for all his kindness and competence, was an essentially dull man. Lee, for all his rancor and imprudence, was an arresting person by the standards of any age. His career had ingredients that challenge a biographer, as Gage's had not—the English officer casting in his lot with rebels, rising to a position that rivaled Washington's, then captured and threatened with hanging; the triumphant return to the American army on the eve of Monmouth, then court-martial and oblivion. Mr. Alden handles these ingredients with quiet skill. He is avowedly partial to Lee, yet he deals fairly with controversial issues; above all he brings out the character of the man. He did as much for Gage, and as works of scholarship there is little to choose between the two biographies. But as literature *General Lee* is far superior.

The central thesis of the book is suggested by the subtitle. Mr. Alden concludes that Lee, whether or not he was a patriot in the conventional sense, was not a traitor to the American cause: he did not betray it but attempted to compromise it when he became convinced that compromise would best serve the interests of both sides. Although this thesis cannot be conclusively proved, Mr. Alden makes a cogent case. He is particularly persuasive in disposing of the suspicion that Lee's actions at Monmouth were treasonable. The reader may not be convinced that the verdict reached by the court-martial and confirmed by Congress ran counter to the evidence, but he will find it hard to deny that the decision was political rather than judicial—a vote of confidence in Washington more than a condemnation of Lee. The error of forcing a decision was Lee's; it reflects on his judgment, not his loyalty. "If I have . . . been guilty of any treason," he wrote to Congress in 1780 (p. 352, n. 14), "it has been against myself alone, in not once from the beginning of the contest to this day consulting common prudence with respect to my own affairs."

Mr. Alden has a subsidiary thesis, less important and less convincing, that Lee as a general "seems to have been superior to Washington and Nathaniel Greene" (p. 306). On what does this judgment rest? Lee's reputation was established when he was credited—Mr. Alden thinks justly—with saving Charleston in 1776; British accounts, however, indicate that the town was saved primarily by the attackers' blunders and the accuracy of fire from a fort that Lee had wished to

evacuate. During the subsequent campaign in New York and New Jersey Lee scarcely proved himself Washington's superior: the commander in chief did save the army for the later counterattack at Trenton, whereas Lee's most important act was to get himself captured. The blindness to danger that led him to that disaster seems to have recurred at Monmouth, where his generalship was scarcely immune to criticism: he made an attack which he considered hazardous, and from which he could retreat only by the way he had come; yet he apparently failed to reconnoiter the ground and, when he did have to retire, had no notion of where to find a defensible position. None of this suggests comparison with the best generalship of Washington or Greene.

If Lee was not the military genius that Americans thought him before his disgrace, his reputation thereafter sank so low that his real services were obscured. Mr. Alden has made them clear again, has defended their author with objectivity and balance against the charge of calculated treason, and in general has rendered him a justice long overdue. In the process he has done what is far more difficult and important: he has brought Lee alive, with all his anomalies and moodiness, and has shown us a person whom no reader will soon forget.

University of Michigan

WILLIAM B. WILLCOX

THE JEFFERSONIANS: A STUDY IN ADMINISTRATIVE HISTORY, 1801-1829. By *Leonard D. White*, University of Chicago. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1951. Pp. xiv, 572. \$6.00.)

THE administrative history of the early years of the American republic was unexplored territory until Leonard White, of the University of Chicago, assumed the labor of trail-blazing. American historians have reason to be grateful for his first pioneer study on *The Federalists*, and for the present volume, its successor, *The Jeffersonians*. By the largely inclusive term "Jeffersonians," Mr. White covers the administrations of Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, and John Quincy Adams—the latter for the first time now treated as a "Jeffersonian" in order to make way for a very different caliber of democratic leadership and administration with the advent of the Jackson era. The verdict on these "Jeffersonians" is that they ably "carried the Federalist administrative machine forward without substantial alteration in form or in spirit for nearly three decades. . . . It was well that these added years of consolidation and maturity were possible before the vast changes that the steam locomotive was to launch burst upon the country."

While Mr. White is disposed to think kindly of the Jeffersonians, he can not, from his professional vantage point, grant them the praise for innovation and creation that he reserves for the Federalists, and particularly for the super-administrator, Alexander Hamilton. Mr. White is under the impression that the function of the Jeffersonians was more negative than positive: they inherited a working administrative machinery, designed by the Federalists, and they tried to

direct it toward peace, economy, discharge of the debt, reduction of the army and navy, protection of the rights of the states and of the citizen. They had, he feels, little opportunity for "constructive experimentation." This view is not entirely substantiated by the material included in the book, nor is it adequate to the realities of early American administrative history.

In the first place, Mr. White himself indicates, in his treatment of Jefferson's use of discretionary powers during the bold experiment of the Embargo, that this great statesman was indeed venturing into an untried experiment. The power of the chosen weapon, embargo, proved to be faulty. But it demonstrated that the government possessed a system strong enough to enforce the Embargo, and that it could avail itself of emergency legislation, backed by the moral authority of the government itself. The Embargo was the first venture in the field of economic warfare in America, and, as such, should not be ignored in assessing the administrative imaginativeness of the Jeffersonians.

In the second place, Mr. White fails to comprehend the importance of the Louisiana Purchase for Jefferson's theory of executive leadership in a republic. He devotes one brief paragraph to this momentous issue and dismisses it with the comment that Jefferson abandoned his scruples because the stakes were so enormous. Jefferson himself wrote the classic justification of his position, showing that he did not abandon his moral scruples but on the contrary that "It is incumbent on those only who accept of great charges, to risk themselves on great occasions, when the safety of the nation, or some of its very high interests are at stake." In short, the law of self-preservation takes precedence over a strict observance of the written laws. This conception of executive leadership is still packed with meaning for our future.

In the third place, Mr. White considers the development of administrative procedures as the work of the Federalists, and all subsequent efforts as minor. But Madison, in his vigorous role in the first Congress, and as trusted adviser to President Washington, played a significant part in shaping the executive departments. More than that, he established the tone and morality of republican institutions, by preventing the assumption of honorific titles and court ceremonies. Jefferson, as the first Secretary of State, contributed in a real sense to the theory of a strong executive, and in his quarrel with Hamilton, then Secretary of the Treasury, blocked future attempts on the part of one vital agency from swallowing up another or all others.

Finally, Mr. White keeps his attention on administration in the narrow sense, thereby overvaluing power and efficiency as against free government. In this process, he does not give credit to Jefferson and Madison for circumventing Federalist John Adams' attempt to muzzle the free press in the United States. By their effective campaign against the Alien and Sedition Acts, the Republican leaders preserved the democratic structure of American society—namely, that the government is not above criticism. Because they succeeded in safeguarding a free press

and free speech, the Jeffersonians found that they had less to do in the way of sweeping reforms when they assumed power in "the revolution of 1800." Mr. White's habit of confining himself to patent administrative matters, and ignoring the wider setting of free society, leads to the apotheosis of means over ends. This would be a true Hamiltonian success—without democracy.

New York University

ADRIENNE KOCH

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS: HIS THEORY AND IDEAS. By *George A. Lipsky*, Assistant Professor of Political Science, University of California. Foreword by Allan Nevins. (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company. 1950. Pp. xii, 347. \$4.50.)

Mr. Lipsky's book on John Quincy Adams performs the long-needed task of presenting Adams' ideas in a systematic form. On the whole Mr. Lipsky has succeeded. He admires his subject but never loses the capacity to view him with detachment. Dealing with an enormous quantity of material, he avoids the temptation to oversimplify. If Mr. Lipsky errs in any respect it is in a tendency to avoid taking a positive stand where it might seem desirable, in occasionally presenting all the evidence and leaving it for the reader to draw a conclusion.

He demonstrates the consistency of Adams' ideas and traces with skill and in great detail the interrelationship between Adams' religious views, his version of the natural law doctrine, his republicanism, and his attitude toward public office. Adams' political principles were for him a matter of revealed truth, not experimental knowledge. Public office was literally a sacred trust to be conducted in accordance with the dictates of conscience and the laws of reason, not the humor of a popular majority. The similarity in thought and personality between Adams and the early New England Puritans is an important and obvious one to which Lipsky pays little attention. Nothing was more conventional in New England Puritan thought than its professions of humility, and in this and many other respects John Quincy Adams betrayed his indebtedness to his New England heritage.

Mr. Lipsky's sins like the one cited above are largely sins of omission though he does present Adams' attitude toward democracy and his philosophy of internal improvement in a questionable light. Mr. Lipsky is an eminently cautious man, and, in challenging his conclusions, it is a matter of disputing emphases, not confronting dogmatic statements. He asserts (p. 108) of Adams that "many years passed before he came to admit the power of democratic arguments," and later (p. 120) he lays stress on the fact that Adams as he grew older became less devoted to the status quo. It is certainly true that Lipsky doesn't claim Adams as a convert to democracy, but the implication is misleading. As democracy triumphed, Adams' dissatisfaction led him to adopt what was on the whole a reactionary position. At best Adams resigned himself to democracy, convinced

like his grandson, that the logic of republican institutions was irresistible and wondering like Burke whether to resist change on so massive a scale was not an act of impiety toward a cosmic design. Certainly he never embraced a society which elevated mediocrity to office, dissipated the public estate, countenanced the extension of slavery, and attacked what Adams considered to be the legitimate rights of property.

Mr. Lipsky also overemphasizes the claim of Adams as a progenitor of the welfare state. He is right that in some respects (pp. 138-39) Adams is closer to Franklin Roosevelt than Andrew Jackson, but he is closer to Hoover than Lipsky is willing to admit. Adams' right to be considered as the father of a program of direct aid to the working classes is based not on any elaborate projects undertaken during his presidency or even on an explicit statement of the need for such a program during his administration but is largely derived from two subsequent declarations of intent, one made in a private letter, the other incorporated in a public address. Adams was for his time a very enlightened conservative, but it is scarcely just to consider him as anticipating the New Deal. The overwhelming emphasis in his program was on the development of the commonwealth through aid to business in a number of ways, a variant of the "what helps business helps you" philosophy.

Mr. Lipsky reveals a major weakness in dealing with the question of Adams' politics. He asserts (p. 257) that Adams "became at best a hesitant Jeffersonian," and later (p. 261) that Adams was never an anti-Federalist and never became a republican. What was he? Lipsky confessed that Adams was *sui generis*, defying classification. The case is not so hopeless. If Publicola's and Adams' attack on Fisher Ames are taken together it is possible to measure the difference between John Quincy Adams' views and those of Jefferson on the one hand and those of Adams, the Essex Junto, and Hamilton on the other. These same papers reveal the depth of John Quincy Adams' indebtedness to his father. It was a kind of James Mill-John Stuart Mill relationship with the significant difference that the son never rebelled against the father. It is unfortunate that the author has relied on John Locke as the primary source of John Quincy Adams' ideas when the evidence for the influence of John Adams on his son is so impressive. Mr. Lipsky has written a good book. It is only to be regretted in the light of his obvious ability and industry that he lacked sufficient background to write a book with broader significance.

Clark University

W. F. DOWLING, JR.

THE ESSENTIAL NEW YORKER: GULIAN CROMMELIN VERPLANCK.

By Robert W. July. (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1951. Pp. vii, 313. \$5.00.)

THOUGH immature minds have never been able to resist the temptation of

sneering at those of the rich and well-born who meddle with anything besides increasing their incomes, students of American history must recognize the debt all of us owe to the often undramatic men of means who, time and time again, have made life worth living, not only for artists and writers grown bored with Bohemia but also for the average citizen suspicious of political extremists left and right. New York City has been particularly happy in the number of its public servants of this class; most of them lawyers, most of them conservatives, they have occasionally made an artist feel he was genuinely appreciated, rallied behind many a reformer in public office. The grocer Luman Reed, who doted on the paintings of his contemporary Thomas Cole, belonged to this select circle. So did the late Henry Stimson. And so, too, did Gulian Crommelin Verplanck, who, at last, eighty-one years after his death, is the subject of an admirable biography by Robert W. July.

As July admits, Verplanck today is almost totally forgotten. But as readers of July will be bound to confess, the fault may lie less in Verplanck than in our failure to recognize the extent of his services to New York and the nation. Though he was never handed the choicest political plums, he made an invaluable assemblyman, state senator, and congressman. In Albany he saw to it that more money was spent more wisely on our schools, and when Seward began his battle against the depression of 1837 by devoting state funds to public works, backed him to the limit. In Washington this ex-Federalist turned Jacksonian displayed his political independence by defending the Bank of the United States. No friend of extreme protectionists, he drafted a sensible tariff bill in 1832, and was too dignified to groan when his measure was scrapped by Henry Clay.

Verplanck was also a genial patron of the artists of his day, no matter if he was accused of being close in money matters. He did his best to persuade Washington Allston to decorate the Capitol, and, when Allston hung back, made it possible for Vanderlyn, Weir, Inman, and Chapman to secure their commissions. No wonder he was elected the first president of the Century Association.

Certain of July's readers may wish that he had quoted more liberally from the Verplanck papers, made more of his relations with Thomas Cole. And students of architecture may feel that July failed to underline Verplanck's unusual understanding of the aims of our romantic architects. But after all, a book is not to be judged by the whimpers of captious specialists. Besides being a careful scholar, July writes with genuine charm and quotes from his hero with such discretion that not a few of us will be dipping into Verplanck's works this winter.

Verplanck himself would be pleased with July's gentle emphasis on his importance. And the modest old president of the Century would no doubt be the first to hope that the author's talents be devoted in the future to more spectacular figures. If his next book deals with a famous man, July should reach the large audience he deserves.

RAYMOND OF THE TIMES. By *Francis Brown*. (New York: W. W. Norton and Company. 1951. Pp. viii, 345. \$5.00.)

STUDENTS of journalism and nineteenth-century America have long felt the need for a full-length biography of Henry Jarvis Raymond, western New York farm boy, graduate of the University of Vermont, founder of the New York *Times*, close friend of Thurlow Weed and William H. Seward, lieutenant governor of his native state, confidante of Lincoln and manager of his campaign for reelection in 1864, supporter of Andrew Johnson, congressman, and, at all times, ardent worker for the preservation of the Union. This book, the product of a skilled historical craftsman, admirably meets that need. In fact it does far more, for its author, the editor of the weekly New York *Times Book Review*, has done a double job: a meticulously etched portrait of Raymond with especial emphasis upon the political features of his career and a chronicle of the early history of a great newspaper.

The book is well proportioned and is built upon a sound foundation of source material much of which has been used for the first time. Of the twenty-three chapters the first seven, totaling approximately one hundred pages, sketch the contemporary scene and trace Raymond's activities to the founding of the *Times* in the spring of 1841. The next seven chapters carry through to the formation of the Republican party and the eve of the Civil War. The remainder of the book covers Raymond's part as a newspaperman and political spokesman during the war years and the Johnson administration. The concluding chapter "Into the Valley" is the story of Raymond's last years, his untimely death at the age of forty-nine, and an estimate of the man and his work.

Within the confines of a brief review it is quite impossible to do justice to this important historical contribution. Some there are, perhaps, who after reading this book will feel that Mr. Brown has not explored as fully as he should the domestic aspects of Raymond's life. This reviewer is not among them. That Raymond's home life was far from happy, the author makes clear. He is also frank in pointing out that Mrs. Raymond was a difficult person with whom to live and that her husband had a penchant for pretty women and was much in their company. In the opinion of this reviewer Mr. Brown was under no obligation to go beyond this clear statement of the facts.

Students of social history will find in this volume much valuable material. Scattered throughout the book are not only pen pictures of politicians great and less great, of editors such as Horace Greeley of the *Tribune*, James Gordon Bennett of the *Herald*, and James Watson Webb of the *Courier and Enquirer*, but summary paragraphs of happenings in New York, Saratoga, Newport, Washington, and elsewhere. In municipal politics he had little interest. Occasionally, however, he joined with civic leaders and businessmen in the cause of good local government. While the poverty and ugliness of the city's slums distressed him,

he did little or nothing to eliminate the causes of these festering sores. Reform, social or political, was not in his blood.

Once launched, the *Times* meant more to him than anything in the world. He resolved that in politics as in all else it should always be an independent sheet. The paper's proper business, he said, was "to publish *facts* in such form and temper as to lead men of all parties to rely upon its statements of facts, and then to discuss them in the light of truth and justice, and not of party interest." From this principle Raymond never deviated though he was sometimes under pressure to do so. Unlike most of its contemporaries, the *Times* studiously avoided that which was cheap, vulgar, and sensational. Raymond's golden rule for editors and reporters set a high standard: "get all the news; never indulge in personalities; treat all men civilly; put all your strength into your work, and remember that a daily newspaper should be an accurate reflection of the world as it is."

Mr. Brown neither debunks nor glorifies. From the first page to the last he retains his objectivity without cramping his lively and at times dramatic presentation. Like most humans the Raymond who is portrayed in this book had both his strengths and weaknesses. Though small of physical stature and never robust he was at all times urbane, affable, affectionate, a witty and interesting conversationalist, and at all times one who was sought out because of his charm and sociability. Though thought of by some as a "political trimmer" the weight of evidence indicates that he was a person of greatest integrity. Conservative in outlook, opposed to extremism, having ability to see both sides, a great nationalist, and an ardent advocate of personal and civil liberty—these, along with belief in excellence of performance and devotion to duty and hard work were the traits which endeared him to others. But there were weaknesses too. One was his inability to rise above political disappointment. Another was his lack of realistic appraisal of public opinion. He had a well-trained mind but was lacking in a high degree of originality. Though he put country above party he was nevertheless incurably addicted to party politics. All who read this book will agree, this reviewer believes, with Mr. Brown that the New York *Times* was Raymond's real monument.

Columbia University

HARRY J. CARMAN

THE ILLINOIS MILITARY TRACT: A STUDY OF LAND OCCUPATION, UTILIZATION, AND TENURE. By *Theodore L. Carlson*. [Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences, Volume XXXII, No. 2.] (Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1951. Pp. vii, 218. Paper \$2.50, cloth \$3.50.)

THE Illinois Military Tract was one of three reserves created out of the public domain in which land bounties given to soldiers of the War of 1812 could be located. Because a high proportion of the veterans never moved to their locations but sold their rights to speculators whose hopes for quick profits were dashed by

the slowness with which emigration moved into the region, its titles became involved with tax liens, squatters' claims, occupying tenants' rights, and judgment titles. To protect their interests patent title holders organized against tax title owners, squatters invoked the aid of the traditional claim association and local residents angrily discriminated against absentee owners who paid their taxes reluctantly, if at all. Withal a bevy of land agents, dealers, speculators, loan sharks, and frontier lawyers flourished and waxed fat on the confusion. Had the bounties been assignable and subject to location anywhere on the public domain, as was the case with those of the Mexican War, some of this difficulty might have been avoided. The Military Tract, an area possessing common characteristics of soil, climate, topography, and later a homogeneous population, and an area bedeviled for years by confusion over land titles, developed a certain regionalism which made it a "natural" for analysis.

"A Study of Land Occupation, Utilization, and Tenure" is an ambitious project if it is to be intensively conducted, even for part of a state like Illinois. Previous studies dealing with the settlement of Illinois, its colonization railroad, its second railroad, and its canal made the way easier. The author follows familiar paths in part, but he also strikes out into new areas. The story of early settlement adds little to the account by Pooley and Boggess though it is pin-pointed a little more and the account of agricultural development is familiar though the author has added a good deal of useful statistical analysis. The treatment of types of farming is both fresher and more enlightening. The author has spared the reader the detail of the well-known farmers' revolt but brings out the indignation of the farmer at the Burlington Railroad, which received numerous public subventions but disregarded farmers' welfare in its rate structure.

The greatest value and principal weakness of Carlson's study is in the discussion of land policies and tenure. The confusion of titles, the conflict between absentee speculators dealing in both patent and tax titles and squatters and other resident owners with at least a color of title is well analyzed. I wished for more information concerning the fate of absentee ownership, the success of the New York and Boston Illinois Land Company and numerous other extensive holders of titles. Was the \$15 dividend of the Munn Land Company a repayment of principal or was it from earnings? How could eleven of the twenty-eight large holders of land in the Military Tract sell more land than they seem to have bought? What happened to the new group of landlords whose extensive holdings were acquired in the mid-nineteenth century? Among these were the Park-Lawrence holding of sixty farms in Illinois and Missouri, but mostly in the Military Tract, the Columbus R. Cummings holding of sixty-two farms containing 14,200 acres in Adams and Tazewell counties, the latter of course being outside the tract. What is the origin of the Gale and Straus holdings?

Professor Carlson agrees in part with Destler's view that farm mortgages in the tract in the nineties were evidences of improvement and capital expansion, but seems to think the growth of tenancy was the result of unfavorable economic

conditions. He is skeptical of the working of the agricultural ladder and shows that there was a considerable displacement of older American tenant farmers who were discouraged by their failure to gain ownership and who, toward the end of the century, moved farther west to try anew. He does not link this displacement of older stock, now quite disillusioned in the period of Populism, with recent European arrivals who willingly, in fact anxiously, took over their rents. These new tenants were not inclined to revolt, to join the Populists, to shout for government regulation and ownership of the railroads and warehouses.

Carlson has made good use of the deed and mortgage records in the recorders' offices, but he might have carried further his searches into the probate and tax records which would have given information concerning the large holdings, rental payments, collections, profits and losses in land sales and land management. Much can be learned about landlord-tenant relations from these records, and also the court records involving suits of ejectment, landlords' liens, and even assault and battery cases. A weakness of this study is that it is too largely statistical. Had private collections of papers or even those in public hands, such as the Romulus Riggs manuscripts been searched we might have had more of the practical experiences of the speculator, the squatter, the landlord, the owner-operator, or the tenant. Certainly, the story could have been more broadly based, variations and exceptions to the census statistics would have appeared, and more life would have been instilled in the treatment.

Cornell University

PAUL W. GATES

THE UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA, 1851-1951. By *James Gray*. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 1951. Pp. xvii, 609. \$3.75.)

THE history of any public institution in the United States over a period of a century must inevitably present the story of hostilities, resentments, and frustrations. The University of Minnesota in the first hundred years of its existence was not exempt from these, but how these were overcome and how by the end of the century there emerged an institution in which the people of Minnesota may "feel a surge of pride and a renewal of confidence" provide the theme for the interesting record described by Mr. James Gray.

Some readers may doubt the wisdom of one of the requirements placed upon the author by the university administration that the record should be limited to one volume of reasonable size, but no one can say that Mr. Gray has not successfully met the second requirement "that it be readable by any member of the huge university family or their friends, wherever they may be." There are pages, it must be admitted, when the reader is reminded of an earlier chronicle with its long lists of "begats," but in the end patience is rewarded, and an interesting phase of American culture in general and of American education in particular is unfolded.

Nevertheless the volume does challenge comparison with another written to

celebrate the centennial of the University of Manchester (1851-1951). This book, *Portrait of a University* by Professor H. B. Charlton, is only 185 pages in length but conveys an idea of the university more clearly without encumbering the portrait with the vast amount of detail in the Minnesota volume. Allowances must, of course, be made for the slower progress of the British university, the absence of many of the points of tension found in the American institution, and the difference in the concept of the function of a university in the two countries. The shorter volume is likely to have a greater appeal to the general reader, while the other is important as a record *pro domo*.

The pattern of the volume does not become clear for some time, but once comprehended it appears that the formidable task undertaken by Mr. Gray was to weave together into one composite tapestry the following four strands: the gradual development of the idea of a university; town and gown or, more precisely, politics and education; the personalities of the leaders of the university's destiny—its presidents and deans; and the contributions of the scholars who gave the university its character and place. The weaving of the four strands together is not recognized as the process goes on, but in the end there stands out a picture of a university which, for the time being at any rate, has surmounted crisis after crisis to become an institution whose "activities," as President Coffey said in his farewell address, "have become interwoven with the fabric of life in Minnesota. There is scarcely a family with whom it has not had instructional contact; the results of its research have made life better and more secure in rural and metropolitan areas alike; its services, whether in providing medical care for the sick, in helping the farmer with his problems, or in aiding industry and the professions, ramify throughout the entire population."

To this idea of a university each president from Folwell on made his own particular contribution always with one guiding aim in mind—to devote scholarship and professional training to the service of the people of Minnesota. It was this aim that demanded adaptability, fluidity, and experimentation, and it was with this aim before it that the university grew from a series of separate schools and colleges, general and professional, into an integrated organism. Of this Folwell had already had a vision in 1869, except that he thought of a university as a federation of schools.

It is characteristic of American higher education that its story should be told in terms of administration. Perhaps this is inevitable in a system in which the university president is the link between the university and its board of trustees and alumni, and in a state institution between the university and its board of regents, the legislature, the alumni, and the public. Seven of the ten books which make up the volume under review are named for one of the presidents. It is not until one comes to the ninth book that those who really make a university or any educational institution—the teachers—are paid the tribute that they merit.

The volume will hold the interest of all members of the huge family of the

University of Minnesota. For those interested in higher education the most significant part of the volume will be the story of the gradual evolution of the American idea of a university as traced through the history of the University of Minnesota.

New York, N.Y.

I. L. KANDEL

MIDWESTERN PROGRESSIVE POLITICS: A HISTORICAL STUDY OF ITS ORIGINS AND DEVELOPMENT, 1870-1950. By *Russel B. Nye*. (East Lansing: Michigan State College Press. 1951. Pp. 422. \$5.00.)

FOR all our glib familiarity with the idea of federalism, we Americans do not understand its application to our nation very well. We think of the United States as if it were in fact, as it is in law, a union of forty-eight states, and we assume that the issue of state rights vs. federal power still has real meaning. Technically, of course, this is true, but actually the task of our national government is primarily to hold together a group of sections—eight, or ten, or a dozen of them—with hazy and sometimes shifting boundaries, and with deeply conflicting interests. It was not state rights but a great sectional controversy that precipitated the Civil War. And today the necessity of recognizing sectional opinions in such a way as not to offend too greatly any one section determines to a great extent the character of our political parties, our national government, and even our foreign policy.

Such a sectional study as the one under review is therefore of major importance. The Middle West was not inhabited exclusively by hell-raising Populists and discontented Progressives, but it contained enough people of that stripe to make it, almost from the time of its origin, a focal center of strictly 100 per cent American radicalism. Mr. Nye is dead right in recognizing the fact that the radicalism to which Middle Westerners gave voice was a peculiar and indigenous radicalism.

Theirs was not the spirit of the roaring camps of the gold trail, nor the Billy-the-Kid lawlessness of the cattle states, nor the rebelliousness of the city workers of the East, the coal miners of Pennsylvania and West Virginia, or the textile workers of the Southeast. It was not a class protest, nor a struggle of labor against capital in the Marxian sense. The Midwest's spirit of protest is simply its own, compounded out of its geography, its culture, its economic and social history. There is nothing else quite like it in the world [pp. 1-2].

To study from early beginnings to the present time the unfolding of the Middle Western spirit of protest is the purpose of this book. The author is right again in assuming the continuity of the movement. The Grangers, the Greenbackers, the Populists, the Insurgents, and the La Follette Progressives had much in common. Twentieth-century Middle Western Progressivism was in very truth the "lineal descendant of nineteenth century revolt." It was motivated by "the

same ideas travelling in the same direction, with new leaders, new vitality, and new weapons, against the old forces of privilege and corruption" (p. 196). It was individualistic, not socialistic; it favored governmental regulation and control of industry, not ownership and operation. As La Follette, the most authentic voice of twentieth-century Middle Western radicalism, well understood, the mission of the true Progressive was to defend capitalism "against itself," since "capitalism, unless checked, was almost certain to commit suicide, dragging democracy down with it" (p. 220).

The chief value of this book lies in the fact that it draws together into one chronological synthesis all the various phases of Middle Western protest. Much that is here presented is by no means new; what is new is the careful way in which sequential relationships are established. Often unnoticed, but here given due emphasis, is the part played by such "young rebel economists" as Richard T. Ely and John R. Commons, who, together with other Middle Western thinkers, produced a genuine "political philosophy of progressivism." It was this "capture of the ivory tower" that provided progressive agitators with some of the best of the weapons they were to use against social Darwinism and the "gospel of wealth." But it was an Easterner, Woodrow Wilson, who, according to Mr. Nye, deserves major credit for providing "the leadership" and "the opportunity" to put the greatest number of progressive measures into effect (p. 307). Oddly enough, F. D. Roosevelt and the New Deal fare rather badly in comparison. Mr. Nye is quite correct in pointing out that Wilson's ability to conceive of the United States "in federal terms" had much to do with his successes, but he seems to see in Roosevelt's even greater genius along the same line something sinister and offensive. Obviously, the peculiar point of view of one section could not be permitted to dominate the nation as a whole, something that Roosevelt fully understood. But if Middle Western Progressivism is on the decline today, it is not because it was betrayed by the New Deal; rather, it is because it achieved under Roosevelt's leadership so many of the ends for which it long had fought.

The book is delightfully written, and the narrative moves along with splendid momentum, at least until the post-World War I period, when there is a noticeable letdown. The Nonpartisan League of North Dakota, for example, is rather sketchily treated, and William Lemke's candidacy for the presidency in 1936 is overlooked entirely. Sometimes, unfortunately, the author is less careful of his facts than of his rhetoric. It was Horace Greeley, not Garfield, who made the extravagant defense of protectionism he quotes (p. 40). Governor Boyd of Nebraska was a Democrat, not a Republican (p. 63). Ignatius Donnelly sat in the national House of Representatives for three terms, but he was never, to his great sorrow, a United States senator (p. 66). The Arizona constitution, framed during Taft's administration, provided for the recall of judges, but that of New Mexico did not (p. 279). Theodore Roosevelt set up a Bureau of Corporations in the Department of Commerce and Labor, not a Bureau of Commissions (p. 257).

It was not the state legislature, but an individual, Treadwell Twitchell, who was accused of telling the North Dakota farmers to "Go home and slop the hogs!" (p. 312). "EPIC," at least west of the Sierra, generally meant "End Poverty in California," rather than "End Poverty in Civilization." And the definition of "free silver" as "that the government should coin all silver offered it at the rate of sixteen grains of silver to one of gold, rather than eight to one" (p. 59), will require considerable explaining. But, with the possible exception of the last, these are minor errors. The book is a substantial contribution to the literature of American history, and most college students who elect that subject will find it on their reading lists for a generation to come.

University of California, Berkeley

JOHN D. HICKS

JOE TUMULTY AND THE WILSON ERA. By *John M. Blum*. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1951. Pp. ix, 337. \$4.00.)

MR. Blum has written a sympathetic biography of an attractive, genial and astute politician who had the wit to attach himself to the right man at the right time and, by assisting in his advancement, to rise with him. The story of Joseph P. Tumulty's training in the boss-ridden wards of Jersey City's "Horseshoe," of his achievement of influence and power first in Trenton and then in Washington, and of his subsequent lapse from presidential grace is well told and supported by a mass of documentation from sources not hitherto available.

Joe Tumulty and the Wilson Era is of significance primarily to the student of American politics, for it provides a classic case study of the creation and maintenance of a political machine. Tumulty was a master of the skills required to keep together those coalitions of diverse interests that are called political parties. Mr. Blum's skillful portrayal of the manner in which Tumulty's political instinct, sense of publicity, and use of patronage responded to assuage the threats to Democratic solidarity created by such disturbing influences as the Klan, the Irish and the Catholic questions, and the problem of the "hyphenated Americans" throws light on the inner workings of a party machine such as is not often available. The student of administration will also be interested in the operation of the office of a President in those days when it was possible to combine in one man the now fragmented functions of private secretary, political adviser, party manager, sounding board, and friend.

Most people, however, will read this book for the light it may throw on Woodrow Wilson and on the major problems of his administration. Unfortunately, in doing something more than justice to Joe Tumulty, Mr. Blum has done something less to his principal. The Wilson that emerges is crotchety, stubborn, disloyal, arrogant. He was all of these, of course; but he was much more. The emphasis on these characteristics results in a political cartoon rather than a balanced portrait of Wilson. Nowhere is this distortion clearer than in

Mr. Blum's treatment of Wilson's sad fight for the Versailles Treaty, in which Tumulty appears as the man whose same political compromises might have saved the treaty (and the party) had it not been for the sick and stubborn Wilson.

Such distortion is probably inevitable in a book about a man whose major purpose was to get and keep the votes and who considered loyalty the cardinal virtue, when that book is written by one who seems fully to admire and sympathize with his subject and to accept his criteria. However natural, the upshot, so far as Wilson is concerned, is an account of but one of many influences on his career and on his handling of his administration, but little if any light on its relative significance in making him act and think as he did.

Washington, D.C.

WILLIAM DIAMOND

FOREIGN RELATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES: DIPLOMATIC PAPERS, 1934. In five volumes. Volume II, EUROPE, NEAR EAST, AND AFRICA. [Department of State Publication 4212.] (Washington: Government Printing Office. 1951. Pp. xcv, 1002. \$3.75.)

As its title indicates, this collection represents a one-year slice from State Department files, covering twenty-two European countries west of Russia and eight actually or theoretically sovereign states of the Near East and Africa. As such, it offers the specialist in American diplomatic history an opportunity to examine in some detail the management of our foreign relations early in the Roosevelt-Hull period. In particular, he can here observe the attitudes—at least the official attitudes—of various individual diplomats as revealed in their correspondence. However, I must restrict myself to noting certain less technical points which are of interest from the European historian's point of view.

Certainly among the most dramatic reports in 1934 were those sent from Vienna by the successive United States ministers, Earle and Messersmith, and by the chargé d'affaires, Kliefoth. Although they add little to even the contemporary newspaper accounts of Dollfuss' assassination by Nazi putschists in July, they present a valuable running account of the background, beginning with the socialist revolt five months earlier. Another item of interest is J. Webb Benton's long report on the German minority in Czechoslovakia. The chargé estimated at this date, four years before Munich, that not more than 25 per cent of this group favored incorporation into the Reich, though he pointed to increasing Nazi influence. From Rome, Addis Ababa, and several other capitals came dispatches and telegrams describing the prelude to Mussolini's Ethiopian adventure.

Inevitably, however, the center of attention is Germany. Almost a third of the book's one thousand pages are devoted to the Third Reich. Here again, most of the facts have long been known; but the reports of Ambassador Dodd and our other representatives in Berlin make absorbing reading, if only because they pull together in something like narrative form the developments of that ominous

year as they broke upon the world. Mounting persecution of the Jews, liquidation of the federal constitution, church conflicts, Nazi labor policies, the significance of Hindenburg's death, and, above all, the Blood Purge, all are described to Washington. Against this background, the tortuous negotiations over commercial privileges and payments to American bondholders strike the reader as pitiful echoes from a calmer past.

These clusters of worth-while documents are, unfortunately, few and far between. Most of the volume's bulk is given over to routine questions of trade relations, foreign military service, relief from double taxation, and the like. As for the section on Rumania—wholly occupied with Minister Davila's chauffeur, who was fined \$26 for speeding in Rhode Island—one can only hope that somewhere there is a student of international law who will benefit from its inclusion. The publication of trivia after the fact must apparently be accepted as the standard catharsis for diplomatic secrecy at the time.

Bennington College

FRANKLIN L. FORD

PROPAGANDA IN WAR AND CRISIS: MATERIALS FOR AMERICAN POLICY. Edited with an Introduction by *Daniel Lerner*. [Library of Policy Sciences.] (New York: George W. Stewart. 1951. Pp. xvi, 500. \$4.75.)

THIS volume is essentially a reference work for historians of the World War II period, social psychologists, and psychological warfare specialists. It has many good points and some weaknesses. The editor is Daniel Lerner of Stanford University, whose first book in the same field, *Sykewar: Psychological Warfare against Germany*, was brought out in 1949 by his present publisher.

The book is a symposium of predominantly republished material in some twenty-seven chapters of varying lengths. The list of contributors includes many of the leading writers in the field of psychological warfare, such as Wallace Carroll, Leonard Doob, Charles D. Jackson, Ernst Kris, Harold D. Lasswell, Paul M. A. Linebarger, Robert Bruce Lockhart, and Hans Speier. Some of these writers have contributed more than one essay to the volume: Lasswell has three to his credit and Speier also three and is co-author of a fourth. This reviewer feels that the contributions of these two writers are among the best in the book.

The material found in this book made its appearance at various times over a twelve-year period. One chapter first appeared in 1939, while one (chap. xxvii) has been "reprinted" in advance. At least five each were published first in 1948 and 1949, while the bulk of the rest of them initially appeared between 1944 and 1947.

The book is arranged in four divisions. The first of these is called "The 20th Century Background" (three chapters). Part II, "Policy, Intelligence, and Propaganda" (eight chapters), includes a subdivision of 158 pages on "The German Case" in which an attempt is made to appraise the performance of the Germans in psychological warfare.

Part III, nine short chapters on "The Organization of Purpose and Persons," deals with problems of personnel and administration, which were perplexing matters indeed in World War II. Part IV, "The Evaluation of Propaganda Effects," consists of seven chapters and for analytical purposes is probably the most useful part of the book.

The subtitle, *Materials for American Policy*, is, the reviewer feels, ambiguous. The scope of the book would have been much better indicated by a subtitle such as "Materials for American World Policy" since it deals very little with the domestic scene.

The reviewer feels also that a description of the structure and work of the OWI, even in condensed form, would have added greatly to the book and would have removed one important omission. For example, Lerner might have reprinted chapter VIII, "Informing the Public," from the volume *The United States at War*, an official and very readable United States government document of 555 pages which appeared in 1946. Chapter VIII is a well-written and authoritative account of the OWI in about thirty pages.

The five chapters of Part II subtitled "The German Case" (referred to above) are well chosen as far as they go. But the editor has seemingly overlooked the inclusion here of a study showing that fatal German error in psychological warfare in utterly failing to capitalize on the deeply rooted internal antipathy throughout many parts of Russia to the Stalin regime, an error which proved ruinous in the end. Two or three first-rate postwar articles have appeared on this subject, such as Wallace Carroll's article, "It Takes a Russian To Beat a Russian," in *Life*, December 19, 1949.

The reviewer feels further that a "post-mortem" on the psychological warfare of Japan, similar to that presented in "The German Case," would have been most desirable, for purposes of both contrast and comparison. One well-written chapter on Japanese propaganda would have sufficed, but the subject has been entirely by-passed.

Despite these reservations, most university, college, and reference libraries of size will want to stock a copy of this book. Its value lies in the fact that scholars have access here, in usable and compact form, to twenty-seven contemporaneous essays on psychological warfare from widely divergent sources, authoritatively, and for the most part interestingly, written. An eight-page index is a useful feature of the volume.

New York, N.Y.

CEDRIC LARSON

THE NAVY AND THE INDUSTRIAL MOBILIZATION IN WORLD WAR II. By Robert H. Connery. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1951. Pp. xi, 527. \$6.00.)

THIS is a book about the things that happen when an armed force sets out to

spend one hundred billion dollars in six years. In a time when war and the preparation for war seems, in the Teutonic euphemy of Clausewitz, an ordinary part of social relations, it is, as Mr. Arbuthnot would say, a book for the thoughtful citizen to read and ponder.

In these pages one will discover all that one needs to know about the material expansion of the United States Navy in the years from 1940 to 1946. Since the Navy is only one of several fighting arms, and since, in war as in peace, the armed forces are only a part of a whole society that can make legitimate levies upon the industrial economy, it is a complicated story that Mr. Connery has to tell, involving most intricate political, economic, and social interrelationships. This complicated story Mr. Connery tells adroitly. He fits the Navy with skill into the delirious hierarchy that controlled our total industrial mobilization—the Army Navy Munitions Board, the Supply Priorities and Allocation Board, the Office of Production Management, the War Contract Price Adjustment Board, the Office of the Rubber Director, the War Production Board, and all the rest of them.

Having presented the Navy in its proper perspective on the organization chart, Mr. Connery then concentrates upon the development within the Navy of the machinery to plan, organize, and control its great expansion. With infinite patience, he explains how requirements were determined, how contracts were negotiated and renegotiated, how prices were set, programs were cut back, and how the flow of material was delivered and financed.

The presentation of this material, drawn as most of it is from official files of memorandums and correspondence memorable alike for sheer bulk and tumid prose, is a masterpiece of clarity and studied detachment. The detachment is the more surprising because Mr. Connery is for the most part dealing with a series of conflicting claims, desires, and ambitions. Especially is this true when he leaves the broader reaches of industrial mobilization and enters the domain of the Navy itself. Here, though he deals with such matters as inventory control, requirements review, and procurement, his larger theme, as he well knows, is the ancient rivalry between the civilian and the serviceman for control of the administration of the armed forces.

The satisfactory adjustment of this rivalry is, as Charles A. Beard once said, one of the great constitutional problems of this country. Today it may well be our greatest constitutional problem. What Dudley Knox calls "the wilderness of civilian-military relations" is indeed forbidding territory. Here such innocents as Alger and Josephus Daniels have trailed around in hopeless confusion, while officers like D. D. Porter and Douglas MacArthur have boldly entered the region only to find it is a bourne from which even soldiers favored by fortune may not return.

In the last war the naval officers tried quite naturally to occupy as large a part of this wilderness as possible. It was their not unreasonable argument that officers who were responsible to the Secretary for the operation of the fleet

were also under the Secretary responsible for the procurement and distribution of material in support of the fleet. Whatever the theoretical merits of this argument, it turned out that the standard naval procedures and instrumentalities were insufficient to insure the orderly and rapid expansion of the naval establishment after Pearl Harbor. Without any reflection upon the procedures, officers, or instrumentalities, it may be said that the task of spending one hundred billion dollars in goods and services was one that would tax the capacities of the best industrial, legal, and administrative talents that could be found in civilian life. Fortunately such talent was forthcoming, but the civilians that poured into the department after Pearl Harbor to draw contracts, collect and analyze statistics, establish procurement policies, and negotiate purchases, presented a clear threat to naval control over its own society.

A struggle ensued, and it is with this struggle in great part that Mr. Connery concerns himself. Judiciously and with great understanding, he reconstructs this beautiful laboratory experiment in Navy-civilian relationships. Perhaps too judiciously, for the only criticism that could be made of his work is that in his even-handed treatment he reduces some of the passion that went into this conflict. Where such intransigent men as E. J. King and such gifted men as James Forrestal are involved, the sparks are bound to fly upward. This is not to suggest that the struggle was selfishly prolonged or that it remained unresolved. One of the most interesting aspects of Mr. Connery's book is its revelation of how loyal and efficient men, both officers and civilians, learned to work together efficiently to support the fleet. Some of these men he has rescued from comparative obscurity, while others, better known, achieve larger stature. One of these is Admiral S. M. Robinson, who presided with the wisdom and tact of a bishop over the naval Office of Production Management. Another is H. Struve Hensel, who became the general counsel for the Navy. More than any other man perhaps he set up the machinery, against major obstacles, that brought a refreshingly imaginative and well-trained civilian influence to bear within the Navy. His is a contribution that should be studied for the future with the greatest care and incidentally with delight, for his memorandums outlining his position are set forth in striking prose. Only Admiral King in the department wrote more sharply to the point—and he, not as graphically. And in this connection it is regrettable that Admiral King, concerned as he was primarily with operations, could not legitimately claim a larger place in this narrative. Mr. Connery does well by the admiral, but his subject prevents him from dealing with this officer, remarkable alike for his intelligence and resolution, at the length or in the detail one could wish. Two other remarkable men, Ferdinand Eberstadt and James V. Forrestal, because of their direct concern with industrial mobilization are more completely described. As for Forrestal, no better study today exists of the exact contribution as Secretary of the Navy of this honest, able, dedicated, and tragic man.

Withal, this book is a splendid counterbalance to the theory that the Navy's

history is wholly writ in water, and a great addition to our administrative history. Mr. Connery deserves our gratitude. His publishers, the Princeton University Press, should also receive recognition, due and overdue now for a long time, for their work in bringing to public view the record of one of the great institutions of this country. The books by the Sprouts, Bernard Brodie, Duncan Ballantine, James Field, and others, all produced by the Princeton University Press, have been landmarks—and beautifully produced landmarks—in naval bibliography.

Massachusetts Institute of Technology

ELTING E. MORISON

BECKONING FRONTIERS: PUBLIC AND PERSONAL RECOLLECTIONS. By *Marriner S. Eccles*. Edited by *Sidney Hyman*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1951. Pp. xii, 499, vii. \$5.00.)

Mr. Eccles entered the Federal Reserve officialdom as its head in 1934, retaining that place until April 15, 1948, and remaining a member of the board in Washington until June 21, 1951. He has proved to be the most militant head of that body to date; and in 1951 he was nothing loth to reveal the shifting fortunes of war in his bitter battles to achieve economic stability against the rising inflationary tides of the wartime and postwar boom years. His arguments are clothed in the flesh and blood of eager, perennial controversy.

The background of his argumentation is a family saga typical of nineteenth-century miracles in America. His father, David Eccles, started his earning career at the age of eight in the Glasgow slums; but in 1863, when David was fourteen, his parents accepted for themselves and their seven children the Mormon invitation to emigrate out of slumdom into Utah. There, David learned little more of reading and writing than how to sign his own name, until about his twenty-first year; but the aptness of his learning may be gathered from the fact that when he died at sixty-three he had built a fortune of more than \$7,000,000 by developing opportunities in lumber, sugar factories, coal mines, heavy construction, banking, and utilities. He had wed but twice, and had only twenty-one offspring, twelve of the first marriage and nine by the second wife, whose first child was Marriner Stoddard Eccles.

Marriner had no formal schooling beyond the high-school level but acquired further education the harder way—through the usual two-year tour of duty as a Mormon missionary abroad, and through assumption of heavy business responsibilities at the age of twenty-two. The death of David in 1912 delegated to Marriner the task of preserving and amplifying the two-sevenths of the estate allotted under Utah law to the nine children of David's second union. Marriner proved so successful in estate management that when the depression came he succeeded in preserving his enterprises from the general debacle.

However, the onslaught of the lean years moved this exceptional millionaire to drop his role as a traditional money-making entrepreneur; he developed into

a very liberal-minded capitalist, devoted to saving as much as possible of the system of private enterprise, by adjusting it to the new conditions. The essential economic stability, he decided, could be best encouraged by wise employment of the Federal Reserve System as an instrument for stability.

Such an advocacy, coming from a highly successful operator in banking and other businesses, led to his appointment to the Federal Reserve Board. There he struggled to make the Reserve System a government-sponsored "compensatory" mechanism for smoothing out booms and depressions. The official, central banking organization should be allowed to control the supply and the cost of money; if it could amplify credit in depressions and restrict credit in booms it would give America, and the world, the inestimable boon of a stable United States economy, freed from the worst extremes of deflation and inflation.

Unluckily, while Eccles won some measure of triumph in the use of deficit financing before World War II, he was repeatedly beaten in efforts to arrest inflation after 1945. *Beckoning Frontiers* was done in the white heat of frustration of those efforts. His ideal of an independent Federal Reserve policy, free of dictation from the Treasury, the White House, and the Congress, could not readily be realized when that policy involved putting the brakes on cheap money. If Mr. Eccles had had time to read more of the history of cheap money abroad and at home, he might have been less hopeful that the councils of wisdom would prevail. He was not, he observes, "in any way sensitive to political currents" (p. 431); but in the United States, as practically everywhere over the world, the depression of the 1930's had cut deeply into the political and social structure, erecting very stout political barriers to the control of booms. Eccles in the American field and Keynes in the British and international fields learned this to their cost. Interestingly enough, these two wealthy men, both unselfishly devoted to the solution of the problem of economic instability, had very slight personal contacts.

Fortunately for American historiography, this argumentative volume is so forthright in its attack upon the persons and practices which obstruct a scientific approach to monetary problems that numerous people of prominence probably will be minded to defend themselves or others who (like Glass) have passed on. We are unlikely, however, to get in print many stories of the rare vintage of those describing Eccles' musical interlude on the second floor hall of the White House and Fala's diversionary powers on the rug in the presidential office (pp. 242-45, 327-30). Also, Eccles' bold and specific descriptions—of such political realities as the packing of congressional committees, undercutting by jealous bureaucrats, ousting of fearless officers, and the indispensability of a "pilot's chart of Washington's reefs and shoals" (p. 193)—warn historians to be wary of any simple notions as to how a measure is adulterated and its purposes defeated. Often Eccles refers to the flouting of an executive's will; many an executive officer will read, with wry agreement, the weary lament of F. D. Roosevelt, "Just because I'm President and order a thing to be done doesn't mean it will be done" (pp. 273, 336).

Students of social, religious, and political history will not find this book on credit unrewarding. Eccles frankly explains the economic and educational factors involved in selecting immigrants for conversion to Mormonism and in sending missionaries abroad. He makes clear why government work fascinates successful businessmen despite its personal trials; and he shows a keen understanding of the diverse pressures assailing America's chief executive in the Roosevelt administration.

The former chairman of the board of governors of the Federal Reserve Board amply demonstrates that he has well learned to tell a hawk from a handsaw in the politics of economics. But he seems less conversant with canons of satisfactory historical writing. It is unfortunate that this book, based, he says, on careful examination of twenty-five years of files, boasts but a couple of footnotes, lacks dates and titles useful for identifying some important measures, and sometimes forgets to tell the precise outcome of a hard-fought battle, described blow for blow in some of its episodes. One gets the full savor of conflict over bond issues, taxes and support of the level of interest rates, but sometimes misses the final terms of settlement (pp. 343, 380, 498). Awkwardness of diction occasionally intrudes (pp. 172, 296, 317, 319, 337, 479) and we should like a clearer idea of the part Mr. Eccles assigned to an assistant, Mr. Hyman, in producing the book (p. viii). Finally historians may wish that the naturally straightforward Mr. Eccles had been less coy with some chapter headings; perhaps he does it only to annoy, because he knows it teases.

On the other hand, a special word of thanks is due. This reviewer has argued, with varying success, that Roosevelt's objectives often were basically conservative. Eccles, who himself was sometimes charged with being "a traitor to his class," before 1937 found his chief more conservative than his conservative opponents realized (pp. 98, 117, 142, 166, 311).

Swarthmore, Pennsylvania

JEANNETTE P. NICHOLS

A HISTORY OF CANADIAN EXTERNAL RELATIONS. By G. P. deT. Glazebrook. [Issued under the auspices of the Canadian Institute of International Affairs.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1950. Pp. vii, 499. \$4.50.)

THE title of Mr. Glazebrook's valuable study illustrates the manner in which Canadian foreign policy has developed, and the influence upon it of the connection with the United Kingdom. When the Department of External Affairs was established over forty years ago its main task was to act as a medium for correspondence and negotiations with the United Kingdom. Such negotiations were external but not foreign and hence the name adopted for the new department. It was true at that time, as Mr. Glazebrook's book demonstrates, that Canada had interests abroad but not a foreign policy. The latter did not emerge until after 1919 and then evolved slowly and cautiously in the twenties and thirties. One, of

the retarding factors, which the author very properly emphasizes, was the failure of the government to develop a group of officials trained in the handling of foreign affairs. As late as 1927, for example, there were still only three permanent officials concerned with policy and these included the undersecretary and the legal adviser. In the same year the first Canadian diplomatic mission was opened, characteristically, in Washington, and the tiny service began to develop. Of that service Mr. Glazebrook became a wartime associate in 1942, with leave of absence from his academic duties at the University of Toronto. He returned to it permanently in 1949, a fact which may help to account for the brevity and restraint with which he discusses the significant developments in Canadian policy since the end of the Second World War.

Almost two thirds of this volume consists of the reprinting, with the correction of minor errors, of the author's earlier study of Canadian external relations to 1914 which was published almost a decade ago. In that monograph considerable attention was necessarily devoted to the domestic history of Canada and to the vexatious questions of boundaries, fisheries, and trade which harassed Canadian-American relations. In the new section commencing with the First World War the author analyzes the developments in a wider field. The change has been remarkable. As the author puts it: "From a purely colonial position in the world Canada has now taken her place as a middle power in international affairs, equipped with a diplomatic service and exhibiting a vigorous policy." On the nature of the operative factors in the interwar period the author is lucid and suggestive in his comments. At times one can regret that his desire for brevity has precluded comment on such episodes as Prime Minister King's visit to Hitler in 1937 or President Roosevelt's declaration on Canada at Queen's University in the year following. The nineteen pages devoted to events since 1939 only sharpen the reader's desire for the fuller treatment which Mr. Glazebrook felt unable to give. Meanwhile we can be grateful for a monograph which should hold its place as the best treatment of the subject for a good many years to come.

University of British Columbia

F. H. SOWARD

ECUADOR: CONSTITUTIONS AND CAUDILLOS. By *George I. Blanksten*.

[University of California Publications in Political Science, Volume III, No. 1.]
(Berkeley: University of California Press. 1951. Pp. xii, 196. Cloth \$3.00, paper \$2.00.)

ABOUT any new book in the social sciences one may well ask what need it meets, what exactly it does, and how well it does it. Professor Blanksten's volume comes off well by all three criteria. As Russell Fitzgibbon points out in his introduction, Latin-American countries have been slow to give us realistic and objective studies of their own political institutions, or of their leaders, for that matter. There can be no doubt that we need books like this one about Ecuador, and little doubt

that, in spite of all the wise warnings against hasty generalizations, it can *faute de mieux* give us most useful leads for the understanding of countries that resemble it in having a large Indian population and in various other respects.

The author has supplemented his four years in the Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs with six months recently spent in the country he is describing. His acquaintance with the literature in Spanish and English is wide and discriminating. The result is a book which, while it is no more distinguished in its writing than run-of-the-mill American social science, merits the judgment that it is the best study of Ecuador's constitutional and political problems.

The content of the study deserves somewhat fuller comment. As the title suggests, the center of Mr. Blanksten's interest is the same as that of OSS during the war, political instability, or, in other words, the ineffectiveness of Ecuador's successive constitutions, and her repeated breakdown into *caudillismo* and revolution. This much misunderstood pattern requires for its explanation a look at geographic and historic factors, and an analysis in terms of the historic struggle for power between coast and sierra (for the role of the Oriente and the Galápagos Islands is minimal). Regionalism and rivalry are far more fundamental factors than the admirable constitution of 1946 with its equal rights for Indians, and unplanned *caudillismo* as a rather disorderly way of finding the natural ruler is actually closer to monarchy than to the republican procedures of the professors and the documents. The author knows well enough what the documents say, but the keynote of his analysis is rather "the existing system of power relationships." Politics are personal and regional and they are the prerogative of that minority of the population which can be called "white." Conflicts would occur more frequently if all the parties did not "represent essentially the same small sector of the republic's class system." Really fundamental reforms would go far beyond any of the series of constitutions in changing the pattern of landownership and of the power that rests on it. To accomplish these reforms the retreat of the Indian must be transformed into his fusion in an organized society in which he will have sufficient power to make effective demands.

Men of goodwill can hope that the pattern of *caudillismo* has come to an end with the presidency of Galo Plaza. Our conviction of his enlightenment is based not only on the somewhat ethnocentric belief that anyone educated in the United States must be enlightened but on his public utterances during his recent official visit to our country and several others of the Western Hemisphere. To put into the balance against our optimism are two facts: a cynical awareness of the size of the landholdings of the president's family, with his consequent basic class allegiance, and the historian's knowledge that the fundamental problems of Ecuador remain, and that one man is little with which to challenge them effectively.

THE POSITION OF AMERICA AND OTHER ESSAYS. By *Alfonso Reyes*.

Selected and translated from the Spanish by *Harriet de Onis*. Foreword by Federico de Onis. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1950. Pp. xii, 172. \$5.00.)

THIS is a fine selection from the many essays written in a long lifetime by Mexico's leading man of letters, who has served his country in many capacities, especially in its diplomatic service, but principally by proving beyond question that a Mexican intellectual may hold his own with the best writers produced in any other country.

A man of catholic tastes in literature and of equally universal gifts as a writer, Don Alfonso is above everything else a poet, and the true gift of the poet as seer is never missing from anything he has written, not even when his subjects might appear somewhat commonplace in nature. And Don Alfonso is one of the most striking examples in modern times of the profound, wide-ranging scholar whose learning has been used ever to enrich his creative gifts, not to ride them down.

A small man of gentle countenance and a sweetness of spirit that can belong only to those who love the human race, Don Alfonso is most at home in the peaceful and wonderfully rich library of his home in Mexico City, one of the finest private collections of books existing in the Western Hemisphere.

One has come to expect translations of the first quality from Harriet de Onis, and the present work is in this respect no exception. The introduction by her husband, Federico de Onis, pays just tribute to a great citizen of the New World, and comes fittingly from a distinguished citizen of the Spain which Don Alfonso knows, understands, and loves as few of that country's grandchildren have known, understood, and loved her.

In a brief review, it is not possible to suggest the range of topics covered in the selection of essays, but the core of Don Alfonso's philosophy is a belief that here in America we have the opportunity of creating a magnificent synthesis of cultures, adding to its European and classical elements our own important contributions. It is an inspiring thesis, inspiring presented.

The book itself is as handsomely and tastefully made as the consistently high quality of Don Alfonso's writing deserves. It is a volume for which one can only wish the widest reading among the thoughtful citizens of the brave new world of Don Alfonso's dreams.

Ridgefield, Connecticut

HERSCHEL BRICKELL

* * * *Other Recent Publications* * * *

General History

GESCHICHTSWISSENSCHAFT. By *Fritz Wagner*, Professor an der Universität Marburg/Lahn. [Orbis Academicus: Problemgeschichten der Wissenschaft in Dokumenten und Darstellungen.] (Freiburg im Breisgau, Karl Alber, 1951, pp. viii, 468.) The projected German series in sixty volumes, "Orbis Academicus," has for its theme the quest for the methodology of science. This theme has been applied with marked success to a new publication in this series: an original study of historiography from ancient times to the end of the First World War. In format and style the work is not unlike European university students' handbooks, in which facts predominate and the authors' viewpoint and style are suppressed. Only the chapters devoted to the problem of historicism manifest the author's latent interest in a subject in which any reflective German historian is likely to become entangled. Since the substance of the book consists of quotations from the great historians, the author's material is confined to short sections seeking to establish the intellectual leitmotif of the several historical periods. It is the chief virtue of the book that in terse, and naturally lapidary style, the quotations which form the body of the book, when considered in the light of the introductory material, afford a view of the development of historical concepts, and of the meaning, objectives, and content of history. Each quotation is fully documented. By keeping comment and quotations in a certain degree of harmony the author has maintained a literary unity while providing students of historiography with a virtual encyclopedia of comments about historical method. Since the development of history has been treated as an aspect of the western European world view, a generous amount of space has been allotted to philosophical and literary figures. Except that German names predominate after the time of Herder, this approach is perfectly valid. The choice of historians, apart from those of antiquity, is less satisfactory. Medieval historians, including St. Augustine, are handled in a scant eighteen pages. After 1800, to judge from the text, the nurture and care of Clio was entrusted exclusively to the Germans. Except for Taine no nineteenth-century French historian is quoted. The Whig school has been overlooked completely; and if Hume may be considered to have been a Scotsman, Buckle remains the only English historian quoted by the author. If these omissions mar the over-all value of the work, the concentration upon the German historians provides an ample background for the analysis of historicism and the philosophical problems of history. Here the quotations boldly outline the significance of Dilthey, Troeltsch, and Max Weber. Considering the author's effort to associate history with the intellectual climate, the choice of "American historians" may not seem so strange. Three are quoted; the selection of John Bach McMaster needs no justification, and Theodore Parker certainly reflects the critical and intellectual ferment of mid-century America. But in quoting a speech made by George Perkins Marsh at Union College in 1847 the author has been led off the main thoroughfare into a byway. Another American, James Harvey Robinson, is extravagantly praised in the introduction to the section on the morphology of culture, although the quotations there are entirely from Lamprecht and Hintze. An excellent and comprehensive bibliography, organized topically, and a useful compendium of the life data of the major historians, conclude a work which will surely provide the teacher and student of historiography with much valuable source material. A similar

study for use in American colleges must necessarily be different in choice of historians and in emphasis.

THOMAS T. McAVOY, C.S.C., *University of Notre Dame*

INITIATION A LA CRITIQUE HISTORIQUE. By *Léon-E. Halkin*, Professeur à l'Université de Liège, Membre de la Commission Royale d'Histoire. Préface de Lucien Febvre. [Cahiers des Annales, No. 6.] (Paris, Armand Colin, 1953, pp. 174, 400 fr.) M. Halkin, in a disarming foreword to this brief volume, tells what the book is as well as what it is not, and with French lucidity explains that his work is only a manual for beginners, with a few examples added thereto as application of the ideas and principles. The five papers which make up the latter half of the book, excellent as they are, must be disregarded in favor of the six first papers which in seventy pages include the core of the work. Three of these in turn, the first on "History and Criticism," the third and fourth on "The Divisions of History" and on "Two Auxiliary Sciences: Philology and Geography" appeal less to thought than do the others. Even so, they discuss the need for the historian to be "a prophet after the event" with a critical approach to all facts. The elastic character of subdivisions is emphasized, as well as the limits of integration of disciplines. In "History of History" M. Halkin points out that the historian cannot live on theory, nor replace poverty of fact by brilliance of concept. In the fifth paper, "A Historical Margin: Biography," he lays down, with sure touch, what biography can and cannot do. He brings the document and the act into position as the foundations of any "Life." He admits that "biography will always suggest and apprehend more than it says," yet he circumscribes properly the place of the psychologist striving today to explain the behavior of man alive in the past, since "reality must be inseparable from the historian." In a discussion of "Paul Valéry and the Historical Process," the author deals with the theory that "history cannot be separated from the historian." To him, "the document must be a witness before the court, not a criminal at the bar." Here, his feeling that "history serves a reflective curiosity," appealing to two of man's strongest emotions, the feeling for remembrance and the sense of continuity, is nobly expressed. Human prejudices, predilections, and emotions make it difficult for the historian to judge calmly; yet granting that, he holds that history cannot and should not be detached from man since it remains the story of human effort and achievement.

FRANCIS J. BOWMAN, *University of Southern California*

THE TRAVAIL OF RELIGIOUS LIBERTY: NINE BIOGRAPHICAL STUDIES.

By *Roland H. Bainton*. (Philadelphia, Westminster Press, 1951, pp. 272, \$4.00.)

"The best things on religious liberty," says Bainton, "were said in the sixteenth century," and while liberty was far from wholly secure thereafter, the crucial battles had been fought by the close of the seventeenth century. In this volume, Bainton traces the course of the controversy in a series of nine biographical studies which fall into three groups. The first three—Torquemada, Calvin, and Servetus (two persecutors and one persecuted)—illustrate the theory of persecution. The second three—Castellio, Joris, and Ochino—illustrate the struggle for liberty on the Continent in the sixteenth century. The final three epitomize the struggle in England and the colonies during the seventeenth century—John Milton and Roger Williams for the Puritan Revolution and John Locke as the apologist for the Glorious Revolution and the precursor of the age of the Enlightenment. The study is restricted to the religious arguments for liberty, but the author suggests that this leaves ample room for another manner of treatment which would deal with the secular motives for liberty derived from political and economic considerations. The analysis of the theory of persecution and of the theories of liberty, as exemplified in the thought of the various men, is both

incisive and illuminating. The only defect in the book is a curious unwillingness to acknowledge any contribution of Calvinism to the achievement of religious freedom. Calvin is pictured solely as illustrating "the peak of Protestant intolerance," and it is explicitly affirmed that the only contribution of Calvinists was their intransigence which made it necessary to grant them, as a minority, a degree of toleration. Yet it can scarcely be a mere coincidence that liberty was earliest and most fully achieved in lands most deeply influenced by Calvinist thought. The presuppositions of Calvin actually could be and were, under the pressure of circumstance, brought into the service of a theory of liberty. An admission of the corruption of reason could force an admission of the rights of error. The importance of the witness of the Spirit could lead to a doctrine of progressive and continuing revelation. The doctrine of predestination could undercut an insistence upon the effectiveness of persecution. And the logic of the Calvinist conception of the church, as Bainton admits, pointed to the conventicle, and the notion of the church as a conventicle always has served to undergird a theory of liberty.

WINTHROP S. HUDSON, *Colgate-Rochester Divinity School*

AN INTRODUCTION TO WORLD POLITICS. By *W. Friedman*. (New York, Macmillan, 1951, pp. xii, 313, \$2.25.) This book by a member of the faculty of the University of Melbourne is an attempt to describe current conditions in the world, omitting "South America, and for the most part Africa," with comment on the rivalries and tensions revealed in the narrative. Unfortunately for the author, it was in type when the Korean war began; he added a fourth appendix to indicate some of the difficulties thereby caused—this in September, 1950. Three months later, before the printing of the final form, he was "certain that the United States and her allies will not appease as in 1938" (p. 300). He hoped that "they will find the equally great moral courage not to be guided by prestige or 'face,' but by a sober realization of the limits of their resources and the significance of the Asian revolution." Perhaps the chief interest of this little volume for students of history is one the author did not intend. It is evidence of the thoughts on conditions in the world in the early months of 1950 of an intelligent resident of Melbourne, Australia, who had all too little reliable information. Watching afar off the national giants, Russia and the United States, he had difficulties in seeing through his own fears the impulses moving in either country. The best hope of the future seemed to lie in some sort of world government, of which he did not see much prospect. The moves of the Western powers in the Far East seemed to him to be "weak and uncertain." A "democratic citizen" had little to hope for: "Behind all the tension and fury there has always been a measure of common values between modern Russia and modern America. . . . It is the culture of classical, Christian and western Europe, of Britain, France or Scandinavia, with all the mixture of modern progress with the experience of history, the diversity of cultures and the scepticism about the boundlessness of human achievements, which contrast more strongly with the attitude of mind of both America and Soviet Russia" (p. 238). On the basis of Orwell's novel, he goes on to conclude: "It is regrettable . . . that not only totalitarian socialism but big-scale capitalism may lead to very similar systems of control" (p. 239).

W. T. LAPRADE, *Duke University*

THE TEACHING OF HISTORY. [Issued by the Incorporated Association of Assistant Masters in Secondary Schools.] (New York, Cambridge University Press, 1950, pp. xv, 222, \$2.50.) This report on the teaching of history is one of a series that covers the various fields. The several pages devoted to outlines of content, the sug-

gestions on advanced work, and the reading lists may have value for particular teachers in England. For Americans this report would have been acceptable in 1875, thinkable in 1900, anachronistic in 1925, and incredible in 1950. Only a few of its characteristics need be cited. The eloquent recital of the revolutionary changes since 1925 becomes grotesque in view of the unbending, unyielding, and unchanging ways of teaching that are described and recommended. Among the three possible centers of emphasis—content, teacher, and pupil—the committee unhesitatingly chooses the first and second. Four chapters are purportedly devoted to methods, but therein much space is given to equipment, examinations, and learning aids. Without revealing any doubts, the committee assumes the reliability of discussion examinations. Such faith in essays written under duress would have seemed at least defensible in 1925; in 1950 it is simply a serious pedagogical lag. Chapter x, devoted to the social studies, is not only inadequate and erroneous but ludicrous. How shall we interpret the fact that a committee, writing in 1950, feels the need for three condemnations of the practice of dictating notes? Most of the devices and aids are devoted to the teaching of such outmoded and inconsequential matters as capturing a medieval castle. What kind of psychology of learning prevails among teachers who recommend (p. 84) that a lazy or backward boy bear the brunt of questioning? "Schoolboys can not do historical research" (p. 101). The report confuses knowledge and information, uses such phrases as "to tackle," "dip" into a book, and "long spasms" of writing, and contains a few sentences that need translation. American teachers of all grades are assured that they are missing nothing of pedagogical value by ignoring this publication.

EDGAR B. WESLEY, *Los Altos, California*

A CONCISE HISTORY OF ASTRONOMY. By *Peter Doig*, Editor, Journal of the British Astronomical Association. With a Foreword by Sir Harold Spencer Jones, Astronomer Royal. (New York, Philosophical Library, 1951, pp. xi, 320, \$4.75.) It is unfortunate that scientists to whom historical scholarship is largely terra incognita continue to feel impelled to write, strictly off their own bats, on the history of science. Mr. Doig's book is a case in point. Not that the volume is without value for the student of history, as well as for the general reader to whom it is directed. The last hundred pages (chaps. xiv-xvii) offer a convenient, concise account of the epoch-making advances in astronomy during the first half of the twentieth century. The even briefer discussion of the nineteenth century (chaps. xi-xiii) has a corresponding usefulness. It is in the hundred and thirty pages devoted to the history of astronomy before 1830 that the limitations of the book are most apparent. In dealing with this period, historical training and critical scholarship assume much greater importance. Accordingly, Mr. Doig is here a far less knowledgeable and sure-footed guide. His early chapters reveal serious defects of organization, as, indeed, does the book considered as a whole; there are defects also of balance, emphasis, and historical interpretation. While he has made some use of recent contributions by scholars like Otto Neugebauer, his documentation lacks scope as well as solidarity. For these reasons, as well as the extreme brevity of Mr. Doig's discussion (eight pages for a chapter entitled "Mohammedans. Tartars. Medieval Europe."), students interested in a reasonably adequate one-volume account of the history of astronomy to 1800 or 1850 will still have to go—somewhat cautiously—to such earlier English works as those of Arthur Berry (1898) or W. W. Bryant (1907). Or, if they read German, to Rudolf Wolf's as yet unequalled *Geschichte der Astronomie* (1877). The need for a sound, well-balanced, critical, up-to-date general history of astronomy in English (or for that matter, in any language) is very apparent. It was in Mr. Doig's mind when he wrote his book (preface, p. vii). The vital question, however, is whether an astronomer—

or a historian—working alone and in intellectual isolation, can possibly expect to produce such a work. If Mr. Doig's attempt is a fair criterion, the answer is No.

J. W. OLMSTED, *University of California, Los Angeles*

RETURN FROM THE POLE. By *Frederick A. Cook*. Edited, with an Introduction, by *Frederick J. Pohl*. (New York, Pellegrini and Cudahy, 1951, pp. x, 335, \$4.50.) On September 1, 1909, cables carried the story that Dr. Frederick A. Cook had reached the North Pole in April, 1908. Excitement reached fever heat when, within a week, Robert E. Peary telegraphed from northern Labrador that he had reached the Pole and that Cook had not. For ten years the controversy echoed through the halls of Congress and across the country. This posthumous volume is offered as Cook's final statement. "Now published for the first time, it offers important new evidence in the Polar dispute that is still alive after 42 years." So says the dust jacket. In fact, large sections of this book are lifted from Cook's *My Attainment of the Pole*, published in 1911. Much of the rest is an old man's rambling philosophy. The body of the text offers nothing of new proof. The introduction offers Pohl's reasons for believing Cook. Several of the arguments are suggestive, but they do not begin to answer the many objections that have been raised against Cook's claims. Pohl has been given access to Cook's diaries and notebooks: critical analysis of them should have furnished new evidence, but none has been presented. Five years ago there was a reasonable chance that Cook's "Bradley Land" might be discovered from the air; now the chance seems slight, in view of the aerial activity in the area. This book can be considered neither new nor history.

JOHN E. CASWELL, *Redwood City, California*

WEST AFRICA. By *F. J. Pedler*. (New York, Frederick A. Praeger, 1951, pp. vii, 208, \$2.25.) This excellent summary of West African life is packed with information and contains many passages which clarify the area's most complicated problems. The author's experience in both government and business enables him to write with extraordinary insight, as is readily apparent in the chapter on economic conditions. Mr. Pedler introduces his subject by presenting the conventional geographical background in the novel and readable form of a travelogue which illustrates effectively the geographical diversity of West Africa. Brief chapters on the people and the history of the area follow, leaving the major portion of the book for two chapters on economics and politics. French West Africa and the independent Republic of Liberia are included in Mr. Pedler's survey, but he is at his best when he writes of the British territories with which he is most familiar. Some of his generalizations, however, would not stand up under close scrutiny. For example, he writes that "there is not a scrap of evidence" to support the view that "the colonial powers have held back the development of manufacture for the benefit of industrialists in Europe" (p. 86). And it is certainly an oversimplification to attribute the recent efforts of the United States to aid Liberia to the fact that Roosevelt "saw the possibility of winning negro votes" (p. 132). On the whole, however, the author is commendably dispassionate in his treatment of the many controversial problems which confront West Africa as it emerges toward self-government.

VERNON MCKAY, *Washington, D.C.*

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Ancient History

T. Robert S. Broughton¹

THE PREHISTORIC INHABITATION OF CÔRINTH. Volume I. By Leslie Walker Kosmopoulos. (Munich, Münchner Verlag, 1948, pp. xxii, 73, plates.) This is the first of three volumes which are to set forth the results of a comparative study of the archaeological material from three sites: Corinth, the key site, centrally located and the earliest inhabited, Halai in Lokris on the northeast coast of central Hellas, and the Choirospelaion on the Island of Leukas, near the westernmost limit of Hellenic waters. All three sites, situated on the early Mediterranean highways, exhibit a fundamentally similar culture. Volume II will contain the analytical presentation of the Corinthian material, and the third volume will include the evidence from Halai and Leukas and also an interpretation and correlation of the findings from all three sites. The present work is a tribute to the scholarship of Dr. (Mrs.) Kosmopoulos and also to her indomitable spirit which carried her through difficult conditions and some unnecessarily imposed obstacles. Her generosity is indicated by the number of pages devoted to acknowledgments, not to mention the fact that the author carried out the excavations at her own expense. Five periods are differentiated: Corinthian I, II, and III (of Neolithic culture [before ca. 3000 B.C.]), Corinthian IV, a transitional period (Chalcolithic, possibly ca. 3000-2800 B.C.), and Corinthian V, the Early Helladic (Bronze Age) Period, which ended ca. 2000 B.C. Chapter I, "Introduction," is devoted to a chronological survey in which the characteristic pottery of each period is treated, and to "The Excavations," wherein the excavations by Heermance, Washburn, Elderkin, Hill, and others, carried on from 1896 to 1935, are presented. The various

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

wares are described and illustrated, and affinities with the pottery of Thessaly and other regions are discussed and interacting influences noted. Nowhere in the five periods is there an actual break in the technical tradition, states the author. Chapter II, "Synopsis of the Prehistoric Material," deals with the building structures, pottery, and various objects, arranged chronologically, period by period. In chapter III, "Recapitulation," these finds at Corinth are treated topically, under the headings: built structures, bone objects, (terracotta) figurines, metal (copper dagger in II; rarity of metal in IV and V fortuitous), organic remains (bones of cattle and deer, shells of edible molluscs), pottery (13 pages), stone (arrowheads, celts, chisels, hammers, knives, mortars and pestles, palettes, rubbers or grinders, sling-stones), (spindle) whorls (of clay). An index will doubtless appear in Volume III; so this work is concluded by the excellent color plates. Archaeologists and historians will welcome this important work on Neolithic, Chalcolithic, and Early (Helladic) Bronze Age Corinth, and eagerly look forward to the appearance of Volumes II and III.

J. PENROSE HARLAND, *University of North Carolina*

THE LOST PHARAOHS: THE ROMANCE OF EGYPTIAN ARCHAEOLOGY. By *Leonard Cottrell*. (New York, Philosophical Library, 1951, pp. 256, \$6.00.) Laymen both young and old who have a real curiosity about ancient Egyptian civilization will find a large amount of very pertinent and up-to-date information in Mr. Leonard Cottrell's well-conceived popular book. Mesopotamian archaeologists may question whether "the earliest civilization on earth" grew up beside the Nile (p. 19). But all professional students of the ancient Near East would agree with him that countless objects "would be more valuable to science if the exact place and circumstances of their discovery were known" (p. 50). There are excellent sections explaining in detail how both ancient and modern tomb-robbers have operated. Readers who have already visited Egypt will enjoy the good-natured diatribe against dragomen. Art historians may not accept the author's half-apology for the ancient Egyptians' lack of perspective; he seems to miss some of the point as to what makes Egyptian art Egyptian. The discovery of the Tomb of Tutankhamon receives special attention. Mr. Cottrell glosses over the unfairness of the London *Times's* world-wide copyright which Lord Carnarvon granted, instead of letting two or three of the international news services disseminate news of the famous discovery. The Tutankhamon "curse" theory is bluntly and effectively debunked. Sir Alan Gardiner's evaluation of the relatively minor scientific importance of the great discovery is quoted. The author pleads for early scientific publication of the find, and suggests that UNESCO do it. This reviewer has heard reports that Sir Alan Gardiner is undertaking the large task of preparing the text for such a publication. Readers will find much of interest in the sections on the heretic king Ikhnaton and his new capital at Tell el Amarna. An appendix contains quotations of conflicting opinions of leading Egyptologists about this ruler. Like all the humanities, Egyptology is in crisis. The author asks for scientific excavation on important ancient sites in the Nile Delta *soon* before the rising ground water level prohibits such work almost altogether. He urges Egyptologists to devote more of their time to writing readable popular books and articles on ancient Egyptian culture and art. With very few employment possibilities and still fewer opportunities to excavate, the young generation of Egyptologists and those students who are still being trained for the profession face a lean future. If peace and reasonable stability return to the world, the investigation of ancient Egypt can perhaps be resumed on a more active basis. Meanwhile this book can safely be given to the large body of uninitiated who want to know what Egyptology is about.

JAMES H. BREASTED, JR., *Pasadena, California*

THE MAGISTRATES OF THE ROMAN REPUBLIC. Volume I, 509 B.C.—100 B.C. By T. Robert S. Broughton, Bryn Mawr College. With the Collaboration of Marcia L. Patterson, Kent Place School. [Philological Monographs, Number XV, Volume I.] (New York, American Philological Association; distrib. by Lancaster Press, Lancaster, Pa., and B. H. Blackwell, Oxford, England, 1951, pp. xix, 578.) This is a work of heroic proportions which, when completed with its second volume, will rank among the most ambitious and the most useful scholarly efforts in the field of Roman history of the last years. It is idle to insist on the value of a collection of the *fasti* of the Roman Republic through its nearly five hundred years. The present volume covers the period between 509 and 100 B.C., listing for each year the known magistrates, promagistrates, *legati*, members of the priestly colleges, and special commissioners, with the evidence for their activity, and a brief statement of their accomplishments. The second volume will carry the lists down to the year of Actium, with tables furnishing the names and careers of the persons named in them. The whole will be an invaluable handbook and guide to the source materials and bibliography of this period of history. It might even be said that this is a history of the Republic, on an annalistic plan, since it is very largely true that the history of the Republic is the history of its magistrates. The genius of the Roman constitution practically barred anyone not in office from doing anything important. Very sensibly, the author has refrained from making this an occasion to develop new theories of Roman history. The temptation was certainly great, and the fashion of the day leads one into all kinds of interesting hypotheses. Nothing in history presents more puzzles and more paradoxes, is at once so baffling and so maddeningly provocative, as the early Republic. But the tempting paths of Hanell and Altheim are sedulously avoided. The author's aim is not, as he states, "to vindicate or to criticize the chronology of our records or the reliability of the names contained in them, but to make available the lists of magistrates as fully" as possible. In this he has been eminently successful, and we can only be grateful. He has also done more. His sober and sensible judgment is evident in every problem which he touches. This is a book not only to be used, but also read.

C. BRADFORD WELLES, *Yale University*

THE ROMAN EMPIRE. By M. P. Charlesworth, Late Fellow and President of St. John's College, Cambridge. [Home University Library of Modern Knowledge, Number 219.] (New York, Oxford University Press, 1951, pp. vi, 215, \$2.00.) Any volume which makes vivid a portion of the past, which confers new life, with the written word, upon the actions of men long since dead, is a contribution. Mr. Charlesworth has made many contributions of this character, and in this little book he continues this service. A prologue gives in compact form the story of republican Rome. An introductory chapter on the powers, duties, and accomplishments of emperor and provincial governor establishes a precedent for the remaining chapters by deserting a strict chronological treatment of the two centuries of peace. A sense of development and change, however, permeates the book. The lives of soldier, sailor, artisan, trader, and man of leisure pass in review, with emphasis on the contentment which prosperity and justice brought to them. Separately treated are the valiant efforts of Diocletian and Constantine to restore the "good old days." A work of interpretation normally offends the reader who does not find his hobby fully treated. This reader has looked in vain for a topic which Mr. Charlesworth has not graced with at least one sentence. It seems, however, scarcely adequate to dismiss a long development with the statement, "By this time (301 A.D.) there had grown up a general belief in the power of the state to control everything . . ." (p. 111). And surely the author nodded when he had the Visigoths raiding Spain before 285 A.D.

(p. 51). The one expanded subject is Christianity, an account written in terms of understanding and sympathy. One may question the thoroughness of Constantine's conversion as it is presented. But even here, criticism is disarmed by the final sentence. "Belief in the *res Romana* and passion for its eternal endurance, this was the real religion of these emperors; nothing else mattered in the long run" (p. 193).

J. J. VAN NOSTRAND, *University of California, Berkeley*

THE TREATMENT OF THE JEWS IN THE GREEK CHRISTIAN WRITERS OF THE FIRST THREE CENTURIES. By *Robert Wilde*, a Priest of the Archdiocese of New York. [The Catholic University of America Patristic Studies, Volume LXXXI.] (Washington, Catholic University of America Press, 1949, pp. xviii, 239.) A large number of Christian authors of the first three centuries is treated in this dissertation, from Clement of Rome and Ignatius of Antioch to the Sibylline Oracles and the Ascension of Isaia. Individual chapters are devoted to Justin and his school, Irenaeus, Hippolytus, Clement of Alexandria, and Origen and his successors. An additional chapter deals with "evidence" of Jewish participation in the persecution of Christians, but the evidence produced is exclusively that of Christian writers! The whole dissertation is prefaced by a cursory summary of Jewish history, especially in the Hellenistic world, and by an enumeration of references to Jews and Judaism among pagan Greek authors. This reviewer feels that Father Wilde did not employ the best sources available for these lengthy introductions (one third of the book); though his elaborate bibliography lists sources and works by Jewish, Protestant, and Catholic scholars, the text appears to rely rather uncritically upon largely Catholic research or such safe, but outdated studies as those of Kaufmann Kohler or M. Friedlander (1892). In addition to that the author seems to be unfamiliar with post-Biblical rabbinic literature which is indispensable for an objective evaluation of this period. So, when Wilde states on page 120 that the rabbis forbade their people to engage in religious discussion with Christians and draws some significant conclusions from such an attitude, he does not attempt to examine the veracity of his source. As it happens, Jewish sources of the time under discussion do not contain such an injunction. This reviewer is not quite certain what Father Wilde implies when he uses expressions such as "Christians, who were *unsoundly* literal in their scriptural exegesis" (p. 168) or "Origen presents more clearly than any *uninspired* writer" (p. 209, italics mine). Such terminology may mean different things to different readers, and, perhaps, should not be employed for just that reason. As a whole, the dissertation has its value as an encyclopedic collection of data, though not critical and comprehensive enough to do justice to this phase of the intellectual history of Jew and Christian.

FRANK ROSENTHAL, *Drake University*

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Medieval History

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PELAGIUS AND THE FIFTH CRUSADE. By Joseph P. Donovan, Seattle University. (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1950, pp. 124, \$2.50.) In this short but erudite work Mr. Donovan traces the career of Pelagius, cardinal of Albano, with special reference to the Fifth Crusade, to which three of his five chapters are devoted. This proportion is perhaps to be regretted; for Pelagius' importance in history lies less in his leadership of the unfortunate expedition against Damietta in 1218-21 than in his attempt to settle the relationship of the eastern churches, both in Constantinople and in Cyprus, with the papacy. On this question Mr. Donovan shows good sense and understanding; but he has not been able to go deeply enough into its past, in particular the history of the churches in Antioch, which was the background of the Cypriot problem. Mr. Donovan's story of the crusade itself is full and careful. He seems to know the Arabic sources mainly from the not always reliable translations in the great French *recueil*, but he has probably missed no source of importance. A critical account of the sources that he has used would have been useful, as at times he is prepared to accept statements that need more justification than his overlaid footnotes can supply. He is concerned to clear his hero of the responsibility of the failure of the crusade, with which French historians, anxious to whitewash their compatriots, have saddled him. He does not entirely succeed, but he shows that there are several sides to the question. He takes a large view. He fully understands the importance of the Mongols; and his estimate of Frederick II is a useful corrective to the portrait of a romantic victim to ecclesiastical obscurantism drawn by most historians. In one or two details he is open to criticism. He is a little too credulous about the size of armies. John of Brienne was more than just "regent" for his daughter; the problem of kingship in Jerusalem when the crown passed through a woman cannot be dismissed so simply. But his book is a very useful contribution to crusading history. It is, however, astonishing that a distinguished university press should publish such a book without an index.

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¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

LUXEMBURG IN THE MIDDLE AGES. By *John Allyn Gade*. (Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1951, pp. xii, 238.) Luxemburg is fortunate in getting its medieval history from the pen of Captain John A. Gade. The attractive book, produced in the Netherlands and dedicated to the present ruler of the country, Grand Duchess Charlotte, deals first with political developments and military campaigns from which Luxemburg emerged as a distinct unit. After a short review of the early Middle Ages during which the country was occupied and controlled by Gauls, Romans, Germanic tribes, Merovingians, and Carolingians, the author proceeds to conditions in the empire which favored emancipation of local princes especially along the imperial boundary. From the genealogical tables which the author appended to the text, we learn of many family ties which both the first House of Luxemburg and the dynasty Namur-Luxemburg established with rulers either in the vicinity or in the more distant regions. Some of these relatives professed liking for the French way of life while others adopted the German language, manners, and customs. The rulers of Luxemburg and their subjects, while preserving many characteristic marks, gravitated, in the late Middle Ages, toward France and its capital. The story of medieval Luxemburg could not be adequately presented if the author had given attention to dynastic policies only. Several monasteries existed there before political and administrative unification of the comparatively small territory. They promoted both economic prosperity and intellectual activities, as Captain Gade aptly shows in the fifth chapter of his illuminating outline. Under the Namur-Luxemburg dynasty the position of Luxemburg was consolidated and its importance enhanced by a series of clever moves on the political chess board. With Henry VII (1277-1313) opened the glorious chapter. Not only was he successful in obtaining the imperial crown but he secured, with the help of his younger brother, Baldwin, archbishop of Treves, the royal throne of Bohemia for his first-born son, John. Thus were established close links between two distant countries, one on the western, the other on the eastern fringes of the empire, and foundations were laid for the ascent of the Luxemburg power to unprecedented heights. About 1375 the Luxemburg dynasty was the most powerful ruling house in Europe. Captain Gade writes with ease and fluency and evidently found much pleasure in portraying such rulers as Countess Ermesinde, John the Blind, and the emperor-king Charles IV. Several illustrations supplement his informative and colorful story and add to the charm of this handsome volume.

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Modern European History

THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH

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 Compiled by Philip E. Jones, Deputy Keeper of the Corporation Records, and

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

Raymond Smith, Librarian to the Corporation. (London, English Universities Press, 1951, pp. vii, 203, 20s.) The compact size of this valuable handbook may surprise anyone familiar with the vast treasure of municipal records belonging to the Corporation of London. An introduction by the present deputy keeper of records informs us, however, that the book is not intended to be a "catalogue but only a guide to sources." The first half undertakes to list the City's official records now in the post-war Corporation Records Office in Moorgate. It classifies the bulkiest store of the rich and often unbroken series of town archives under the headings of administrative, judicial, and financial. These records range all the way from the well-known Letter Books beginning in the thirteenth century which were edited in part by Dr. Reginald R. Sharpe (London, 1899-1912) to the latest minute books of the Civil Defense Committee. For the first time students may find set out in systematic fashion the scores of kinds of rolls, repertories, deeds, and other documents whose survival is testimony of London's respect for its illustrious past. In the second part of the volume the manuscripts belonging to the Guildhall Library Muniment Room are grouped under highly suggestive headings. They should direct economic historians and others with interests beyond the Corporation itself to a variety of London parochial records, parliamentary records, records of city companies, and of businesses and trading companies, to name a few, which either have been recently acquired (as the business archives of Sir William Turner, 1615-92) or too little known and used. It will be noticed that one result of the unhappy destruction of churches and halls of livery companies during the recent war has been to bring to the Library parish, ward, and company records formerly widely dispersed. The American historian will also find a few gleanings, such as a letter from the Congress at Philadelphia to the Corporation in 1775 (p. 25), not included in Andrews and Davenport, *Guide to the Manuscript Materials for the History of the United States to 1783 in the British Museum, in Minor London Archives* . . . (Washington, D.C., 1908). Two faults of form slightly diminish the volume's usefulness. Could not both parts have followed the method of the second in listing in the footnotes rather than in the text the instances where the manuscripts have been printed in whole or in part? The index would be more helpful if it included in its alphabetical listing such names as Turner or John Wilkes instead of concealing these gentlemen under the heading of "Lord Mayor." The descriptions of the kind of material contained in a given record are uneven in value to the scholar at a distance, for while relatively full in some cases (p. 162), they are so scanty in others as to make it necessary to examine such a relatively inaccessible source as the *Annual Reports* of the Library Committee (for example, cf. that of 1934, p. 3, with p. 68 of the *Guide*). These shortcomings are minor when set against the merits of completing the enormous task of listing the chronological series of every record held by the Corporation, and of achieving a classification which manages to clarify the City's structure of government. The authors and their staffs are to be warmly thanked for their accomplishment.

RUTH A. MCINTYRE, *Washington, D.C.*

CRANMER AND THE ENGLISH REFORMATION. By F. E. Hutchinson, Formerly Fellow of All Souls College, Oxford and Canon of Worcester. [Teach Yourself History Library.] (New York, Macmillan, 1951, pp. vii, 188, \$2.00.) This volume must be assessed in terms of the general purpose of the "Teach Yourself History" series. "The key-idea," says the editor A. L. Rowse, "is the intention by way of the biography of a great man to open up a significant historical theme." Mr. Rowse would thereby "bring the university into the homes of the people" (pp. vi-viii). Mr. Hutchinson's volume is not a work of original scholarship nor of specially fresh

insights, but it is a very readable account of the English Reformation, centering in Cranmer, from which the general reader and the student in the classroom can learn a good deal. It is perhaps less of a biography than the statement of general purpose would lead one to expect. But it provides a balanced and objective account of the main events from Henry VIII's "divorce" down through the reign of Elizabeth. The author attempts neither to whitewash nor to tar-and-feather Cranmer, but to explain, in the light of the archbishop's personality and the times, both his "timidity" and courage. He rightly estimates that Cranmer's greatest service to the Reformation was as a scholar—referring to his work on the English Bible and the Prayer Book.

FRANKLIN L. BAUMER, *Yale University*

ELIZABETH OF ENGLAND: CERTAIN OBSERVATIONS CONCERNING THE LIFE AND REIGN OF QUEEN ELIZABETH. By *John Clapham*. Edited by *Evelyn Plummer Read* and *Coryers Read*. [University of Pennsylvania, Department of History, Translations and Reprints from the Original Sources of History.] (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1951, pp. viii, 125, \$2.50.) In the spring of 1603 a scholarly Yorkshireman named John Clapham was moved, as he put it, to "set down abruptly certain short observations . . . concerning the life of Elizabeth, our late Queen." By this time Clapham had several publications to his credit: he had Englished a bit of Plutarch, turned out a Latin poem, and essayed a history of England as a Roman province. But, though Sir Henry Ellis included excerpts from the "Observations" in his *Original Letters* (1827), nearly three and a half centuries were to pass before the complete text was published. For this delay Clapham's prudence was in part responsible: "To set down truly the occurrences of the present or late times is found by experience to be a labor without thanks and now and then not without danger." It is probable that we now have a franker, as well as a more spontaneous, account as a result, though the tone of the work is generally moderate. Clapham devotes about a quarter of his text to sketching in the background, beginning with Henry VII. The rest is given over to Elizabeth's reign and the accession of James. His treatment of the queen's last months is detailed, roughly a quarter of the work being devoted to her death. Since he had been for many years attached to the household of Lord Burghley, who had provided for his education, it is not strange that he should dwell favorably and at length—though not with invariable accuracy—on the character and accomplishments of his patron. More remarkable is the scanty treatment which Clapham gives to religious issues; though unsympathetic to Catholics and Puritans, he dismisses the Elizabethan settlement in a single sentence. The student of English historiography will find this work of considerable interest. Clapham was "one of the earliest of English writers to insist upon the importance of presenting English history in readable, literary form," and his "Observations" are couched in a straightforward, robust, and fluent prose. The influence of the classics is writ large in his preoccupation with the deaths of Elizabeth and Burghley, and in his characterizations of other notable figures of the era. There is an air of restraint throughout the work, and save for a few subjects—Puritans and lawyers are examples—a remarkable measure of objectivity. Informative introductory sections enhance the value of the edition, which is in all respects an attractive little book.

WILLIAM L. SACHSE, *University of Wisconsin*

THE RELIGIOUS FOUNDATIONS OF LEVELLER DEMOCRACY. By *D. B. Robertson*. (New York, King's Crown Press, 1951, pp. x, 175, \$2.75.) Although there have been many works devoted of late to the Levellers, the present unpretentious monograph is welcome. Even if most of its points have been touched upon by earlier

writers, a systematic study of them fills a gap in the historiography of the Puritan Revolution. The author's main thesis can be briefly summarized as follows: The Levellers' ideals cannot be fully comprehended apart from their religious background, and are the results in the main of their religious principles. These early radicals advanced beyond the freedom of worship for which most sectaries were striving to liberty and justice in the state. To prove these theses Dr. Robertson, naturally enough, relies largely on John Lilburne, the leader and easily the most prolific author, and is, perhaps, rather kinder to him than he deserves. Lilburne's great faults were his arrogance and his contentiousness. His knowledge of the Scriptures did not induce Christian humility. His unwillingness to compromise may have damaged his cause. However, in one place only, unfairness to the Levellers' opponents has been noticed—in the statement that Cromwell and the Independents first used the Levellers but then, when "expediency served," jailed their leaders. Fear lest the Levellers would cause a mutiny in the army was the chief cause of their leaders' arrest. A small point is that a reference to an irregularly paged work like Edwards' *Gangraena* should be to a signature rather than a page, and on page 35 no reference is supplied to the Presbyterian's denunciation of Spencer as "a horse-rubber." A most valuable appendix gives a list of the references Lilburne made to his contemporaries or their writings, to published legal treatises and histories, and to constitutional documents like Magna Carta. The last would be most useful to anyone compiling a history of the Great Charter in the seventeenth century. One pleasing feature is the accuracy of the quotations, though it might have been well to note that they are modernized.

GODFREY DAVIES, *Huntington Library*

REFLECTIONS ON THE CONSTITUTION: THE HOUSE OF COMMONS, THE CABINET, THE CIVIL SERVICE. By *Harold J. Laski*. (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1951, pp. 220, 12s. 6d.) These lectures, now happily printed, were given by Professor Laski at the University of Manchester some six weeks before his death. The undoubted pleasure that must have attended his delivery of them is thus extended to that wider audience that for some years has been so often in Professor Laski's debt. While the present studies are in no sense a fitting capstone for the life work of one of our most prolific, provocative, and sensitive political thinkers, they partake unmistakably of the Laski flavor. As one reads, it is not difficult to conjure up memories of the lecturer, his hands grasping the lapels of his jacket, weaving with precision the net of logic within which he quickly, and usually unerringly, ensnared his quarry. At Manchester, Professor Laski set for himself the task of examining the present positions of the House of Commons, the cabinet, and the civil service. His own experiences over the preceding thirty years had been so rich that the lectures wandered into many delightful bypaths of recollection and contained observations that often were rewarding in the general history of the period. The three institutions that submit to the probing survive their trial very well. The House of Commons, despite its groaning and creaking under the strains of a widely expanded activity, is found, on the whole, to do its work as it should be done. Laski does not hold with those who would make changes to alter the essential fabric of that historic institution. It might be well to have standing committees for the nationalized industries and to improve the relationship between the House and departments of government by the establishment of advisory committees; little, however, could be gained and much lost by any alteration of the fundamental character of the House and its function as the protector of the rights and freedoms of the citizen. For the cabinet the suggestion is made that corporate responsibility be made truly corporate by a wider circulation of cabinet papers so all might know the business afoot and, mayhap, participate in its

progress. Some gain is also seen in broadening the basis upon which the decision to request a dissolution is made by bringing the other cabinet ministers into its formulation. There is something in the contention that the modern cabinet has become too large; its size should not exceed fifteen. Civil servants should be a bit more daring in their approach to the problems of administration. The lack of imaginative insight keeps the service too pedestrian and tends to hamper and retard the advancement of the most able. These qualities could be strengthened by a system of exchanges within the national service and between services on an international basis. Laski comes down with force against the restrictions on the after-office-hours political activities of the civil servant. These suggestions are modest enough and, although persuasively argued, will by no means abate the rising insistence that something must be done to bring the efficiency and responsibility of governmental action in line with its tremendously enlarged function. Perhaps of greatest value to the historian are the many asides in which Professor Laski throws light upon some troublesome or controversial aspect of recent history—at times with greater assurance than may be justified.

JAMES L. GODFREY, *University of North Carolina*

THE IRISH PARLIAMENTARY PARTY, 1890-1910. By F. S. L. Lyons, Lecturer in History in the University College of Hull. [Studies in Irish History, Volume IV.] (London, Faber and Faber, 1951, pp. 284, 25s.) This careful and clearly written study of the twenty years following Parnell's fall suffers inevitably from the nature of its subject matter, which is "only sterility and the sullen silence of despair." The activities, organizational methods, and educational and occupational backgrounds of politicians who "were themselves bankrupt of ideas" are conscientiously and dispassionately examined. The reader is left with no doubt how it happened that the jejune character of Parnellism, once his personal magnetism was gone, resulted by 1900 in "the sordid spectacle of the Irish parliamentary party, poverty-stricken, ridden with dissension, seemingly on the verge of dissolution." The author clearly indicates that what little vitality the party later regained resulted from its partial loss of leadership to the United Irish League; the U.I.L., originally rooted in the agrarian difficulties of Connaught, was soon captured by the party, but not without confronting the politicians with the problem of choosing between an effort to secure the maximum of economic and social reform for Ireland or to persist blindly in the sheer demand for Home Rule, with consequent abject dependence on the English liberals. The situation "led the party into a series of false positions in which it had appeared by times quarrelsome and captious, insatiable and untrustworthy." It was of course a dilemma which had plagued Parnell and complicated his relations with Davitt. A fact not sufficiently realized is that Parnell's debacle as a statesman came shortly after his breach with Davitt when, in 1886, his effort to snatch quick constitutional triumph from an ephemeral situation committed his party to that dependence on Gladstonian Liberalism which contributed so much to his personal catastrophe, in 1890, as a party leader. It was idle for his successors, who had ruthlessly cast him aside, to make the gesture, in 1894, of returning to Mr. Gladstone his £100 contribution to their party funds. The damage was irretrievable, for Gladstone was unable to deliver political gains, unwilling to attempt socio-economic benefits for Ireland. It was the Unionists who reformed local government in Ireland, who created a peasant proprietary class, who promoted agricultural co-operation and technical instruction. The Irish parliamentary party could only resist these major improvements in the condition of the Irish people, for Parnell and his rebellious lieutenants alike had backed the wrong horse. The author unfortunately does not complete the story through the passage of the Home Rule Act and the triumph of Sinn Féin, but in a very perceptive con-

cluding chapter, well rooted in the body of his findings, he clearly points to the reasons for the degeneration and sudden demise of the Irish parliamentary party.

JESSE D. CLARKSON, *Brooklyn College*

OVERSEA SETTLEMENT: MIGRATION FROM THE UNITED KINGDOM TO THE DOMINIONS. By *G. F. Plant*, Secretary of the United Kingdom Government Oversea Settlement Committee, 1918-37. [Issued under the Auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs.] (New York, Oxford University Press, 1951, pp. vi, 186, \$3.00.) This is an informative and useful book. Quite properly the author has given less than one fourth of his space to the period before 1914 which has been adequately covered by other writers and only a few pages to developments since 1945 the trends of which are not yet clearly discernible. It is to migration during the interwar period that Mr. Plant devotes the major part of his discussion. Because of his experience as secretary of the Oversea Settlement Committee (later Board) 1918-1937, he is qualified to interpret accurately both the purposes of the Emigration Bill of 1918 which, because of strong opposition, was withdrawn before the armistice of November 11 and the proposals of the Oversea Settlement Committee for dealing with problems of postwar emigration. The first recommendations of the committee for a government free-passage scheme for ex-service men and women which ran from 1919 to 1922 and for the organization on a voluntary basis of the Society for Oversea Settlement of British Women (1919) were followed by the passing of the Empire Settlement Act of 1922. This act recognized the problem of migration as one of more effective distribution of manpower within the Commonwealth. It therefore authorized the Colonial Secretary to co-operate with the authorities of the various Dominions in promoting and partially financing, when necessary, the emigration of Britons desiring to leave the United Kingdom for homes overseas. The author explains in great detail the various kinds of assisted passages and the numerous land settlement schemes developed under this act—none of the latter successful, many of them disastrous. He also sets forth the difficulties of the Dominions in absorbing the newcomers and the valuable service rendered by voluntary societies. This discussion, plus excellent summaries of reports of commissions and committees on migration and population, reveals the interrelation between migration of people, migration of capital, and growth of trade. Following such an exposition of the problem, the author's conclusions and recommendations are bound to carry weight. A list of official papers and a good index add to the value of the book.

EDITH DOBIE, *University of Washington*

TWILIGHT OF THE MUGHULS: STUDIES IN LATE MUGHUL DELHI. By *Percival Spear*, Fellow of Selwyn College, Cambridge. (New York, Cambridge University Press, 1951, pp. xi, 270, \$3.75.) The book under review is a careful and objective study of late Mogul Delhi, giving us interesting and reliable information about social and political conditions of the country surrounding Delhi, as well as the machinery of administration of the Moguls and of British rulers such as Wellesley and Metcalfe. This work very creditably supplements monumental studies of Mogul India by Sir Jadunath Sarkar, the greatest authority in this field, and other scholars such as the late Mr. Moreland. The growing weakness of the Mogul power in Delhi during the latter part of the eighteenth century and the rise of the Marhattas encouraged the British toward establishing their own power. However the author throws occasional light on the continuous British policy of ignoring Mogul supremacy whenever possible. The authority of the Mogul emperor was decidedly undermined during the period from 1803 to 1811. This is quite evident from the fact that Wellesley in his dispatches to the directors of the East India Company held that the emperor,

Shah Alam, was accepting "protection under the British crown," whereas it is clear that he was "accepting friendship" as "a favored son" (p. 44). Regarding British administration and its policies, one finds two distinct trends in the attitude of high British officials. One group could not see any good in anything Indian, including the village community system, while the other group, among them Sir Charles Metcalfe, detected a fundamental soundness in the existing system which Metcalfe tried to modify to suit new conditions. In the last two chapters of the work the author deals with "Mutiny in Delhi and Its Aftermath," in which he exposes some of the most unpleasant and brutal conduct of British officers during and immediately after the mutiny. The last of the Mogul emperors, Bahadur Shah, was tried on charge of aiding and abetting rebellion and the massacre of British women and children and also because, "being a subject of the British Government, he proclaimed himself sovereign of India and waged war against the Government" (pp. 222-23). He was convicted and with immediate members of his family was sent to Rangoon as an exiled prisoner, where he died. So ended the Mogul rulers of India. But the author also gives us the other side of the case, which was, some sixty years after the trial (1918), presented by the British scholar F. W. Buckler in his study "Political Theory of the Indian Mutiny" published in the *Transactions* of the Royal Historical Society. Buckler indicated that there was not sufficient proof that Bahadur Shah was ever a party to the massacre of British women and children or that he initiated or promoted the mutiny, although he later became a party to it. In any case he could not and should not have been tried as a "rebel," because Bahadur Shah was never a British subject; on the contrary he was in 1857 the *de jure* emperor of India. Thus, "It was the British East India Company which rebelled against the king" (p. 223).

TARAKNATH DAS, *Columbia University*

THE PRIVATE CORRESPONDENCE OF LORD MACARTNEY, GOVERNOR OF MADRAS (1781-85). Edited for the Royal Historical Society by C. Collin Davies, Reader in Indian History in the University of Oxford. [Camden Third Series, Volume LXXVII.] (London, Royal Historical Society, 1950, pp. xxiv, 236.) Specialists on the history of India during the days of the East India Company will welcome the appearance of this volume of Macartney's private letters as a valuable addition to the basic sources for the period. In attacking the problems involved in attaining a balanced presentation of company affairs one feels constantly the need for additional insights. Partisan writing has cluttered the stage too long and it would seem apparent that a return to the original sources is imperative if obscure and contradictory views are to be re-examined. Macartney wrote at length to Hastings and Eyre Coote and received copious replies. A good part of the material is, of course, of minor importance but a careful perusal proves to be most rewarding for a better appreciation of the consolidation of British rule in India. Particularly interesting are Macartney's references to the Benfields and to their dealings with the "country powers." Professor Davies has chosen to present the letters chronologically by author, which detracts from their usefulness. He has, however, added numerous helpful notes and comments that enrich the material presented in the letters and illuminate obscure references. His introduction to the volume is also most welcome, giving the reader a coherent view of the events that transpired in the Indian Empire during the epoch when these fascinating, crotchety, and frequently irascible gentlemen were in command of events. As would be expected, the present volume sheds interesting light on the disagreement that marred Macartney's relationship with Hastings. This is done less through new factual material than through the illumination given the character of these gentlemen by their personal correspondence. Taken in conjunction with other

materials now available to us, these letters do much to round out a picture that had remained regrettably obscure.

ROBERT I. CRANE, *University of Chicago*

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FRANCE

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THE PEOPLE'S GENERAL: THE PERSONAL STORY OF LAFAYETTE. By David Loth. (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1951, pp. vi, 346, \$3.50.) In the June, 1930, issue of the *Journal of Modern History* Professor Louis Gottschalk published a review article on Lafayette in which he pointed out that there really was no need for either of the books (by John Simpson Penman and Brand Whitlock) under particular discussion. Charavay had not been superseded. Despite such a severe judgment other full-length biographies of the hero later appeared: Andreas Latzko's in 1936, W. E. Woodward's in 1938. And now, in 1951, we have David Loth's book. According to the dust jacket, it is based in part on research material in European archives, "so that for the first time Lafayette is presented in both his American and French roles." When a reputable publishing house indulges in this sort of thing, what is one to think? Biographers of Lafayette usually succumb so completely to his appealing qualities that they find it difficult to treat fairly those of his contemporaries who were not in sympathy with him. Mr. Loth is no exception. In describing the opening of the Estates General, for example, he pictures Marie Antoinette as wishing for "the power to stick a sharp pin into eighteen million people with a single jab" (p. 182).

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

One would like to know the source of such a statement; the author in fact eschews footnotes entirely. No mention is made of Malouet's appraisal of Lafayette. Although the book has little or no value for the scholar, it may serve a need that did not exist twenty years ago. Our wounds from the recent war have scarcely healed. In the midst of the present cynicism and disillusionment, this well-written new book on a man who kept the faith may be in order. Certainly Mr. Loth found in Lafayette an "excellent companion." And he does not pretend to have improved upon Charavay.

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THE LOW COUNTRIES

B. H. Wabeke

BELGIAN FOREIGN POLICY BETWEEN TWO WARS, 1919-1940. By *Jane Kathryn Miller*. (New York, Bookman Associates, 1951, pp. 337, \$5.00.) A definitive account of Belgian foreign policy between World Wars I and II obviously cannot be written until all the relevant documents have been released by the respective governments. Meanwhile Miss Miller has performed a useful task in outlining the principal features of Belgian foreign policy during this period on the basis of such official records, published memoirs, and press reports as are readily available. By relying exclusively on materials written in the English or French languages, however, the author has somewhat detracted from the value of an otherwise competently written account. Thus the German, Dutch, Italian, and Swiss reactions to the isolationist attitude adopted by Belgium in 1936 are described merely on the basis of quotations in the Belgian press. The bibliography, while extensive, shows some surprising gaps, such as the failure to mention the volume on Belgium published by the University of California Press in 1943, in which Frans van Cauwelaert contributed the chapter on foreign policy. The author's use of the term "Dutch Zeeland" to indicate the territory claimed by the Belgian nationalists after World War I is misleading, for even the most rabid Belgian annexationists never dreamed of demanding the cession of the entire Dutch province of Zeeland. The term "Dutch Flanders" would have been more appropriate. An appendix listing the members of the Belgian ministries from November, 1918, to May, 1940, enhances the usefulness of Miss Miller's book as a tool for ready reference.

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GERMANY, AUSTRIA, AND SWITZERLAND

Ernst Posner¹

FESTSCHRIFT ZUR FEIER DES ZWEIHUNDERTJÄHRIGEN BESTANDES DES HAUS-, HOF- UND STAATSARCHIVS. Edited by *Leo Santifaller*. Volume I. [Mitteilungen des österreichischen Staatsarchivs, Ergänzungsband II.] (Vienna, Druck und Kommissions Verlag der österreichischen Staatsdruckerei, 1949, pp. v-viii, 3-795.) It is an indication of lessening interest on the part of United States scholars in general and New World medievalists in particular that not one is found among the contributors to this magnificent volume. There are, however, fifty-one contributions from Austria, one from Bulgaria, one from Germany, one from France, one from Greece, three from Great Britain, seven from Italy and South Tyrol, one from Poland, six from Switzerland, one from Spain, one from Turkey, five from Hungary, one from the Vatican City. These scholars celebrate a milestone in the life of the Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, which was established by decree of the empress Maria Theresa, September 13, 1749. This volume signally demonstrates the continuing scholarly competence of Austrian savants and their colleagues. Indeed, the present reviewer has never seen a higher quality of specialized competence combined in such admirable degree with the wide scope necessary to exhibit effectively the manifold aspects of historical scholarship that depend upon archives. Truly Austria may be described in more ways than merely the political as the "grandmother of Europe." Space forbids more than a listing of the various divisions into which the contributions fall and some notice of studies of peculiar interest to the reviewer. The contents are divided into twelve studies of interest especially to archivists; four palaeographical and diplomatical studies; four in the fields of heraldry and genealogy; eighteen on individual medieval Austrian sources and collections of sources; and ten studies on modern sources and collections of sources. With the present lack of reliable data on most countries under the Stalinist terror it is important to call attention to the authoritative articles of N. Bischoff (Moscow) and D. Janossy on some notes on the history and organization of archives in the Soviet Union, and on the archival law in Hungary, respectively. Janossy's article is especially valuable because of his brief historical sketch of the Hungarian archives and his report on these repositories during and after the war period from 1939 to 1945. Another compelling study is that of Karl Pivec (Vienna) on the need for a specialized discipline for the study of recent manuscript materials comparable in historical importance to palaeography for medieval studies. "To be sure," Pivec writes, "the concept of the domain of writing is not so simple as it was in the Middle Ages; it is noticeably confined by the greater possibilities of travel, by the mediocre character of modern educational institutions, and by a different social fusion of those writing and those wise in the methods of writing as opposed to the High Middle Ages." He stresses especially changes in modern times in "the social and material conditions for the development of script." Of particular interest to medievalists the following are noted at random: H. L. Mikoletzky, "Zur Charakteristik Bruns von Querfurt"; G. Barraclough, "Briefe aus dem Reiche und andere Mitteilungen aus englischen Landesarchiven"; H. Fichtenau, "Unbekannter Lambache Annalen (1187-1243)." W. Neumüller and K. Holter of Kremsmünster have collaborated in a most fascinating bit of restoration of fragments of letters from the thirteenth century in their "Kremsmünsterer Briefe aus der Zeit des interregnums." As a by-product of

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

Neumüller's brilliant accomplishment in 1947 in establishing beyond all doubt the existence of the important librarian and historian, Bernardus Noricus, hundreds of fragments of writings were found used as covers for other more highly regarded tracts. With the help of Eleonore Klee of St. Florian, Neumüller and Holter have recovered over one hundred letters written for the most part by monks of Kremsmünster during the years when Friedrich von Aich was abbot (1275 to 1325).

GEORGE BINGHAM FOWLER, *University of Pittsburgh*

KARDINAL JOHANNES GROPPER, 1503-1559: UND DIE ANFÄNGE DER KATHOLISCHEN REFORM IN DEUTSCHLAND. By *Walter Lipgens*. [Reformationsgeschichtliche Studien und Texte, Heft 75.] (Münster, Aschendorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1951, pp. x, 259, DM. 16.) The Reformation period is usually interpreted in the light of Reformed theology and endeavor; relatively small attention has been given to Catholic reaction in the pre-Tridentine period. Historians from Maurenbrecher to N. Paulus (especially the study on A. von Usingen, Luther's teacher and opponent) have sensed the need of a clear understanding of this phase which today is not as neglected as it used to be. But we do not yet have a history of Catholic theological development in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, bearing especially on Catholic attempts at Reformation. W. Lipgens sees in Cardinal Gropper the first German theologian in Reformation times to evaluate Catholic concepts, and to re-study Augustinianism in the light of Lutheran theology. Gropper's work has been noticed and described before; but the studies by H. Rückert, H. Jedin, and W. van Gulik failed to get at the basic issues. Lipgens' aim is to determine how Lutheranism actually reacted on West German humanists; to establish the nature of the religious forces that were released by Lutheranism and were eventually processed at Trent; to ascertain to what extent the new forces contributed to strengthen Catholic theology. A study of Gropper's theological development, Lipgens feels, is the clue to many of the problems, because Gropper is typical of the thinking man who passed from a mild endorsement of Lutheranism to an intransigent opposition. Gropper was at first drawn into the currents of humanism, tossed between the *via antiqua* and the *via moderna*, the nominalism of Occam and the *devotio moderna*. Like so many of his friends, Gropper showed a markedly friendly attitude toward Lutheranism until 1530; but after the Diet of Augsburg, he realized that the time of compromise had passed; sacrificing his beautiful friendship with Martin Bucer, and taking a resolute stand, he became the Catholic bulwark at Cologne against the Lutheran onslaught spearheaded by Archbishop von Wied. Although not a theologian by training, Gropper became an eloquent defender of the faith in widely circulated works such as *Reformatio*, *Canones*, and especially the *Enchiridion*. Gropper's views on justification were particularly in evidence; and if later on he was suspected as a "semi-Lutheran," it was largely because of his ideas on justification. The various Reform projects formulated by Gropper aroused the attention of the Curia, and he was invited to participate at Trent (1552). When Paul IV awarded him the cardinal's hat, which he accepted reluctantly and only after several refusals, Gropper was the only German cardinal who was entrusted, with other cardinals in Rome, to work out Reform projects. Lipgens' book is solid, the story is compact; every friend and foe is mentioned, no one is forgotten. While all data are not yet accessible, leaving a few gaps in the inner picture of the man, all available documents are penetratingly explored. Many unpublished sources are also brought to light such as manuscripts in the Staatsbibliothek in Berlin and in the archives of the city of Cologne; and above all, Gropper's letters left by L. Schmitz-Kallenberg in the Westphalian State Archives

at Münster. This study of Lippens is an enlightening step in a further understanding of the pre-Tridentine Catholic frame of mind.

DANIEL WALTHER, *Washington, D. C.*

JOHANNES KEPLER: LIFE AND LETTERS. By *Carola Baumgardt*. With an Introduction by Albert Einstein. (New York, Philosophical Library, 1951, pp. 209, \$3.75.) This little book does more for Kepler than any other life sketch of this great scientist known to the reviewer. The five chapters convey briefly an excellent account for the layman who wishes to know what the life of an individual in the Renaissance was really like. The title of the book is, however, somewhat misleading, for Kepler's life and writings occupy volumes. It might read "The Soul and Spirit of Johannes Kepler," for the author has done an admirable analysis of the letters at her disposal from this point of view. Also she has given proper attention to the historical place of each of Kepler's six or seven great books. Men of science in the later Renaissance, with the possible exception of Copernicus, were persecuted individuals; Bruno, Galileo, and Kepler endured various forms of punishment for their liberal and pioneer thoughts on science and philosophy: Bruno by burning, Galileo by imprisonment, but Kepler by a multitude of troubles—family, financial, and religious. Were it not for Kepler's truly religious convictions and strength of character how could he have survived the many disappointments and the poverty encountered in his struggle and search for truth in nature (the universe)? Carola Baumgardt has revealed the real personality of Kepler through these letters in a beautiful and sympathetic manner. Possibly it is only a woman who could do this. She has also shown that Kepler, as it has been said of Newton, possessed genius and a touch of divinity. Kepler was one of the giants on whose shoulders Newton stood: Kepler's three laws of planetary motion form the basis of Newton's *Principia*. This sort of humanistic biographical study, which is also a pure literary delight, is a welcome addition to our historical literature. The selective bibliography is valuable, the format is pleasing, the type is very readable, and the book is, in all, a real contribution to the history of science and culture. Albert Einstein's introduction provides a scientific appraisal and also points out a lesson of enormous importance for our own crucial times.

FREDERICK E. BRASCH, *Stanford University*

OUR GERMAN POLICY: PROPAGANDA AND CULTURE. By *Albert Norman*. (New York, Vantage Press, 1951, pp. 85, \$2.50.) Considering the relatively large number of Americans who have been associated with the occupation of Germany either as civilians or as military officials since 1945, it is rather surprising that so few books dealing with other than tactical matters have appeared. Though dealing only with the early period of the occupation, frequently designated now as the "punitive phase," Mr. Norman, who saw service in the headquarters of the Twelfth Army Group and after its deactivation in August, 1945, moved to a civilian position with the Information Control Division of the United States Forces, European Theater, and later to the Office of Military Government for Germany, has made a valuable contribution to the understanding of one of the more complicated aspects of American operations in Germany. Limiting himself to a consideration of the press, book publishing and periodicals, the radio, motion pictures, and the theater, opera, and music, he manages in a brief compass to present a well-organized and informing account of the tangled events of 1945 and 1946. A reader is impressed by the amount of factual material which is combined with general observations and by the generally objective attitude of one who has been intimately associated with highly

controversial events. Perhaps the chief regret of many will be that the author did not see fit to extend his study to a greater length.

HAROLD ZINK, *Ohio State University*

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ITALY

Gaudens Megaro

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RUSSIA AND SLAVIC EUROPE

Sergius Yakobson¹

THE JEWS IN THE SOVIET UNION. By Solomon M. Schwarz. Foreword by Alvin Johnson, President Emeritus, New School for Social Research. (Syracuse, Syracuse University Press, 1951, pp. xviii, 380, \$5.00.) In Russia, where everything is under the control of a powerful government, the vicissitudes of ethnic groups are determined to a large extent by the Soviet authorities. There were three million Jews in Soviet Russia in 1939 (last census), and about five million after the annexations of 1939-1940; their present number is less than two million. Dr. Schwarz, well-known student of Russian affairs, has compiled figures and facts derived from sources in and outside of Russia to trace the evolution of Communist policy toward the Jews. His presentation is a valuable contribution to an understanding of contemporary Russia. Before the Revolution Lenin and his partisans refused to consider the Jews as a national entity with the right to autonomous existence within the framework of a free and democratic state—the goal of all anti-tsarist forces under the Romanoff rule. This attitude changed after November, 1917. The Soviet government afforded the Jews the status of a national minority. Schools in which Yiddish was the medium of teaching, a Yiddish theater, Yiddish publications, and other Jewish cultural and educational activities enjoyed governmental support. The Soviet regime even undertook to organize autonomous Jewish life on a territorial basis: Jewish soviets and courts in districts of large Jewish population, resettlement of surplus Jewish population on land (the agricultural colonies in the Crimea), and the establishment of a "Jewish territory" in Birobijan. All this, of course, was under strict control of the ruling party with the aim of eliminating the Jewish anti-Bolshevik elements and increasing the influence of the Jewish Communists, who have remained a small group among the Russian Jews. The Jewish policy of the Kremlin corresponded to its general attitude toward all national minorities in the Soviet Union. The author shows that although the right of self-determination and self-government actually never existed in Communist Russia, the minority peoples were given an opportunity to rise to higher cultural levels. After the end of World War II the policy of the Soviet authorities toward the Jews changed drastically (the inception of this change can be traced to the second half of the 1930's, the time of the great purges), and Russian Jewry is no

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

longer being treated as a national minority. Most Jewish cultural and educational institutions, including the theaters and press, were closed down; Yiddish schools were not resumed after 1945; Jewish agricultural colonies in the Crimea were not restored; and many outstanding Jewish writers, poets, and scholars were deported. Dr. Schwarz concludes that present Soviet policy toward the Jews corresponds to the original doctrine formulated by Lenin approximately fifty years ago. About one third of the book is devoted to anti-Semitism in Russia. The author points out that because of lack of factual information no final conclusions can be made. Nevertheless the material he has collected leaves little doubt that Soviet leaders do not disdain to exploit prejudice against the Jews in order to foster their own position in the country. Dr. Schwarz's book is published under the auspices of the American Jewish Committee.

BORIS SAPIR, *New York, N. Y.*

A KEY TO CZECHOSLOVAKIA, THE TERRITORY OF Kladsko (GLATZ): A STUDY OF A FRONTIER PROBLEM IN MIDDLE EUROPE. By *Milič Čapek*. (New York, Richard Vogel, 1946, pp. 153.) The northern frontier of Bohemia, facing Germany, has, throughout its history, tended to follow the crest of the mountain ranges. Numerous physical irregularities have resulted in several sharp salients extending either into Germany, as at Asch, or into Bohemia, as the much larger rectangle of Kladsko (Glatz). Until the time of Frederick II of Prussia this salient was a part of the kingdom of Bohemia but has since then formed a part of the duchy of Silesia. The question whether this territory of 630 square miles should revert to Czechoslovakia was raised at the Paris Peace Conference in 1919, but decided in the negative. Mr. Čapek follows the vicissitudes of this "square," emphasizing its strategic importance in the frame of the larger movements of aggression from the tenth century to 1945. One example of the geopolitical and military significance of Kladsko which has escaped most historical observation is the fact that Bohemian resistance to the imperial armies after the White Mountain (1620) continued in Kladsko to the end of 1622. Count Thurn held out for months in the fortress of Kladsko with less than 2,000 troops against many times that number of imperial soldiery. From the weight of historical evidence the author urges that the utilization of this "square" by aggressors from the north throughout ten centuries in order to break into the Danube basin demands that it be incorporated into the territory of Czechoslovakia in order to strengthen that country's position as the bastion of Central European freedom. Certainly these facts should be kept in mind in any reconstruction of Central Europe, which, as has always happened in the past, will naturally come again.

S. H. THOMSON, *University of Colorado*

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Near Eastern History

Sidney Glazer¹

ATLAS OF ISLAMIC HISTORY. Compiled by Harry W. Hazard. Maps executed by H. Lester Cooke, Jr., and J. McA. Smiley. [Princeton Oriental Studies, Volume XII.] (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1951, pp. 49, \$4.00.) Students of Asiatic history have long lacked detailed historical atlases and have had to rely on scattered maps in textbooks. This lack is now partly supplied from Princeton, whose handsome new atlas will be indispensable to all nonspecialists interested in the Muslim countries. The maps are clearly printed and brightly colored, and it is valuable to have a century-by-century picture of religious frontiers, kingdoms, and cities, from the seventh century to the twentieth. Yet these maps could have been still more useful if they had contained greater detail. Many more towns could have been inserted on the historical maps than there are: for instance, none of them shows more than seven cities in Egypt. There should have been historical maps of special areas such as Egypt and Mesopotamia, plans of cities such as Cairo, Constantinople, Baghdad, Isfahan, and one or two linguistic maps. No map shows medieval India or the Far East as known to the Muslims. Such maps could have been substituted for the population figures for Europe (p. 4); the modern maps of India and the Far East (p. 41)—to be found in any modern atlas; the conversion table of dates (pp. 44-45). This reviewer would have found orographical coloring of greater interest in the historical maps than the existing coloring by religions, especially as the latter does not indicate the religion of the people of each region but only of the state. Nomenclature is highly accurate, but it should have been explained that names are everywhere transcribed from the language of the *ruling* people of the time, not that of the natives of each country. The text opposite each map compresses much handy information, but is sometimes too impassioned and contains needless comparisons between the civilizations of East and West. There is a useful list of Muslim populations. Some faults of detail can be found; perhaps the most striking is the omission of Rome from a map of the Crusades. It is to be hoped that this atlas will be followed by a more substantial work for scholars and specialists. GEORGE F. HOURANI, *University of Michigan*

BRITAIN AND THE MIDDLE EAST: FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO 1950.

By Sir Reader Bullard, H.M. Minister (Afterwards Ambassador) at Tehran, 1939-46. [Hutchinson's University Library.] (New York, Longmans, Green, 1951, pp. 195, trade \$2.00, text \$1.60.) This is a well-informed little volume by a British career diplomat who has served almost a lifetime in the area about which he writes. It provides a swift-moving introduction for the lay reader to the significant story of the evolution of Britain's relations with the Middle East since the early Middle Ages. The brief chapters (one third of the book) which sketch the development of travel and trade with the Levant and Persia and Britain's rivalries with the other Great Powers in the Middle East prior to World War I present a skillful (though for the most part conventional) summary of events. The author, who might be characterized as an enlightened imperialist, justifies or openly approves nearly every phase of Britain's action in the earlier period. His treatment of events since 1914 is often more critical (for example, the McMahon correspondence is termed a "monument of ambiguity" [p. 69]); though he finds little to reprehend in the famous Agreement with Persia (1919), while only conceding that "extremists" might say that Iraq's

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independence was not complete under the Anglo-Iraq treaty of 1930. The Egyptians, he remarks elsewhere, have not yet understood the "realities" of Middle East defense. Nevertheless, making allowance for the author's point of view, he gives a very informative survey of recent developments in Turkey, Egypt, Iran, and the Arab countries. There is revealed a vast knowledge of events and a keen appreciation not only of foreign interests but also of the subtle interplay of internal forces within the region. His appraisal of the Palestine problem is particularly good—though it will satisfy neither Arab nor Jew. While frequent references are made to Britain's interest in Middle East oil, a fuller and more connected account would have been welcome. The volume closes with some suggestions as to how Britain may aid the Middle East in the future through educational and other activities.

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Far Eastern History

E. H. Pritchard¹

COLLISION OF EAST AND WEST. By Herrymon Maurer. With an Introduction by Hu Shih. (Chicago, Henry Regnery, 1951, pp. xvi, 352, \$4.50.) The author of this work is a Quaker with long experience as a teacher in China. This particular study, based on articles which he wrote for *Fortune* between 1942 and 1948, is intended as the first of a series of volumes on cultural collision. In the opening chapter the author states his purpose as an "attempt to press urgently the conviction that the world . . . is of such a nature that outward activity, however well-intentioned, invites personal and international disaster whenever it is not based on a profound inner awareness of other persons, other nations, other cultures" (p. 4). This moral truth he undertakes to demonstrate by an analysis of cultural conflict between China, Japan, and the West. This conflict springs from "the mistake of treating Eastern peoples not straightforwardly as persons who are valuable in themselves but rather as units of population which can be used as means to some greater end" (p. 299). Essentially, therefore, this work is a sermon rather than a historical work or a sociological analysis. Mr. Maurer's first concern is to give his readers clues to the understanding of Asiatic peoples, to which end he formulates rather pat diagnoses of national psychology. The Chinese are best comprehended through Confucianism and Taoism, the Japanese through their traditional ethical system. But Westerners achieved no such understanding, and during the critical decade of 1937 to 1947 the misunderstandings between the Far Eastern peoples and the West headed up into outright collision. These years are discussed in terms of the relations between China, Japan, the United States, and Russia, but the discussion is on a philosophical plane rather than on the level of detail of diplomatic dealings. The author combines a strong moral sense with considerable verbal facility. He gives his interpretation of the history of the modern Far East with notable deftness and great assurance. At moments he even tends to convey the impression that the understanding of "the East," which has been denied to all other Americans, has somehow been revealed to him alone. The collision of East and West is obviously one of the great themes of modern history, which calls for much careful and judicious study as the proper preliminary of general interpretive works such as this aspires to be. This is not a historian's book, but it may have the merit of directing the lay reader's attention

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to the nonpolitical and nonmilitary aspects of cultural conflict in Asia and it is unquestionably infused with strong moral purpose.

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A HISTORY OF CHINA. By *W. E. Soothill*, Late Professor of Chinese in the University of Oxford. Revised and Edited, with a Supplementary Chapter, by *G. F. Hudson*, Fellow of All Souls College, Oxford. (New York, Contemporary Books, 1951, pp. 127, \$1.50.) One glimpses in this slight volume a historical retrospect extending farther back than that of any existent race or continuing culture. From dim beginnings on the banks of the Yellow River, with a civilization already perfected two millennia before our era, the national existence of the Chinese people, as they became out of many racial elements, remains unbroken. The present sleeve edition of China's history describes in briefest form the entire sweep and flow of the archaic Middle Empire. Its author, the late Professor Soothill, was profoundly versed in the very language of the great Chinese historians. The lesson drawn is, if history is to convey a moral as the two *Ssu-ma's*, *Ch'ien* and *Kuang*, held, that the Chinese people are anything but the pacifists of Western concepts. They are rather a supremely arrogant, aggressive folk with whom warfare, bloodshed, massacre, and depopulation were constants over untold generations. Professor Hudson's postscript, the chapter "China since 1927," brings the impressive story of China down to the recent anomalous "republic" and the present "people's democracy," closing surprisingly enough on a hopeful note.

ESSON M. GALE, *University of Michigan*

THE PACIFIC ISLANDS. By *Douglas L. Oliver*. (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1951, pp. x, 313, \$5.00.) It is highly useful when a competent specialist takes time out from writing his scientific papers and monographs to address a general book to the nonspecialist reader. In this case, anthropologist Oliver of Harvard, after doing research work in the South Pacific (Solomons) before the war, and being engaged in important war and postwar activities relating to the area (Board of Economic Warfare, United States Commercial Company, State Department, etc.), presumably had to get such a general work out of his system before he could settle down again fully to academic specialization. The result is a most happy and useful addition to the very few general works on the Pacific island area and its peoples. Dr. Oliver's brush paints largely but surely. A first section of some sixty pages on "The Islanders" introduces this "oceanic Eden" and its Australian aborigine, Melanesian, Polynesian, and Micronesian peoples, and gives a professionally valid summary of the migration problem. (*Kon-Tiki* notwithstanding, all scientific evidence, racial, archaeological, linguistic, and so on, points to Malaysia as the area from which the ancestors of these people fanned out, though it is a fair assumption that some of the Polynesian "Vikings" may have reached the American side, and a few canoes may even have found their way back via the South Equatorial Current which the *Kon-Tiki* raft rode.) Then come fifty pages on "The Aliens"—explorers, whalers, traders, missionaries, planters, blackbirders, miners, and administrators. The four centuries from the first Portuguese and Spanish explorers up to the time of the Japanese invasion during World War II are delineated with colorful, well-written emphasis on the historical highlights. Then follow 150 pages under the title "Metamorphosis," analyzing further the processes of change and resistance to change during this period, moving from territory—"the dispossessed" (indigenous groups in Australia and New Zealand), "salvation" (Tonga, Wesleyan stronghold), "coconut civilization" (the tropical island groups), "sugar revolution" (Hawaii), "sea harvest" (Torres Straits), "mining" (the guano and phosphate islands, mineral

exploitation in New Caledonia and New Guinea), "bases" (Guam, former Japanese islands, etc.). A final section of fifty pages on "Cataclysm and Aftermath" surveys the war and postwar periods and makes an interesting prognostication on "Utopia's prospects." The book has a selected bibliography of some eighty titles, together with several sketch maps, and also attractive chapter-head decorations in black and white by the author's wife. It will need to go on every shelf of standard Pacific works and will be useful reading for any prospective visitor to the area. Others will want to look through the book to see how far the persistent "South Sea escape dream" which artists, novelists, Broadway, and Hollywood can still exploit with profit within our tension-beset society is really true.

FELIX M. KEESING, *Stanford University*

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United States History

Wood Gray¹

GENERAL

INTRODUCTION TO SOURCES OF AMERICAN HISTORY. By *William Carl Spielman*. (New York, Exposition Press, 1951, pp. 175, \$3.00.) The purpose of this book is "to give the reader an over-all picture of the sources of American history." Sources are classified in seven groups—relics, traditions, private documents, public and semipublic documents, biography, composite writing (a misnomer for secondary works), counterfeit writings—and are discussed in seventy-eight small pages. A bibliographical appendix of almost equal length contains references representative of each classification. Professor Spielman asserts that "this is not a book on historical research." That is obvious from a casual glance; less clear is its value for readers of any type or age. The treatment is unoriginal, elementary, superficial, and sometimes contradictory. Everything useful has been said before and said much better. The beginner will still prefer Allan Nevins' *Gateway to History*, on which this author leans heavily. Mr. Spielman's footnotes are revealing. Two out of the first three cite articles in the *Reader's Digest*, while five of the first seven in chapter three refer to the Nevins work. Both text and documentation are filled with such errors as Beard's *Economic Interpretations of the Federal Constitution*. The slovenly character of the bibliographical lists is even more glaring. Mistakes in names, titles, dates, and volumes abound, a defect serious enough in any publication but a damning one in a handbook devoted to introducing novices to the discipline. A full bill of particulars would take many times the space allotted to this review. It is enough to say that when statesmen like George F. Hoar become G. H. Hoare, Edmund Ruffin, Edmund Ruffner and R. Y. Hayne, R. Y. Haines; when historians like Paxson are listed as Paxau, Commager as Commanger, and McIlwain as McIlvain; when *Rock of Chickamauga* emerges as *Chicamonga*; when Allan Nevins is given as editor of the three-volume *Ordeals of the Union*; when the Adams memoirs are reduced from twelve volumes to two; and when the Birney Letters of 1831-1857, published in 1938, appear as covering 1831-1837 and printed in 1943, it is time to call a spade a spade. In short, there is nothing to commend this effort unless it be as an example of how not to introduce students to sources of American history.

RICHARD W. LEOPOLD, *Northwestern University*

THE HOMES OF AMERICA AS THEY HAVE EXPRESSED THE LIVES OF OUR PEOPLE FOR THREE CENTURIES. By *Ernest Pickering*. (New York, Thomas Y. Crowell, 1951, pp. 284, \$5.75.) The man who attempts to present the 340-year history of this country as a background for domestic architecture in a richly illustrated book of less than 300 pages is a brave man. Dean Ernest Pickering, of the College

¹ Responsible only for the lists of articles and documents.

of Applied Arts at the University of Cincinnati, is such a man. The result is a book that the architectural historian may scoff at or admire, according to his own predilections, but that is of considerable interest to those outside the special field of architectural history. To this large task of synthesis, Dean Pickering has brought years of study and experience in architecture and planning. Deliberately he has set out to produce a semipopular book, undocumented and with not even a bibliographical note. It is a very personal book in its choice of excellent illustrations and in its proportions. The author, for example, gives short shrift to influences such as the Spanish and French, which are presented, pictures and all, in ten pages. Nonetheless, to have done this job at all is a feat of some magnitude. Presented in historical and chronological sequence, the homes, including "unimportant" as well as "important" buildings, and the people who produced them are presented in pleasant if not very exciting prose. Since the bold outlines are here in spite of some gaps, the reader becomes aware of the fact that American architecture is a mirror reflecting the lives of the people. The homes of our forebears become as truly documentary sources as the letters and diaries they wrote. Social historians who have never given more than scant lip service to our architecture as a source of knowledge of our history might do well to add this book to their reading lists. It might even impel some to make use of the buildings themselves, many of them saved for public view, which offer testimony to the *modus vivendi* of our ancestors. There is a bonus as well for those who read the book to the end, for Dean Pickering explains contemporary architecture lucidly and logically in terms of human needs and technological advance. Even the staunchest traditionalist will be impressed with the progress that has been made in adaptation to environment through the use of new materials and because of new concepts of living. All of us may not be ready for the change, but the architectural path to the future is clearly marked.

FREDERICK L. RATH, JR., *Washington, D. C.*

THEY GAVE US FREEDOM: THE AMERICAN STRUGGLE FOR LIFE, LIBERTY, AND THE PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS, AS SEEN IN PORTRAITS, SCULPTURES, HISTORICAL PAINTINGS AND DOCUMENTS OF THE PERIOD: 1761-1789. (Williamsburg, Va., Colonial Williamsburg, 1951, pp. 66, \$2.50.) In this attractive little volume there are reproduced documents, portraits, and other pictures illustrative of the events connected with the American Revolution and the formation of the federal Union. The paintings, some of which are originals and some copies, have been collected from various sources and were on exhibition in the historic Wren Building of the College of William and Mary. Except for the omission of a few portraits which should have been included, the selection is a fair representation of the leadership of the period. One wonders, however, why James Wilson of Pennsylvania was not listed. There is also no portrait (except in imaginary scenes) of the marquis de Lafayette. This was apparently an oversight, as a noted painting of him is given in the tabulated list. By a brief running narrative each of the personages portrayed is given his proper place in the historical setting.

O. P. CHITWOOD, *Stetson University*

THE AMERICAN COMMON SCHOOL: AN HISTORIC CONCEPTION. By Lawrence A. Cremin. [Teachers College Studies in Education.] (New York, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1951, pp. xi, 248, \$3.50.) This is a study of the origins of an American institution, the common school. The common school (a school *common to all children alike*, whether rich or poor, humble or proud, of any faith or none) was the father of our present educational system. Mr. Cremin's analysis of

its beginnings is called "brilliant" by George S. Counts in his foreword to the study. There seems little reason to qualify that characterization to any great extent. Mr. Cremin is aware that an institution such as the common school is a result of the interplay of social conditions and ideas at a particular time and place. Therefore, he examines in detail the trends in American society in the first half of the nineteenth century that produced the common school. He believes that four movements of the time were basic in producing this institution: the democratization of American politics (the extension of the franchise, the rise of popular interest in the functions of government, and the conception of universal eligibility for public office); the struggle to preserve social equality (the sensitivity of laborers and small farmers to the badges of aristocracy of the day, including the pauper school); the rise of nationalism (the necessity to Americanize the immigrants then pouring into American society); and changes in the conception of man and society (the development of a liberal Christianity and a belief in the dynamic possibilities of democracy). These four forces Mr. Cremin relates to the coming of the common school as an educational ideal in both the minds of educational reformers of the period and the people as a whole, and from these things he traces the development of the common school. The latter half of the study is an attempt to show the transfer of these ideas from thought-patterns to actual practice in the various state educational systems. This study is a fine example of the light that social and intellectual history can shed on the development of institutions. Mr. Cremin sought out the origins of the ideas that made up the tradition of the common school, traced their spread throughout portions of early nineteenth-century society, and then pointed out the immediate consequences of the ideas. The only appreciable weakness in the study is that, when Mr. Cremin comes to trace the development of the common schools themselves, he uses as his evidence for the evolving pattern of educational growth the laws that were passed from time to time. It should be evident by this time that such a procedure is not valid, for the administration of the laws determines what the school system will be, not the laws themselves. They can only suggest limits to the historian. But this is a minor criticism. The study as a whole is excellent.

NORMAN F. WEAVER, *New York State College for Teachers, Buffalo*

HISTORY OF THE Y.M.C.A. IN NORTH AMERICA. By *C. Howard Hopkins*. (New York, Association Press, 1951, pp. xii, 818, \$5.00.) No church leader or church historian can afford to miss this book. It is a definitive work. The YMCA in this country and abroad has made a unique contribution—and one that is too little appreciated or often grudgingly recognized by the church—to the growth among the Protestant churches of a desire for unity and the creation of the channels for ecumenic activity for the Christian community. In its trail-blazing work of evangelism, Christian fellowship, and practical service, clergy and laymen have found themselves united for more than a century across all the lines of race and creed or the differences created by the accidents of ecclesiastical history. Truly this God-inspired movement uniting men and boys in urban communities, rural life, schools and colleges, and in the extension of the association around the world has been the seedbed of the ecumenic church. As early as 1869, an international convention declared that "in theory and practice the Young Men's Christian Association recognizes the essential unity of the Church of Christ and is bound to extend the right hand of fellowship to all who love the Lord Jesus whatever their ecclesiastical name, or the peculiarities of their denominational polity." Many if not most of the great leaders of contemporary movements for church unity achieved their ecumenic faith and developed their techniques for co-operative work through their work in and for the

YMCA in communities, colleges, national and world conferences. The YMCA's were ecumenic in spirit and fact decades before the churches were prepared nationally or on a world-wide basis to create the ecclesiastical structure for ecumenic church activity. Probably the YMCA's greatest gift to the church has been the leadership of that great statesman of the ecumenic movement, Dr. John R. Mott. Perhaps more fully than any other religious movement, the YMCA has in the words of Dr. Hopkins "mirrored American Protestantism." The movement he says "not only attached itself to the evangelical churches, but it breathed their theological and ethical atmosphere." This story dramatizes the amazing mobility and adaptability of the YMCA to changing social and religious needs of successive generations of boys and young men. It has stood out boldly in American life for a ministry to all the needs of youth—social, moral, physical, mental, and spiritual. The triangle—body, mind, and spirit—is a symbol around the world of a total Christian ministry. The pioneering activities of the YMCA for rural, urban, and college youth as well as for railroad workers, men in industries, and in the armed services in peace and war times have given a substance to its ministries that has been a constant challenge to the churches and a constant example to many youth-serving agencies in national and world life. The record that Dr. Hopkins gives of the amazing world service program of the YMCA's is impressive not only for its extent but even more for its undergirding philosophy. Even the earliest YMCA's in mission lands declared that "our privileges are accorded without distinction of race or creed." As early as 1909 John Mott established for the YMCA a policy which in more recent years has become the governing philosophy of most foreign missionary boards. "Our great idea," he said, "is to make ourselves not indispensable but dispensable . . . to plant the Association idea in the hearts and minds of native young men, in order that they may propagate the movement themselves, and let us go home as soon as may be." How well this policy of developing self-governing, self-supporting, self-propagating YMCA's has worked may be judged by the strength of the movement in those countries of the world from which the direct aid of the American movement must be withdrawn because of political revolutions. Perhaps the greatest testimony to the authentic character of the Christian witness of the movement is to be found in its work among Negro youth, its growing leadership in interracial concerns, and its capacity today to keep its essential Protestant character and yet include in its fellowship and work hundreds of thousands of youth whose spiritual rootage is in non-Protestant religious communions. In this book, Dr. Hopkins has given us one of the best written and most carefully documented histories of any of the movements arising out of Protestant Christianity. CLARENCE P. SHEDD, *Yale Divinity School*

TRAVELS IN AMERICA, 1816-1817. By *Edouard de Montulé*. Translated from the Original French Edition of 1821 by *Edward D. Seeber*, Professor of French, Indiana University. [Indiana University Publications, Social Science Series, No. 9.] (Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 1950, pp. 197, \$3.00.) Montulé, about whom nothing is now known except from the internal evidence of this narrative, was apparently a native of Le Mans, an officer of the Napoleonic army, and less than thirty years of age at the time of his eleven-month visit to the Western Hemisphere. Landing in early November of 1816, he spent about two months in New York and Philadelphia, devoted the late winter and early spring to a voyage to the West Indies, and completed his circle by way of the Mississippi, Ohio, and Mohawk Valleys. With no pretense to the profundity of a De Tocqueville and handicapped by a limited knowledge of English that caused him to rely on others of French origin as his informants, he was nevertheless observant and intelligent. His good nature and understanding

tolerance shine through this smooth translation into English. With apparently a fairly good foundation in natural history, Montulé was also thoroughly interested in human beings wherever he went. He recorded, with a minimum of grumbling, the primitive conditions of travel which he experienced. He described in some detail the early Fulton steamboat *Vesuvius* on which he ascended the Mississippi. The narrative consists of twenty-four letters sent back to France. It was published in 1821. The only previous translation into English, in part only and carelessly performed, appeared in the same year. Considerable value is added by the excellently reproduced lithographs, prepared by the traveler himself from on-the-spot sketches. W.G.

- A FRIENDLY MISSION: JOHN CANDLER'S LETTERS FROM AMERICA, 1853-1854. Edited by *Gayle Thornbrough*. [Indiana Historical Society Publications, Volume XVI, No. 1.] (Indianapolis, Indiana Historical Society, 1951, pp. 134, \$1.00.) This little volume is a journal of the travels, observations, and experiences of four English Quakers on an antislavery mission to this country in the winter of 1853-54. Their itinerary included interviews with President Pierce and with twenty-three of the thirty-one governors, and conferences and pious meetings with American Friends, many of whom were acquaintances the Englishmen had made on previous visits. Although debate on the Kansas-Nebraska Bill was raging at the time, the four antislavery advocates were cordially and hospitably received by all the slave-state governors whom they visited save Sterling Price of Missouri. Some even expressed sympathy with their views, and Henry Collier of Alabama and Hershel V. Johnson of Georgia both admitted the "peculiar institution" was on the road to extinction. But the four missionaries were blind to the difficulties attendant upon emancipation. Revealing is Candler's dismissal of Horatio Seymour's statesmanly view of the problem with the observation that, "With all his eloquence and all his urbanity, I saw in him the politician who was willing to leave Christianity in abeyance, rather than proceed resolutely to do what is right." As for men and manners Candler thought the families of urban merchants and professional men were as refined and cultured as the upper classes in England; but he was somewhat disparaging of the democracy which gave the common people license "to chew tobacco, to spit before you, to ask questions without limit, to loiter, to drink, and to talk politics." He concludes, however, that "This is a wonderful country" and "bids fair soon to be taller and stronger than its parent."

A. D. KIRWAN, *University of Kentucky*

- GAIL BORDEN, DAIRYMAN TO A NATION. By *Joe B. Frantz*. (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1951, pp. xiii, 310, \$5.00.) The pages of business history are strewn with accounts of trial and error, miscalculation and loss, and of men with an invincible determination to succeed no matter how often they failed. Borden, whose name has become almost synonymous with the dairy industry, was the latter kind of businessman. Joe B. Frantz, the author of this sympathetic account, traces the forebears of Borden to colonial Rhode Island and even to the days of William the Conqueror. Steeped in this Anglo-Saxon tradition, Borden is portrayed as an industrious, enterprising, persevering, religious man. Restless and venturesome, he becomes a part of the westward movement. His family, after leaving New York, settles in Kentucky, helps lay out Covington, and moves on to New London, Indiana, where young Gail grows to manhood only to find the "cold winters and river vapors" unbearable. Departing for fabulous New Orleans in search of health and fortune, the "stooped Yankee" locates temporarily in southwestern Mississippi, where he teaches school, surveys land, and acquires his first wife. Shifting to Texas where his brother Tom is one of Stephen Austin's "Old Three Hundred," Borden emerges as a leading

citizen, helps write the first Texas constitution, founds the first permanent newspaper, and helps lay out Galveston. Unsuccessful, or mildly successful, in several business ventures, he tries his hand at marketing an unpalatable and unsalable meat biscuit before he succeeds in condensing milk, "the most temperamental of foods." His last effort matures during the 1850's when Vanderbilt was making his fortune in shipping, when Wanamaker and countless others were striving to carve their niche in the business world. It was Borden the man with the idea, Milbank the man with the finances, and the Civil War with its demand for food which finally helped insure the eventual success of his business. Horatio Alger probably would have had a difficult time finding a hero whose failures and success fitted in more readily with his "cut-to-order" novels. But what Frantz writes is fact not fiction. Borden is a good representative of that restless, searching, enterprising American who refuses to yield to defeat because he feels he has something to offer. This readable, realistic, and refreshing study should be of value to the student of western, as well as of business, history.

THEODORE SALOUTOS, *University of California, Los Angeles*

AMERICAN CONSERVATIVES: THE POLITICAL THOUGHT OF FRANCIS LIEBER AND JOHN W. BURGESS. By *Bernard Edward Brown*. [Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, Number 565.] (New York, Columbia University Press, 1951, pp. 191, \$2.75.) Lieber and Burgess as two influential transmitters to America of German political thought are fitting subjects for a joint study in the history of ideas. Since there was, as the author stated, "no full length treatment with primary focus on either Lieber or Burgess as political theorists," he took upon himself the ambitious task of filling this gap. He also wished to demonstrate through these men the interplay between German philosophy and American politics. In the first of these objectives, the author has succeeded fairly well. His exposition of Lieber's political thought, which he roots in Kantian idealism, is especially full, well organized, and luminous—no small achievement as any reader of the *Political Ethics* and *Civil Liberty* can testify. However, following as it does excellent articles by Charles B. Robson, Merle Curti, and Joseph Dorfman, it is not especially pioneering. The analysis of Burgess' basically Hegelian political philosophy is more significant because so little has been written upon it. It is equally clear, but quite brief. These expositions are also disappointing in that they do little to link the thought of the two men although several ties exist—for example, their common interest, through Bluntschli, in the organic concept of the state. Aside from biographical sketches of the two protagonists, there are only fleeting references to the impact of their ideas upon American politics. Yet there lay the greatest significance of each of these men. An analysis of the influence of Burgess would be particularly of interest, since among his students were two of the major political figures of the twentieth century, Theodore Roosevelt and Franklin D. Roosevelt.

FRANK FREIDEL, *University of Illinois*

MR. LINCOLN'S CONTEMPORARIES: AN ALBUM OF PORTRAITS BY MATHEW B. BRADY. By *Roy Meredith*. (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1951, pp. xii, 233, \$6.00.) If an essential quality of a good picture book is an attractive format, this is not a good one. In appearance *Mr. Lincoln's Contemporaries* resembles a seventh-grade geography book; and, in contrast to the portrait of the author on the dust jacket, the reproductions are only fair. The accompanying text is an impressionistic history of the Civil War era. Fortunately the reviewer of a picture book need not concern himself with the text, though it must be said that in this case there is a good deal too much of it. Nevertheless, a volume of 172 Brady portraits is a welcome supplement to Meredith's earlier volume of Brady's Civil War photographs. Here

is some of the best work of the man before whose lens so many of Lincoln's distinguished contemporaries posed. To be sure, the portraits of this pioneer photographer are uneven in quality, but Brady often did remarkable things with his primitive equipment. No author's prose has yet surpassed Brady's camera in describing the majesty of Winfield Scott, the charm of Harriet Lane, the monolithic aspects of Preston King, the pugnacity of "Parson" Brownlow, the patient humility of Abraham Lincoln, or the self-conscious defiance of a Bloomer Girl. Altogether Mr. Meredith has made excellent selections from the large Brady collection. After studying them all, I think my favorite is the group portrait of Harper and Brothers. My admiration for Brady would increase if I could be sure that he took that picture with tongue in cheek. I would like to think, too, that Mr. Meredith knew what he was doing when he put it in a chapter entitled "The Lighter Side of Life."

KENNETH M. STAMPP, *University of California, Berkeley*

POWELL OF THE COLORADO. By *William Culp Darrah*. (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1951, pp. ix, 426, \$6.00.) John Wesley Powell (1834-1902) was one of the most dynamic men ever associated with the federal government. He left his mark not only on government organization but also on science in government and on American science in general. Hence, a full-length biography of him (strangely the first in the half century since his death) should be most welcome on several fronts. Powell's was not an easy biography to write, for the major was a complex, many-faceted personality, but Mr. Darrah has done a very creditable job. Fortunately there was no need to strain to find drama in Powell's life story, for drama was inherent in it. Major Powell's contributions were manifold, and his life divides readily for the biographer into more or less clear-cut periods: (1) his Civil War service (in which he lost an arm at Shiloh); (2) his geographical and geological explorations, most notably his pioneering and now illustrious expeditions down the canyons of the Green and Colorado Rivers; (3) his service with the United States government as geologist and ethnologist; and (4) his late-in-life forays into the realms of philosophy. If the reader is thoroughly impressed by the daring of Powell's Colorado adventures, he is even more impressed by the courage and originality that Powell manifested in later applying the scientific findings of these early excursions. He developed a new concept of the geology of the canyon country, and from this there evolved his classic "Report on the Lands of the Arid Regions of the United States" and his proposals for reformation of the land acts which finally resulted in the establishment of the Bureau of Reclamation. He was responsible for the consolidation of the government's surveys of the western territories into one agency: the Geological Survey, of which he served as second director following Clarence King. He founded, organized, and for its first twenty-three years directed the Bureau of American Ethnology in the Smithsonian Institution and proposed a classification of American Indian languages that has never been superseded. He was the "most outspoken promoter of a broad program of Government research in American history," anticipating the National Science Foundation by three score years by proposing a national department of science, which would have been a centralized administration for all the government's scientific work. He made contributions to social theory and the philosophy of science. He was, indeed, a titan, and Mr. Darrah has succeeded in presenting the full stature of the man in this detailed and well-documented account. The book fills a gap in the history of American science and serves to remind us how much yet remains to be done by scholars in that field.

PAUL H. OEHSER, *Smithsonian Institution*

STEVE MATHER OF THE NATIONAL PARKS. By *Robert Shankland*. With an Introduction by *Gilbert Grosvenor*. (New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1951, pp. viii, 326, \$4.00.) This volume is the only biography of Stephen Tyng Mather (1867-1930), the father of the National Park Service, which today protects a vast domain over 23 million acres, including 116 historical areas pregnant with meaning to the historian as primary source material for the study of our national history. The book presents a sympathetic and competent portrait of that important conservationist and describes the formative years of the National Park movement. Born and educated in California, for a time a reporter on Dana's *New York Sun*, later a wealthy Chicago borax manufacturer, Mather's first and perhaps deepest interest was the preservation and enjoyment of superlative scenery in the American wilderness. When, in 1914, he protested about the National Parks, it is said that his friend, Secretary of the Interior Franklin K. Lane, challenged him to come down to Washington and run them himself. Mather accepted, and, for the remaining sixteen years of his life, poured his remarkable abilities and much of his personal fortune into the organization, development, and expansion of the National Park System. The Bureau was established in 1916 and Mather was appointed first director. It was none too soon, for intensified pressures on national resources during World War I were soon threatening to destroy the national park idea as Mather conceived it. Unremitting vigilance largely protected the unspoiled grandeur of Yosemite, Mount Rainier, Glacier, and other areas in this crisis, and Mather's organization gained strength to resist later attempts at exploitation by cattle, lumber, mining, and irrigation interests. Mather's subsequent achievements were many, including the creation of seven new parks, the enlargement of others, the elimination of many harmful private holdings, the building of roads and the blazing of trails, the development of visitor accommodations, and the winning of wide public and congressional support for his program. Above all, Mather's leadership awakened in the people of the nation a new appreciation of the beauties and possibilities of the national parks and the necessity of conserving them for all time. The seeds Mather planted grew under his care and that of others. The national park idea spread to many other countries, and in modified form to many states which established state park systems. In 1950, over 36 million persons benefited from America's heritage of scenery and history preserved in the National Park System. Congressman Louis C. Cramton, at the time of Mather's death, spoke the sentiments of many: "There will never come an end to the good he has done." The author had access to the Mather papers and interviewed many who knew and worked closely with Mather, in particular Horace M. Albright, who helped to establish the National Park Service and succeeded Mather as its director. This biography, though historians will miss footnotes or adequate bibliography, effectively recaptures the life of a significant figure in the history of conservation in this country.

RONALD F. LEE, *Washington, D. C.*

SAILS AND WHALES. By Captain *Harry Allen Chippendale*. With an Introduction by Henry Beetle Hough. (Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1951, pp. xviii, 232, \$3.00.) This book is in the long line of personal narratives relating to the American whale fishery. Captain Chippendale was born on a whaler at sea, and his childhood was spent on St. Helena, one of the last significant ports at which whalers touched during the declining years of the industry in its nonmechanized phase. He shipped in 1895, when he was sixteen, on the bark *Canton*, on the first of eight voyages that carried him to whaling grounds in the Indian and Atlantic Oceans. In later years Captain Chippendale saw war service with both Canada and the United States; it is the chapters dealing with his adventures as a crew member of whale ships that are

singled out for comment here. Inevitably the book invites comparison with its fore-runners, and such comparisons reveal its essential shortcomings. Captain Chippendale contributes little if anything to an understanding of the whale fishery or life on the ships that is not found in richer detail in such a volume as Browne's *Etchings of a Whaling Cruise* (1846), Davis' *Nimrod of the Sea* (1874), or Bullen's *The Cruise of the Cachalot* (1898). None of these personal narratives systematizes the materials in a complete fashion, but in them the reader is presented with far richer detail which adds up to a more useful picture of the life and times of a whale ship crew member. The Chippendale volume has glossaries of whaling terms and nautical terms, both of which are woefully deficient. In style the book is unpretentious; it cannot compare with the vividness of *Whale Hunt* by Nelson Haley (1948). As an introduction to an understanding of the whale fishery, this book is inadequate. The fact still remains that for adventure and excitement as well as for basic information on American whaling, the reader can better begin with Melville's *Moby Dick*—which, incidentally, was first published exactly a century earlier (1851).

MALCOLM M. WILLEY, *University of Minnesota*

MIRACLE AT KITTY HAWK: THE LETTERS OF WILBUR AND ORVILLE WRIGHT. Edited by *Fred C. Kelly*. (New York, Farrar, Straus and Young, 1951, pp. ix, 482, \$6.00.) Scientists, engineers, and inventors are often criticized, and rightly so, for not providing the historian with the records of their achievements. They usually brush us off by saying, "We are too busy making history; don't expect us to write it too." But here is an exception. The letters (less than six hundred selected from several thousand) which Wilbur and Orville Wright wrote over a period of some fifty-five years, and sympathetically edited by Fred C. Kelly, tell the dramatic story of two typical American boys, sons of a minister, who more than any other half-dozen individuals, brought about the age of aviation. Mr. Kelly hurries over their boyhood letters and brings us quickly to a significant letter written by Wilbur in May, 1899, to the Smithsonian Institution, requesting all available papers, books, or both, relating to the subject of "human flight." The secretary of the Smithsonian, Dr. Samuel P. Langley, was himself experimenting with flying machines, and he readily responded to the request. Meantime, the Wrights were busy building their first glider and devoured every scrap of information they could obtain on the subject of flight. Their letters to the United States Weather Bureau, and replies, led them to Kitty Hawk, North Carolina, where in October, 1900, they made their first experiment with "a soaring machine." They returned there in 1901, 1902, and 1903. And then on that historic day, December 17, 1903, they succeeded in keeping their plane aloft for fifty-nine seconds. They returned to Dayton and kept right on experimenting. By 1905 they were so sure of their success that they offered their invention to the federal government. But the Board of Ordnance and Fortification turned it down. Then began a series of negotiations with foreign governments which resulted in their taking their plane abroad. Meantime, the United States War Department got around to advertising for bids for a machine that would fly; the contract was awarded to the Wright Brothers, February 8, 1908. For the next two or three years the two brothers divided their time about equally between United States and Europe—and be it said to our discredit, the Europeans became air-minded much sooner than did the Americans. The *Letters* that follow tell a dramatic story of the many experiments carried on by the two brothers, both in aviation and in financing and managing a rapidly growing corporation. Just as they reached success, and had accumulated enough to live on comfortably, Wilbur died, May 30, 1912, at the age of forty-five. Both he and his brother had hoped the airplane would make future wars impossible; and, for-

tunately for Wilbur, he was spared seeing the havoc wrought by his invention. His brother Orville, however, accepted a commission as major in the Air Corps, in World War I, in the Reserves. These letters remove the mantle of silence beneath which the Wright Brothers seemed to live and reveal them as warm, eager, often amusing individuals who ushered in a new age in man's attempt to master his environment.

JOHN W. OLIVER, *University of Pittsburgh*

THE DECLINE OF LAISSEZ FAIRE, 1897-1917. By *Harold U. Faulkner*. [Economic History of the United States, Volume VII.] (New York, Rinehart, 1951, pp. xiv, 433, \$4.50.) In the first two decades of the twentieth century profound changes occurred in American economic life. Industry grew in size; the output of manufactured goods was speeded up by mass production and the assembly line; the market for American products was expanded by improved means of transportation and communication; and gigantic trusts were organized in the hope of obtaining larger profits through the elimination of excessive competition. The consolidation movement was also notable in transportation and in the development of labor organizations. As surplus liquid capital in America increased, large investment houses appeared, and financial capitalists began to control the American money market. The rise of finance capitalism was accompanied by a shift of power from the industrialist to financiers and banking houses. A revival of expansionist sentiment launched the United States on the uncharted seas of economic imperialism which significantly changed the pattern of our economic and political relations with the rest of the world. Notwithstanding the fact that this period was on the whole one of general prosperity there was a strong undercurrent of popular discontent and restlessness. The decline of political democracy, the rise of monopolies, the gross inequality of wealth, and the growing domination by big business of politics, religion, and education, alarmed the middle class. Aroused by the muckrakers and cautiously guided by Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson, a reform movement swept the nation ostensibly for the purpose of restoring economic opportunity and "free enterprise" by federal and state regulation of industry, transportation, finance, and labor. The author has skillfully traced these significant economic trends. He has written a scholarly, readable, and useful volume for the special student and the teacher. The statistical sections are well interpreted; and there is an agreeable absence from this book of the economic bias of the author. The reviewer believes, however, that the contributions of financial capitalists during some of the panics deserves mention as well as their efforts to suppress competition. The need for confining the account to economic trends has apparently irked the writer, for he is well aware that the "quest for social justice" was to a large extent responsible for the "decline of laissez faire." The author says that he "experienced a real satisfaction in doing this volume." The editors and the author should be well satisfied with the results of his efforts.

REGINALD C. McGRANE, *University of Cincinnati*

ACROSS WORLD FRONTIERS. By *Thomas W. Lamont*. (New York, Harcourt, Brace, 1951, pp. vii, 278, \$3.50.) Before his death in 1948 Thomas Lamont had written a charming account of his youth, *My Boyhood in a Parsonage*. This volume is a continuation in more sketchy form of his life as a businessman in New York and a distinguished public servant during and immediately following World War I. His son has edited the unfinished manuscript, which leaves still unrecorded twenty-five years of a distinguished career. Mr. Lamont is very casual about the business success that brought him a partnership in J. P. Morgan and Company. He does, however, pay tribute to the Morgans, father and son, and to his associates in the firm who rendered

public service quite unselfishly in World War I. Men like the elder Stettinius deserve even more emphasis. Despite the author's modesty, it is clear that his name led all the rest in this noteworthy group. He reveals, in his fairness to others with conflicting views, his own frank and judicious character. That is especially true of his treatment of Woodrow Wilson, whom he tried vainly to persuade of the un wisdom of certain sections like Article 10 of the Covenant. The Paris negotiations where he was American representative on the Reparations Commission are the major part of these reminiscences. The story is told simply with vignettes of the negotiators, but, in view of what followed, it has the tenseness and poignancy of high tragedy. After Versailles and the defeat of the treaty, the mission to China for the banker's consortium is anticlimax. He brushes lightly over his efforts to save the *New York Post* and the beginnings of the *Saturday Review of Literature*. The gift of an undergraduate library building to Harvard came long after the years covered by this volume. It is fortunate that so much has here been recorded of the career of a businessman who was an enlightened patriot with deep cultural interests and a world outlook.

G.S.F.

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NEW ENGLAND AND MIDDLE COLONIES AND STATES

A TOWN THAT WENT TO SEA. By *Aubigne Lermond Packard*. (Portland, Maine, Falmouth Publishing House, 1950, pp. viii, 416, \$4.50.) This is a sentimental treatment of one of the more important Maine towns whose prosperity was intimately linked with the wooden ships of the nineteenth century. With the exhaustion of the lumber resources, the development of western limestone deposits and substitutes, the advent of steam and steel ships Thomaston lost the chief bulwarks of its wealth and glory. The book is primarily an attempt to tell the story of Thomaston's rise and fall as a maritime port. Frequently there are excursions into the political and social history of the community but they are not complete or numerous enough. It is when dealing with the sea that the author is at her best. A descendant of seafaring families, she knows the sea and its language and has personal knowledge of much of which she writes. More than half of the book is directly related to the experience and exploits of the ships and men of Thomaston who were as much at home in Liverpool, Callao, Batavia, or Sydney as in any American port. While the sea captains rate full treatment, she does not neglect the role or life of those at the other end of the ladder. How frequently it was a ladder to wealth and glory is amply demonstrated by the life story of many Thomaston men. At several points the author quotes extensively from diaries and letters of Thomaston men and women who sailed before the mast. While the book is interesting and at spots entertaining and is couched in colorful language with a generous mixture of Yankee expression it suffers from a lack of detachment and proportion. A bibliography, footnotes, and an index are lacking. A wider knowledge of American history would have found more reasons for Thomaston's Jeffersonianism than those assigned by the author and would have avoided errors such as Jackson's succession to Monroe, the successful completion of the Atlantic cable in 1855, the French invocation of the alliance following the outbreak of the war with England in 1793. Though the book will have to be used with care Maine needs more persons who can write as well of town history as does A. L. Packard.

ROBERT M. YORK, *University of Maine*

RECOLLECTIONS OF JAMES LENOX AND THE FORMATION OF HIS LIBRARY. By *Henry Stevens*. Revised and Elucidated by *Victor Hugo Paltsits*. (New York, New York Public Library, 1951, pp. xxxvi, 187, \$10.00.) Henry Stevens' *Recollections of James Lenox*, the title of which is an amiable camouflage for a book essentially autobiographical, has been since its publication in 1886 required reading for the collector, especially for the collector concerned with the great books of American history. The edition of 1886 had in itself become a scarce work when Mr. Paltsits, the veteran historian and bibliographer, began to think of the improvement that might be wrought in it through the continuation and documentation of its text. We have before us as a result of these reflections a new edition of the *Recollections* with a biographical introduction, some twenty excellent illustrations, and a series of annotations at the conclusion of each chapter which Mr. Paltsits calls "Elucidations." Through the New York Public Library, the inheritor of the Lenox books, the new

Recollections with its admirable commentary has been issued in a typographical style worthy of its matter. Occasional errors in the original text arising from lapses of memory or from a lack of understanding on the part of the author have been set right by Mr. Paltsits, as have also many allusions obscure to present-day readers. These purely corrective measures, however, are not the chief of his services, for his "Elucidations" concern themselves much less with picking up errors than with the enlargement, enrichment, and fulfillment of the story told by Stevens sixty-five years ago. Throughout those sixty-five years few men in this country or elsewhere have been as deeply and as passionately concerned with books and their meaning to scholar and collector as Mr. Paltsits, former official of the Lenox Library and of the New York Public Library. The significance of the book is that it is an element in American cultural history. It is the story of a great collector, James Lenox, and, more specifically, of a great library builder, Henry Stevens of Vermont. His services as purchasing agent for Peter Force, James Lenox, and John Carter Brown, to mention only those of his clients whose collections are today intact and at work in the public service, entitle Stevens to a place among the remembered booksellers of the world. In 1856 Nathaniel Hawthorne visited him in London and described him in his *Note Books* as a "kindly and pleasant man," engaged in a sort of "book-brokerage," and designating him further as the "American man of Libraries." The Library of Congress, the New York Public Library, and the John Carter Brown Library are witnesses to the truth of that half-playful designation. Bookmen of the present generation welcome the new edition of his book, which in Mr. Paltsits' hands has doubled in size and has increased by that much its contribution to the history of book collecting and library building in the United States.

LAWRENCE C. WROTH, *Brown University*

PITTSBURGH'S COMMERCIAL DEVELOPMENT, 1800-1850. By *Catherine Elizabeth Reiser*. (Harrisburg, Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1951, pp. viii, 247, \$2.50.) Miss Reiser's volume is packed with evidence of her diligent researches into many aspects of the early commercial and industrial development of Pittsburgh. While her center of interest is the city, the attempt to gauge its commercial activity carries her far down the Ohio and Mississippi valleys, up the Allegheny and Monongahela rivers, and over the early turnpikes and later canal systems. If the rich crop of statistical and episodic detail she assembles does not always relate directly to the city's development, students of America's economic history will rejoice to find much new data in several of her chapters. Yet the author's thesis (p. vii), that "Commerce and industry were thus so closely allied in Pittsburgh as to be inseparable . . ." is not well served by her topical organization. Each of the chapters on the several trade arteries stands too much apart—for example, it is not clear how the sudden influx of articles from the east over the Pennsylvania State System after 1835 affected either the industries in Pittsburgh or the trade down the Ohio, or how active Pittsburghers were in its transshipment. Similarly the chapters on "Finance and Credit" and "Attempts at Economic Organization," while full of interesting detail, do not tie in closely with the city's industrial or commercial growth. The first and last chapters outline the economic patterns in 1800 and 1850 respectively, but we get no picture of the interplay of forces in 1817 or 1837 or at any other crucial point in the city's history. If any individual made contributions in more than one field, his importance is lost as we move from one detailed chapter to another; indeed, very little sense of human effort or individual decisions emerges from these closely packed pages. Three illustrations, numerous tables, a good bibliography, and a fair index add to the book's value to interested scholars.

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SOUTHERN COLONIES AND STATES

- THE NEGLECTED THREAD: A JOURNAL FROM THE CALHOUN COMMUNITY, 1836-1842. By Mary E. Moragné. Edited, with Preface and Backgrounds by

Delle Mullen Craven. (Columbia, University of South Carolina Press, 1951, pp. xxxviii, 256, \$5.00.) This volume is the diary of a woman of culture and refinement who lived in the Abbeville district of South Carolina in the time of John C. Calhoun. But the reader will be disappointed who seeks in Mary Moragné's careful notes any interpretation of the politics of her day. The "speech-making propensity of the people" in the campaign of 1840 is to her "actually frightful" and politics holds for her no interest. The neglected thread is her diary in which she weaves as time permits an interesting picture of the social and intellectual life of her family and the little community in which she lived. The years covered are from 1836 to 1842, but most of the entries are after January, 1838. Miss Moragné became a church member at the same time that she began to fall in love with the minister. These events affected her life profoundly. Miss Moragné could not reconcile with her religious professions the writing of fiction and, after a few additional short stories, abandoned the literary career to which the publication in 1838 of her short novel *The British Partizan* would undoubtedly have led her. The diary reflects the thoughts of a sensitive woman who turned from writing to teaching while the poverty of her suitor compelled the postponement of marriage. Miss Moragné escaped from a career of schoolteaching by the improvement in the economic position of the clergyman who became her husband. There is more to the diary than the recital of the daily life of a South Carolina family. The description of a Methodist camp meeting in 1839 (pp. 164-70) is excellent and the hazards of travel (pp. 176-91) are recounted with spirit and imagination. Throughout the work Miss Moragné displays keen observation and the ability to express herself freely and fluently in prose. She writes with detachment about the people with whom she is constantly associated, many of whom are not mirrored to their advantage. Finally, the publication of the diary is fully justified because it sheds light on the life of the up-country section of South Carolina in the ante-bellum days about which too little has been made known. WILLIAM S. CARPENTER, *Princeton University*

HISTORY OF WOFFORD COLLEGE, 1854-1949. By *David Duncan Wallace*, of the Class of 1894. (Nashville, Tenn., Vanderbilt University Press for Wofford College, 1951, pp. 287, \$5.00.) Wofford College had an initial distinction. It was founded by a very rare specimen of the *Homo sapiens*, a rich Methodist minister. He left the pulpit to make money and to save what he made down to the last nickel. He had one object, namely, to leave to the Methodist Church what he made by shaving notes. What his neighbors and his widow thought of him would be variant definitions of skinflint. Now the college he established with a hundred thousand dollars, half for buildings, has found in one of its graduates and faculty members a distinguished historian to write its history, as such a history should be and rarely is written by an alumnus. Professor Wallace has made his volume not only a model of its kind but a contribution to the history of the region on the eve of the Civil War, through that struggle and Reconstruction and the years since. Although not outstanding in these decades, the college has had good teachers and was early one of the few in the South who added a Ph.D. from Germany to its faculty. In the Reconstruction years it sought, but did not win to its staff, outstanding Confederate leaders. The author's candid appraisal of faculty members, some his teachers and others his former colleagues, is one of the unique features of the book. The list of distinguished graduates is rather long, especially of those who have gone on into academic work. It has a claim to distinction in such men as Professor Wallace, J. H. Kirkland, formerly chancellor of Vanderbilt University, Charles Forster Smith, professor of Greek at the University of Wisconsin, Philip Hamer of the National Archives, and Louis B. Wright, director of

the Folger Library. Not a bad record for a small denominational college. This group has been diminished by one, the author, who died on April 29, 1951. G.S.F.

BOURBON DEMOCRACY IN ALABAMA, 1874-1890. By *Allen Johnston Going*. (University, University of Alabama Press, 1951, pp. ix, 256, \$4.00.) Monographs on state history all too frequently deal with dramatic episodes, emotion-charged moments, or controversial issues to the neglect of somber, uneventful periods. Writers on Alabama history have long since exploited slavery, secession, the Civil War, Reconstruction, and progressivism in the state. The undramatic, pedestrian period between the overthrow of radical reconstruction and the rise of a populist-progressive protest has remained without evaluation. Dr. Going, in a sober-sided, even-tempered monograph, essays a review of the period from 1874 to 1890 when the so-called Bourbon Democrats—a stodgy, economy-minded set—ruled the poverty-stricken state. He finds the Bourbons were not wholly conservative but were restrained from progressive legislation by the costs of progress. They maintained themselves in power partly by white supremacy appeals, discriminatory election laws, and extralegal devices for disfranchising Negroes, and partly by avoiding controversial issues. They managed the state institutions with niggard hands, leased convicts to plantations and mines, scaled the debt, and established as few regulating agencies as possible. Dr. Going amply documents the Bourbons' control of finances and debts, their *laissez faire* attitude toward agriculture and industry, and their economy on education and social welfare. In the end he concludes that the Bourbon Democrats "made a contribution in instituting an economical government managed by native Alabamians in whom the public generally had confidence." Dr. Going has performed his task thoroughly and well, but his book makes clear the reason why students of state history prefer to study more exciting subjects. WILLIAM B. HESSELTINE, *University of Wisconsin*

HANGING JUDGE. By *Fred Harvey Harrington*. (Caldwell, Idaho, Caxton Printers, 1951, pp. 204, \$4.00.) This is a scholarly and well-written book that is not only a biography of the now famous Judge Isaac C. Parker but also a graphic portrayal of the taming of the rough and tumble Fort Smith-Indian Territory frontier. As the "Hanging Judge" of the United States Court for the Western District of Arkansas, Parker sentenced to death 164 murderers, although only 79 eventually paid "the final penalty on Hangman Maledon's gallows." The judge also meted out sentences to criminals of other sorts—rapists, liquor peddlers, cow and horse thieves, and swindlers. Professor Harrington gives us a brutally frank, but needfully realistic narrative. Unlike some fiction writers and cinema producers, he presents outlaws, like Bill Doolin, Dan Evans, Cherokee Bill, and John Whittington, as the "refuse of humanity," sadistic, and inhuman brutes, and not as unfortunate Robin Hoods. For example, Belle Starr had "no conscience, . . . no beauty, but was a crude, and ugly nymphomaniac." Other parts of the narrative are equally realistic. In court hearings sordid details were unfolded before vulgar crowds; Judge Parker was grimly unbending, although scrupulously honest in interpreting the law; and his deputy marshals were simple-minded gun-toters, more interested in pay than in adventure. The Fort Smith jail was unsightly; its two cells were often crowded with one hundred or more prisoners and were "reeking hell-holes of filth," wherein washbasins and urinal half-barrels were emptied only twice a day, bedding was vermin-infested, and foul odors of food, sweat, urine, and tobacco juice were intolerably offensive. Still Judge Parker's court hastened the coming of law and order to this frontier. Until appeals were allowed in 1889, its record terrified the criminals; but in later years its rulings were often set aside by the Supreme Court, which pointed up technicalities more than justice, or so thought

Justice R. W. Peckham. Once in a dissenting opinion, he denounced the majority decision as "a sacrifice of justice . . . [to] an unjustifiable presumption of error and entirely at war with the facts." This book is in a pioneer field and is a unique contribution to western history. The author has pointed the way for the doing of other needful studies. CARL COKE RISTER, *Texas Technological College, Lubbock*

OUR CATHOLIC HERITAGE IN TEXAS, 1519-1936. Volume VI, TRANSITION PERIOD: THE FIGHT FOR FREEDOM, 1810-1836. By *Carlos E. Castañeda*. (Austin, Tex., Von Boeckmann-Jones for Knights of Columbus of Texas, 1950, pp. 384, \$7.50.) The sixth volume of Professor Castañeda's monumental work continues the excellent points of its predecessors. Taken as a whole, the series forms a comprehensive history of Texas under Spanish and Mexican rule. Moreover, the volumes serve as a ready and convincing measure of the historical output of Texas during the last half century. The author places the present offering in a "transition period" that really was under way before the close of the eighteenth century. The subtitle of the volume, *The Fight for Freedom, 1810-1836*, covers the revolt both of Mexico from Spain and of Texas from Mexico. Texas lay along the northern border of Mexico, but, as the author points out, the province profoundly influenced the beginnings of the Mexican struggle for independence under Hidalgo and his associates. By its proximity to French Louisiana, it was equally affected by conditions that followed the transfer of that colony to the United States. Thus, influences from both directions during these critical years mark the tumultuous transition of Texas from Spanish to Anglo-American control. Castañeda presents this period in two clearly marked phases. The first, relating to the struggle with Spain, in which the United States and Great Britain were generally on opposite sides, was largely one of irregular operations. Pirates, smugglers, slave-traders, and other groups of outlaws joined with more pretentious devotees of freedom to bring independence to Mexico. Most of these intruders penetrated no further than San Antonio, where their self-proclaimed government speedily collapsed to internal dissension and belated royalist suppression. The years that followed their overthrow witnessed further attempts from the occupants of the nearby "neutral ground" and further afield, of French exiles, to establish themselves in Texas. The last of the filibustering attempts occurred in 1820-21, when Mexico finally became independent. The second and more regular phase of this period deals with the colonization of the Austins and other empresarios of the 1820's. It proved but a part, temporarily disguised, of the persistent American trek to the West. Within fifteen years, in spite of serious efforts on both sides to continue the policy of peaceful penetration, the inevitable break occurred and Texas became an independent republic. The author, whose previous contributions show thorough familiarity with the field, has carefully reviewed and analyzed each phase of it for this new presentation. Not all his readers will accept his every conclusion, but they may rely on his attempt to be fair and impartial. The frontispiece and the concluding chapter are the only conspicuous instances of the churchly purpose that more definitely inspired the publication. A map that fits the period, seven illustrations, a bibliography and index, accompany this elegant and scholarly specimen of Texas press work.

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WESTERN TERRITORIES AND STATES

YANKEE ELOQUENCE IN THE MIDDLE WEST: THE OHIO LYCEUM, 1850-1870. By *David Mead*. (East Lansing, Michigan State College Press, 1951, pp. viii, 273, \$4.50.) Making use of much fresh evidence drawn from contemporary newspapers, published and manuscript journals and correspondence of the eastern lecturers, this very useful contribution to social and intellectual history gives a history of the popular lyceum system in Ohio and shows the development of cultural taste as registered in the reactions to the lectures. Fifteen chapters are devoted to Emerson, the Transcendental traveler who lectured fifty-six times in Ohio; Henry Giles, the Irish orator from Maine who lectured on topics such as Cervantes; E. P. Whipple, the Elegant Essayist; Herman Melville, the mariner who lectured on "Statues in Rome"; Alcott, the Intoxicated Talker devoted to western progress; G. W. Curtis, who was thought over-elegant and condescending in his criticism of material success; Parke Godwin, the Oracle of Optimism; Wendell Phillips, whose abolition lecture in Cincinnati in 1862 caused a riot; Bayard Taylor, the much appreciated

traveler and voice of Young America; the Catholic Orestes Brownson, who attacked his fellow guest Kossuth as an insurrectionist; H. W. Beecher, boycotted as a profiteer because he charged more than the usual twenty-five cents; Theodore Parker, the Scholarly Divine; O. W. Holmes, who praised Byron and Moore; Park Benjamin, the Platform Poet; and J. G. Saxe, the Green Mountain Wit. A valuable appendix of nearly a hundred closely documented pages surveys the history of Ohio's complex lecture system reflecting the cultural earnestness of the people, and tabulates the Ohio lecture schedules of the fifteen lecturers, with titles, towns, dates, and fees. Dr. Mead's predominantly original work is judicious, meaty, comprehensive, and a model for similar studies which might well be made of the lyceum system in other western states.

HARRY HAYDEN CLARK, *University of Wisconsin*

THE NORTH AMERICAN BUFFALO: A CRITICAL STUDY OF THE SPECIES IN ITS WILD STATE. By *Frank Gilbert Roe*. (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1951, pp. viii, 957, \$12.00.) The reader can hardly fail to be impressed by the enormous amount of labor which must have been required to produce this volume. In twenty-two chapters and thirty-four appendixes all phases of buffalo history are discussed in great detail. The numbers and distribution of these animals, the regular and irregular migrations of the herds, their habits, the agencies other than man that were destructive to the buffalo, and the effects of a buffalo environment upon Indian mentality are but a few of the topics treated. The author apparently feels that far too little scientific work has been done on the American bison. Moreover, he is frankly critical of most of the earlier writers who have made a study of the subject and is quite skeptical as to the validity of many of their statements and conclusions. He doubts that the buffalo migrated regularly north or south in the spring and autumn but believes that such migrations were more or less irregular without too much regard to direction or seasons. He feels also that charges against the Indians of the wasteful slaughter of these animals are largely unjustified. The author's style is a bit heavy since evidence is piled on evidence with respect to disputed questions. Citations and footnotes are voluminous, often occupying half the page or more. Some of the appendixes are useful but others dealing with Indian cannibalism, night attacks, nomenclature, and anti-Indian propaganda seem unnecessary. In fact it will seem to many readers that the number of words used is excessive and the proper deletion of some one third of them would result in a better and more readable volume. Nevertheless, this is by far the most comprehensive and scientific study of the buffalo yet published or likely to be published at any time in the near future. It gives a wealth of information on both the buffalo and the western Indians and will be welcomed by all persons seriously interested in these subjects.

EDWARD EVERETT DALE, *University of Oklahoma*

CAMELS TO CALIFORNIA: A CHAPTER IN WESTERN TRANSPORTATION. By *Harlan D. Fowler*. (Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1950, pp. xi, 93. \$3.50.) The mid-nineteenth-century experiment of bringing camels from Egypt and Syria to the United States for military service in the Southwest has attracted the interest of many readers of western history, and legends of camels still surviving in the deserts of Arizona and Nevada have become established in the folklore of the West. Although the primary sources on the history of the episode have long been in print and easily available, important manuscript sources have been edited in scholarly fashion and published, and solid articles on the subject have appeared in historical journals, there has not hitherto been an account of book length which attempted to treat the camel experiment in a single narrative of a somewhat popular nature.

This has been the aim of Harlan D. Fowler in this the seventh volume in the "Stanford Transportation Series." The book carries the story from the inception of the idea that camels might well be used to transport military freight in the arid regions of the Southwest in the 1840's, through the purchase of camels by a special expedition to the Mediterranean in 1855-1856, their use in Texas and California, to the sale and dispersal of the animals in 1864. Fowler also mentions other attempts to bring camels to the West, and says something of the legends which have grown and flourished in the years since the experiment. It is clear from the record presented that camels were well suited to the business for which they were brought to America but that problems of managing and caring for them, the disruption of military administration by the Civil War, and the development of rail transportation combined to keep their use from becoming more than an experiment. Mr. Fowler, a retired aeronautical engineer, has brought real enthusiasm to his work, and the book has more the character of a labor of love than a scholarly exercise. He has worked carefully from the printed sources but has apparently not used any new materials. Often over-close paraphrasing of the sources produces an uneven style and detracts from the literary quality of the book. There are but few slips in statements of fact and in spelling. The book is attractively produced. It has eighteen illustrations from contemporary lithographs and photographs, and a rough sketch-map of the Southwest in the end papers. A brief bibliographical note follows the text. Although it is not an important scholarly contribution, this is a pleasant little book which conveniently and entertainingly sums up a significant episode in the history of military affairs and transportation in the Southwest.

JOHN HASKELL KEMBLE, *Pomona College*

MILITARY LIFE IN DAKOTA: THE JOURNAL OF PHILIPPE RÉGIS DE TROBRIAND. Translated and Edited from the French Original by *Lucile M. Kane*. [The Clarence Walworth Alvord Memorial Commission of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, Publication II.] (St. Paul, Minn., the Commission, 1951, pp. xxv, 395, \$7.50.) This second volume of the Alvord Memorial Commission is a full and complete translation of Philippe Régis De Trobriand's manuscript, *Vie militaire dans le Dakota*. Lucile M. Kane has improved on the selections from the published journal issued in 1941 by translating the complete diary from the original French manuscript. Her work is not only exact and careful, but an editor's introduction which she attaches to the journal is almost a model of such necessities, brief and penetrating. The journal itself is an important series of personal impressions recorded by the military commander of the middle district of the Department of Dakota during his tour of duty from midsummer of 1867 through April, 1868. Philippe De Trobriand, French cosmopolite, traveler, artist, and journalist, had served in the Union forces during the Civil War and was breveted major general. After Appomattox he was appointed colonel of the regular army with the thirty-first infantry. His first assignment was to Fort Stevenson, where he recorded his impressions in prose and sketches of the American West, Dakota countryside, and the Sioux frontier. The dominant quality of the journal is the impact of the American frontier on a keen European mind. By experience, talent, and inclination Colonel De Trobriand was capable of viewing the full content of the frontier both sympathetically and objectively. The format of the book could have been improved by placing the author's original topic headings in the margin. In bold face type they would not only have relieved the impression of monotony given by the book but also have served as convenient and strategic spot references. A good bibliography and index are subjoined. The publication by the Mississippi Valley Historical Association of such documentary sources as this journal, and its earlier collection of Northwest

missionary papers (edited by Grace Lee Nute), is a real contribution to American history. It is to be hoped that further volumes may soon be possible.

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Latin-American History

James S. Cunningham¹

GENERAL

NOTÍCIA DE VÁRIA HISTORIA. By José Honório Rodrigues. (Rio de Janeiro, Livraria São José, 1951, pp. 243.) Brazilian historians, like their Spanish-American colleagues, often publish voluminously in magazines and newspapers and then compile their articles into a volume. Ordinarily, such compilations are not reviewed here, although they do preserve and make available writings that otherwise would remain almost inaccessible and indeed ephemeral. But I make an exception for Dr. Rodrigues' little volume, because he is practically the only scholar in Brazil who is writing on historiography and historical method. Here he presents several studies on themes of the interpretation of economic history and then includes two papers on historiography in Brazil in 1945 and 1946. His two studies on historiography in Pernambuco and Ceará are descriptions and analyses of the reviews of the historical institutes of those two states. In addition, he has short notes on two contemporary Brazilian historians, Rodolfo Garcia and Afonso Taunay. ALEXANDER MARCHANT, *Vanderbilt University*

A periodical new to this list is: *Historia Mexicana*, a quarterly published by the Colegio de México (México, D.F.), I, no. 1, July-Sept., 1951.

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ENVOY TO CARACAS: THE STORY OF JOHN G. A. WILLIAMSON, NINETEENTH-CENTURY DIPLOMAT. By Jane Lucas de Grummond. (Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University Press, 1951, pp. xx, 228, \$3.75.) Williamson kept a journal, excerpts from which (1835-1840) are published here, together with introductory and concluding comment by the editor-author, who shows a zest for detail and atmosphere which should serve her in good stead in further and more intensive studies of the period and area dealt with in *Envoy to Caracas*. Primary interest attaches to the picture thus presented of a Jacksonian diplomat: anglophobe, nationalist, a strong believer in the principles of 1776, and an equally strong supporter of the slave system. Further, this first American to be accredited as envoy to the Venezuelan Republic also exhibits a powerful urge toward personal financial advancement, a good deal of vanity, an interest in gossip, and a keen desire to fulfill his duties (the negotiation of a commercial convention and the presentation of claims) to the advantage of his country. Readers interested in Latin America will also find here an acid running commentary on Venezuelan politics, society, and morals. (The acid may in part have been provided by the difficulties this Carolina gentleman faced in the person of a petulant and frivolous wife, a one-time Philadelphia belle.) These commentaries reveal both Williamson's own prejudices and certain facts of life frequently glossed over. Mrs. de Grummond is obviously interested in this picture of the local scene, to which she has added, occasionally, from other sources, and from knowledge gained

in a visit to Venezuela. To do him justice, it must be admitted that this diplomat was equally caustic in his remarks about the foreigners in Caracas, whom he regarded in the main as a lot of dubious characters. Williamson died at his post in 1840. A minor contribution to historical literature, this volume shows evidence of careful editorial work, is attractively printed, and concludes with a "Note on Authorities" and a ten-page index.

CHARLES C. GRIFFIN, *Vassar College*

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- WANG YÜ-CH'ÜAN. *Early Chinese Coinage*. Numismatic Notes and Monographs, No. 122. New York: American Numismatic Society. 1951. Pp. viii, 254, 55 plates. \$5.00.
- WHITE, LEONARD D. *The Jeffersonians: A Study in Administrative History, 1801-1829*. New York: Macmillan. 1951. Pp. xiv, 572. \$6.00.
- WILKINS, ERNEST HATCH. *The Making of the "Canzoniere" and Other Petrarchan Studies*. Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura. 1951. Pp. xxvii, 423.
- WILLIAMS, ROGER. *Experiments of Spiritual Life and Health*. Ed. with a Historical Introd. by WINTHROP S. HUDSON. Philadelphia: Westminster Press. 1951. Pp. 103. \$2.00.
- WILLIS, EDWARD F. *Herbert Hoover and the Russian Prisoners of World War I: A Study in Diplomacy and Relief, 1918-1919*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1951. Pp. viii, 67. \$1.50.
- WILTSE, CHARLES M. *John C. Calhoun, Sectionalist, 1840-1850*. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill. 1951. Pp. 592. \$6.00.
- WISE, GEORGE S. *Caudillo: A Portrait of Antonio Guzmán Blanco*. New York: Columbia University Press. 1951. Pp. xii, 190. \$3.00.
- WOLF, JOHN B. *The Emergence of the Great Powers, 1685-1715*. The Rise of Modern Europe. New York: Harper. 1951. Pp. xv, 336. Trade \$5.00, text \$3.75.
- WOLFF, W. H. *Histoire de Belgique en timbres-poste*. Collections Lebelgue & Nationale, No. 101. Brussels: Office de publicité. 1951. Pp. 81. 50 fr.
- Woman at Work: The Autobiography of Mary Anderson as Told to Mary N. Winslow*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 1951. Pp. xii, 266. \$3.50.
- WOODWARD, WILLIAM E. *Years of Madness: A Reappraisal of the Civil War*. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1951. Pp. viii, 311. \$4.00.
- Young Men's Christian Associations of Canada and the United States, National Councils of the. *Between Two Centuries: Report of the Centennial International Y.M.C.A. Convention*. New York: Association Press. 1951. Pp. viii, 209. \$2.00.
- YOUNG, T. CUYLER, (ed.). *Near Eastern Culture and Society: A Symposium of the Meeting of East and West*. Princeton Oriental Studies, Vol. XV. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1951. Pp. x, 250. \$4.00.

* * * * *Historical News* * * * *

American Historical Association

The attention of the members is called to the fact that the committee on the Carnegie Revolving Fund will finance the publication of books of mature scholarship which make a distinct contribution to knowledge in any field of history. Ordinarily doctoral dissertations or works of more than one volume will not be considered. Manuscripts must be submitted to the chairman, Professor Ray A. Billington, c/o Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino 15, California, before April 1, 1952.

The office of the Association has a considerable number of reprints of the report of the Ad Hoc Committee on Manuscripts, published in the *Annual Report* for 1950. These are available on request as long as the supply lasts.

Miss Beatrice F. Hyslop is the chairman of the committee on nominations for 1952. On behalf of the committee Miss Hyslop will welcome suggestions from members to fill the offices of vice president, two members of the Council, and two members of the nominating committee. An early response will be most helpful to the committee. Suggestions should be sent to Miss Beatrice F. Hyslop, Reid Hall, 4 rue de Chevreuse, Paris VI, France.

Other Historical Activities

The American Academy of Arts and Letters has deposited its valuable collection of more than four hundred manuscripts in the Library of Congress, in order to provide wider use of the material by scholars. Many of the manuscripts were assembled by or addressed to Courtlandt Palmer of New York City, founder and president until his death, in 1888, of that interesting and fashionable debating society known as the Nineteenth Century Club. Another large part of the collection was brought together for use as illustrative material in a volume to celebrate the centenary of the birth of Edmund Clarence Stedman. The manuscripts are mainly of nineteenth-century origin and include documents written by American and European public figures, writers, artists, composers, scientists, and inventors. An almost complete set of letters of the presidents of the United States includes unpublished manuscripts of George Washington and Abraham Lincoln. Other pieces of unusual interest are letters by John Keats, Percy Bysshe Shelley, Edgar Allan Poe, Jonathan Edwards, Richard Watts, and Sam Houston, and a volume of Charlotte Cushman's diary (1844).

The papers of Henry D. Flood, congressman from Virginia from 1901 to 1921, long-time member of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House and its

chairman in the critical years before and during World War I, have been presented to the Library by Mrs. Flood and her son, Mr. Bolling Byrd Flood. Preliminary processing of the collection, which contains about 31,000 pieces, is approaching completion. The Naval Historical Foundation has added to its collection deposited in the Library a small group of papers of Admiral Hilary P. Jones, commander-in-chief of the Atlantic Fleet (1921-22) and of the United States Fleet (1922-23). Covering the period from 1920 to 1937, they consist of letters, orders, and miscellaneous records of Admiral Jones, and include a file concerned with the disarmament conferences he attended.

An interesting Civil War diary and field notebook, kept by General Cyrus B. Comstock during his service as engineer with the Army of the Potomac, has been presented to the Library by the general's niece, Dr. Elizabeth Comstock. The pocket-size volume contains scattered entries for the years 1862 and 1863, and drawings and sketches of the defenses at Harper's Ferry and of fords on the Rapidan and Rappahannock rivers. Other acquisitions of Civil War material include a holograph letter of General Robert E. Lee, January 10, 1865, in which he requested General John C. Breckinridge to use all available forces to round up deserters; thirteen miscellaneous documents addressed to President Lincoln; and about 170 unpublished telegrams dated from January to March, 1862, which are wholly or partly in the writing of General H. W. Halleck and are evidently the copies he sent to the telegraph office for transmittal.

Other items of special interest are nineteen manuscripts by members of the Continental Congress, including letters which deal with work done in committees and several accounts of money due for service in Congress; the original of an advertisement for the *National Intelligencer* concerning the sale of Thomas Jefferson's third and last library, signed by auctioneer Nathaniel P. Poor on February 24, 1829; and the original typescript, the author's first and second proofs, and the plate proof of Earl Schenck Miers' biography of William Tecumseh Sherman, *The General Who Marched to Hell*, which were received as a gift from Mr. Miers.

The library of the University of Rochester has received the papers of William Henry Seward. This valuable collection is described in the autumn number (1951) of the *Bulletin* of the library.

The photographic service of the Margaret I. King Library, University of Kentucky, has completed filming the group of records of the Shaker colonies in Kentucky which are the property of the Western Reserve Historical Society. There are twelve reels of film, and positive copies are available for purchase. Further information may be obtained by writing to the Photographic Service, Margaret I. King Library, University of Kentucky, Lexington, Kentucky.

An American collector, André de Coppet, has recently acquired records of the Holy Office of the Inquisition in the Canary Islands. Bound in chronological

order in seventy-six folio volumes, they make up the total of all surviving records of the Canariote Inquisition with the exception of one MS. (Egerton 1512) preserved in the British Museum. Mr. de Coppet has engaged Ursula S. Lamb to do preliminary exploratory work in the collection from a historical point of view. The papers are at present temporarily housed in the Ashley Felton Memorial Library at Stanford University.

The Department of State has deposited in the National Archives approximately 100,000 frames of microfilms of documents of the old German Foreign Office. They cover the period from August, 1914, to November, 1918. While not presenting a complete documentation of German foreign policy during the First World War, they contain some of the principal political files and offer large opportunities for research. These files are open to qualified scholars, and photostats of documents can be purchased. The Department expects that additional microfilms for the years 1914-1918 will later be released. The British Foreign Office has made a similar release of these German documents to the Public Record Office in London.

One of the main purposes of the National Archives is to make the permanent records of the federal government deposited in the Archives Building as useful as possible for scholarly research. Unnecessary restrictions on access to the records would obviously defeat this purpose, and therefore it has been the declared policy of the Archivist since 1946 to make all records in his charge accessible to qualified private researchers so far as this can be done without damage to the public interest or infringement of the rights and personal privacy of individuals who come in contact with the government. As a result of this policy most of the records in the National Archives may be freely consulted by any person having a serious research interest in them. Nearly 75 per cent of the total volume of records in the National Archives are thus open to the public.

All persons using records in the National Archives are, of course, subject to the restraints of certain statutes and orders designed to prevent the unauthorized removal, mutilation, or destruction of records, to the laws of libel and slander, to the Espionage Act and related laws pertaining to national defense, and to other general laws affecting the inspection of records and the publication of them or of information obtained from them. One restrictive law of fairly broad application with respect to recent records is the Federal Reports Act of 1942 (56 Stat. 1078), which forbids the release of information given to the government in confidence by private business concerns. Among the records of World War II, moreover, are many documents that were classified top secret, secret, confidential, or restricted for reasons of national security and that have not yet been declassified. The use of these documents in the National Archives is still governed by their original classification, although efforts are made to have them downgraded by the

originating agencies when they are required for research purposes and the content does not appear to justify a continuation of the security classification.

In addition to the above described restrictions of general applicability, there are special restrictions that apply to particular record groups. These special restrictions, affecting about 25 per cent of the records in the National Archives, are of various kinds and degrees. They apply chiefly to records of comparatively recent date, and some are of such a nature that they do not seriously hamper scholarly investigation. Thus the restriction on the use of hospital record jackets of individual patients at naval hospitals of the Bureau of Medicine and Surgery permits "accredited research scholars for scientific studies" to have access to the records provided that the data they use are not identified with the names of former patients in the hospitals. Many special restrictions (as in the case of the population census schedules) merely restate in substance the general restriction upon the release of information given in confidence to the government. Income tax returns and accompanying papers are subject to specific restrictions imposed by Congress and may be used only by permission of the Commissioner of Internal Revenue. Records relating to claims filed with the Veterans' Administration or its predecessors are "deemed confidential and privileged" to the extent that no disclosure may be made of any information contained in them that would be detrimental to the veteran or to his memory or clearly prejudicial to the interests of a living person or of the government.

Some of the special restrictions have been imposed under the terms of the National Archives Act of 1934 and amending legislation by the transferring agencies as conditions of transfer. Some have been imposed by the Archivist at the request of the transferring agencies or of other agencies immediately concerned. In no case, however, have restrictions been carelessly imposed; and it has been the consistent practice of the National Archives in accepting records to scrutinize critically all restrictions imposed by administrative authority and to stipulate for their removal or relaxation at the earliest possible date. In some cases the National Archives has refused to accept records until the restrictions on them have been lifted; and where records already accessioned have been found to be unnecessarily restricted, the agencies have been urged to lift the restrictions.

A means of diminishing the impediment of restrictions in the interest of historical research has been afforded by the Federal Records Act of 1950, which provides "That statutory and other restrictions . . . shall not remain in force or effect after the records have been in existence for fifty years unless the Administrator [of General Services] by order shall determine with respect to specific bodies of records that such restrictions shall remain in force and effect for a longer period." This statutory authority of the Administrator has been delegated to the Archivist of the United States; and the Archivist, in carrying it out, has called upon all agencies whose records in the National Archives would otherwise come under the proviso to reconsider existing restrictions and present fresh

justifications for their continuance. Restrictions have been expressly extended beyond the fifty-year limitation with respect to two classes of records: (1) certificates of arrival, declarations of intention, certificates of naturalization, and certificates of citizenship—all of which continue to be subject to the restriction that forbids their reproduction except in accordance with the authority granted to the Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization or a deputy commissioner in section 341 of the Nationality Act of 1940 (54 Stat. 1137); and (2) material protected by subsisting copyright, which may not be used by any person without the written permission of the copyright owner except insofar as its use is authorized by law.

Before the enactment of the Federal Records Act of 1950 several agencies had agreed to accept the automatic removal of restrictions on their records after the lapse of a stated period of time. Thus the Department of Justice had agreed to a period of forty years for most of its transferred records, and the Department of State had provided that its records in the National Archives (with certain specified exceptions) should be opened after twenty-five years.

A detailed statement of the special restrictions applicable to particular record groups is contained as Appendix B, in the *Guide to the Records in the National Archives* (Washington, 1948), pp. 592-610. Inquiries about restrictions on particular records should be directed to the Chief, General Reference Section, National Archives, Washington 25, D.C.

The Union of South Africa is reaching far afield to fill gaps in its state archives. The Union government recently appointed three archivists to conduct research abroad into sources of historical material related to the history of South Africa toward the close of the last century, with special reference to the South African War period, 1899-1902. Where such historical material is uncovered it is proposed, with the consent of the authorities concerned, to microfilm or otherwise copy printed documents, manuscripts, etc., for preservation in South Africa's own archives. Dr. C. F. J. Muller, of the University of South Africa, has arrived in Washington, D.C., to locate as far as possible sources of historical information in the United States on South Africa. He would welcome any information which might lead to the location of material of direct or indirect importance to the history of South Africa in private possession or in the archives or libraries of institutions or organizations such as missionary societies, engineering and trading concerns, etc. Dr. Muller may be reached at the South African Embassy, Office of the Press Attaché, 817 Dupont Circle Building, Washington, D.C.

The desire of a number of historians to stimulate research in the field of the Reformation in this country and to help German scholars of the period resume their activities led to the formation of the American Society for Reformation Research. This society was formed by a group of historians who met at Valparaiso

University August 29-30, 1946, at the invitation of Professor Ernest G. Schwiebert. At its annual meeting in Boston December 30, 1949, the society decided to co-operate with the German Verein für Reformationsgeschichte to revive its *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* as an international journal. The first two issues of Volume XLII (1951) were published together by the C. Bertelsmann Verlag of Gütersloh, Germany, in September, 1951. The articles will normally be in German and English, but with occasional contributions from Sweden, Denmark, the Netherlands, Switzerland, France, and Italy. In any case, summaries in English will accompany non-English articles. The editors for Germany are Gerhard Ritter of the University of Freiburg i. Br. and Heinrich Bornkamm of the University of Heidelberg; for the United States, Harold J. Grimm of the Ohio State University and Roland H. Bainton of the Yale Divinity School. The board of editors will later be enlarged to include editors from other countries. The publication appears semiannually, each volume consisting of 288 pages. The price is \$4.00 to members of the American Society for Reformation Research and \$5.00 to nonmembers. American subscribers are asked to send their money to Professor George W. Forell, St. Peter, Minnesota. Articles in the *Archiv* will be listed in the appropriate bibliographical section in the *Review*.

Past and Present: A Journal of Scientific and Rationalist History is the title of a new periodical soon to appear in England. The editor is John Morris of University College, London, and the editorial board includes such prominent English scholars as G. Barraclough, R. R. Betts, V. G. Childe, M. H. Dobb, J. E. C. Hill, R. H. Hilton, A. H. M. Jones, and R. Wittkower. Advisers and collaborators include scholars from various other countries, among them the United States. According to the prospectus, ". . . The articles will be addressed to those who believe that the pattern of these [social] changes can be understood. We want to encourage scientific and rationalist enquiry, by research, teaching and discussion, into the activities and occupations of men. We shall not limit ourselves to European men. We shall direct attention to historical problems whose discussion is likely to advance our understanding of how men change society. We shall criticise irrationalism in historical work; we shall warn against the dangers of mechanically applying techniques proper to the natural sciences to the complexities of human evolution." The journal will at first be published twice a year, and the first number, it is hoped, will appear early in 1952. The price will be 9s. per issue or 15s. per annum for two issues, payable in advance. Subscriptions should be sent to the Editor at University College, Gower Street, London W.C.1.

With the aid of a recent foundation grant, the Center for Research on World Political Institutions in the Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs of Princeton University has undertaken a three-year interdisciplinary, but

mainly historical, study of certain cases of political integration and disintegration. Professor Dana G. Munro, director of the school, and Professor Richard W. Van Wagenen, director of the center, have announced the appointment of two historians who will form part of the group which will undertake this study: Dr. Maurice duP. Lee, formerly instructor in the department of history at Princeton, and Mr. Francis L. Loewenheim, who recently completed his doctorate work at Columbia University. During the 1950-51 academic year Professors Richard C. Snyder and Edgar S. Furniss, Jr., served as staff associates in a consulting capacity to the center.

In September, 1951, the University of Minnesota inaugurated a program of basic training for intelligence research on the graduate level. Graduate students in area studies, international relations, and the various social science fields may combine their work for the M.A. or Ph.D. with registration in the intelligence research program. This program aims at providing qualified personnel for civilian and military posts in intelligence research. Foreign language competency, research skill, and area specialization will be stressed. Although this is essentially a two-year program, it might be completed by an advanced student in one academic year. The faculty adviser is Professor Tom B. Jones of the department of history.

To encourage creative scholarship in the field of English civilization for the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, 1500 to 1700, and to encourage the study of the literature, drama, and theater, especially that dealing with Shakespeare, in the early period as well as later, the Folger Library has announced two prizes of \$1,000 each for the two best book-length manuscripts submitted for publication. One requirement is that a substantial portion of the research upon the books submitted must have been carried on in the Folger Library. One prize will be offered for the best manuscript of a book submitted in the history of English civilization in the period between 1500 and 1700. Books dealing with any aspect of the cultural history of this period will be eligible. Manuscripts in the history contest should be sent to the director of the Folger Library, Washington 3, D.C., not later than October 1, 1953. The other prize will be offered for the best manuscript of a book in the field of English literature of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, or in the history of the English drama and theater of the eighteenth century, or in the interpretation of Shakespeare, and the history of his reputation and the performance of his plays in any period. Manuscripts in this contest should be sent to the director of the Folger Library not later than October 1, 1954. Judges of the contest will be the president of Amherst College, *ex officio*, the director of the Folger Library, *ex officio*, and a committee to be chosen by the library authorities. The Folger Library will also reserve the right to publish the book submitted if it so desires, but it will not necessarily guarantee publication.

The American Numismatic Society offers ten grants-in-aid for study in a

seminar in numismatics to be held at its museum, June through August, 1952. These grants will be available to students of high competence who will have completed one year's graduate study in classics, archaeology, Oriental languages, history, economics, art, or other humanistic fields. Each study-grant will carry a stipend of \$500 plus some allowance for travel expenses to New York. This offer is restricted to students in United States and Canadian universities. Further information and application forms may be obtained from the office of the Society, Broadway between 155th and 156th Streets, New York 32. Completed applications must be filed by April 1, 1952.

Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 501 Madison Avenue, New York 22, announces the inauguration of the Charles Austin Beard Memorial Prize. "This prize, intended to honor a great American, comprising five hundred dollars in cash and a contract for volume publication on terms set forth in the entry blank, will be offered in even years for a work in political science and in odd years for a work in American history. Any citizen of the United States not over forty years of age at the time of the closing date for entries will be eligible." Manuscripts must be in the publisher's hands complete and ready for the printer no later than July 31 of each year.

The recently organized New York State Association of European Historians held its first annual meeting at Colgate University on October 12-13, 1951. The meeting was attended by fifty-five persons who represented twenty-five institutions of central and northern New York. The program included three panel discussions dealing with the Munich Pact, Russo-American relations, and the teaching of survey courses in European history. Carlton J. H. Hayes, formerly of Columbia University, was the guest speaker at the concluding dinner. Officers elected for the year 1951-52 are: Andreas Dorpalen, St. Lawrence University, president; Edgar B. Graves, Hamilton College, vice-president; Karl H. Dannenfeldt, Elmira College, secretary-treasurer; Evelyn M. Acomb, New Paltz State Teachers College; and Julian Park, University of Buffalo.

Carl Bridenbaugh, professor of history in the University of California, Berkeley, delivered the Walter Lynwood Fleming Lectures in Southern History at Louisiana State University on November 5 and 6. His subject was "Myths and Realities: Societies of the Colonial South."

At the national convention of the Pi Gamma Mu National Social Science Honor Society held in Washington June 15-16, 1951, W. Leon Godshall, professor of international relations in Lehigh University, was elected president and Paul J. Fitzpatrick, dean of the graduate school of social science in the Catholic University of America, was elected secretary-treasurer.

With the October number, the *South Atlantic Quarterly* completed fifty years of its existence. To celebrate the event the present editor, William T. Laprade, and the Duke University Press have prepared an anthology of articles from the *Quarterly*, entitled *Fifty Years of the South Atlantic Quarterly* (\$5.00, 20 per cent discount to teachers).

Personal

APPOINTMENTS AND STAFF CHANGES

John E. Pomfret, formerly president of the College of William and Mary, has been named director of the Huntington Library. He began his services November 1.

Shepard B. Clough of Columbia University is teaching this year at the Institut d'Etudes politiques in Paris and at Grenoble University.

Harold Zink has returned to his position as professor of history at Ohio State University after serving for fifteen months as Chief Historian, Historical Division, Office of the U.S. High Commissioner for Germany. He has been succeeded by Professor Roger H. Wells of Bryn Mawr College. Other members of the professional staff are Hubert G. Schmidt, Guy A. Lee, Rodney Loehr, and J. F. J. Gillen.

Robert H. Land, formerly librarian of the College of William and Mary, has been appointed assistant chief of the Manuscripts Division of the Library of Congress.

T. Daniel Shumate has been appointed instructor in history in the University of Alabama.

Adam Afzelius, professor of history in the University of Aarhus, Denmark, is serving as visiting professor in ancient history at the University of California, Berkeley, during the current academic year. Dr. Afzelius was awarded a grant by the Department of State, in co-operation with the University of California, under the United States government's Information and Educational Exchange Program.

W. Turrentine Jackson, formerly of the University of Chicago, has accepted appointment as assistant professor of history in the University of California at Davis.

Oliver H. Radkey of the University of Texas is a visiting professor in the University of Cincinnati during the current year. Miriam B. Urban, professor of

history in the University of Cincinnati, is on leave of absence for the academic year. Hilmar C. Krueger, associate professor of history in the same institution, has received a Fulbright award and is on leave for the current year to continue his study of notarial records in Genoa.

Alan K. Manchester, professor of history in Duke University, has accepted a one-year appointment as cultural affairs officer in the United States embassy in Rio de Janeiro. Also in Duke University, John S. Curtiss has been promoted to professor of history, Arthur B. Ferguson, Harold T. Parker, and Richard L. Watson, Jr., to associate professors, and Irving B. Holley to assistant professor.

At Emory University James Z. Rabun has been promoted to associate professor of history and Roy Watson Curry has been appointed instructor.

The department of history of the University of Illinois announces the promotions of Arthur E. Bestor to professor, and Nelson Norman and Robert M. Sutton to assistant professors.

George H. Jones has been appointed assistant professor of history in Indiana University.

W. R. Livingston, professor of history in the State University of Iowa, has been granted a leave of absence.

A. A. Skerpan has been promoted from assistant professor to a full professorship at Kent State University.

Carey B. Joynt has been appointed assistant professor of international relations in Lehigh University.

Loring B. Priest has been promoted to professor of history in Lycoming College, Williamsport, Pennsylvania, where he is director of the social science division.

Culver H. Smith, chairman of the department of history in the University of Chattanooga, and Howard Braverman, formerly of Long Island University, are this year in Germany teaching in the European extension program of the University of Maryland.

The department of history of Michigan State College announces the appointment of Arthur E. Adams as assistant professor. He will teach courses in Russian and Near Eastern history. Madison Kuhn has been promoted to professor of history and Robert E. Brown to associate professor in the same institution.

William A. Dabney has been appointed assistant professor of history in the University of New Mexico.

David Hecht, formerly of Bowdoin College, is now lecturer in history in the School of General Studies of the City College of New York.

Louise Alexander is serving as acting head of the department of history of the Woman's College of the University of North Carolina for 1951-52. John Cairns has been appointed instructor in history and Franklin D. Parker, assistant professor, in the Woman's College. They replace John Beeler and Lawrence Graves, who are on military leave for the academic year.

At North Carolina State College, Stuart Noblin has been promoted to the rank of associate professor, and Charles F. Kolb and Marvin L. Brown, Jr., have been promoted to the rank of assistant professor.

Ray A. Billington of Northwestern University has been granted leave for the winter and spring quarters of the current academic year which he plans to spend doing research at the Huntington Library.

Robert W. Smith, associate professor of history in Oregon State College, is spending his sabbatical year traveling and studying in South America. Robert Tyler is taking his place for the year. Herbert D. Carlin has been appointed assistant professor of history at Oregon State.

John D. Davies, formerly of the University of Minnesota, has gone to Smith College as assistant professor of history.

Frank Hall Gafford, professor of history at North Texas State College, Denton, has been appointed director of the department of history in the college.

Edward Younger of the University of Virginia has received a grant from the Richmond Area University Center for his study of the internal workings of the Confederate War Department. Also in the University of Virginia William E. Stokes, Jr., has been appointed instructor in history and Henry Reck and Albert Woodruff have been appointed part-time instructors. Oron J. Hale has been granted an extension of his leave from the university and will serve for an additional year as Deputy Land Commissioner of Bavaria.

West Virginia University announces the promotion of Sara R. Smith to associate professor of history.

At Whittier College Harry W. Nerhood has been promoted to professor of history and Alexander De Conde to associate professor.

Kenneth V. Lottick is now teaching American history and principles of geography at Willamette University in addition to serving as director of teacher education.

In the department of history of the University of Wisconsin Eugene P. Boardman, Paul Farmer, and Robert L. Reynolds have returned from research leave. Gaines Post is in France on a Fulbright grant for the current academic year. Fred Harrington was on leave the first semester, and William B. Hesseltine will be on leave during the second semester and summer of 1952. Clifton P. Kroeber has joined the department and is offering courses in Latin-American and Spanish history. Bjarne Berulsen of the University of Oslo has taken over some of the courses in the Scandinavian-area studies usually given by Einar Haugen, chairman of the division, who is on leave of absence for study in the University of Oslo until the summer of 1952.

RECENT DEATHS

When the American Historical Association returned to the custom of electing foreign honorary members, almost the first name agreed upon by the special committee was that of Rafael Altamira, the distinguished historian of Spain. It is with profound regret that we chronicle his death June 1 in Mexico City. Professor Altamira had left his native land in 1944. He found in Mexico a freer atmosphere and a warm welcome. Here he continued the steady stream of scholarly studies in law and history that had made him, while a professor at the University of Oviedo, the outstanding representative of Spanish scholarship. His *Historia de España y de civilización española* still towers over any other work in its field. The bibliography of his numerous publications in law and history is itself a volume which had a second edition in 1945 and would now be outdated by the production of the last six years. His helpfulness while still in Oviedo to all visiting scholars, especially those from the Americas, made him a world citizen before he left his home. His character, his high standards of justice, and his knowledge of law made him one of the distinguished members of the Court of International Justice at The Hague. Born February 10, 1866, he was in his eighty-sixth year when he died, busily engaged with plans for more articles and more books.

Nelson Vance Russell, president of Carroll College, Waukesha, Wisconsin, died October 12 at the age of fifty-six. Mr. Russell was a graduate of the University of Michigan, from which institution he also received his doctorate in 1925. He had a varied career as teacher of history in secondary school and college positions. In 1935-38, between his professorships at Coe College and Carleton College, he served on the staff of the National Archives. He was the author of *The British Regime in Michigan and the Old Northwest, 1760-96*. He served in the historical division of the chemical warfare service in 1944. He assumed the presidency of Carroll College in 1946.

Edward Henry Zabriskie, professor of history in the Newark College of Arts and Sciences, Rutgers University, died on July 30 at the age of fifty-nine years. Dr. Zabriskie had served Rutgers as instructor in history (1924-26) and since 1927 as associate professor of history and international relations and professor of history.

Waldo Emerson Palmer, professor of history in Simmons College, died on July 14 at the age of fifty-one years. Dr. Palmer had taught in Phillips Academy, the Katharine Gibbs School (Boston), and Wellesley College before going to Simmons in 1929.

John G. Hazam, assistant professor of history in the College of the City of New York, died on June 19 at the age of fifty years. Dr. Hazam had taught at Yale and Stanford universities, the universities of California and Oregon, and Lake Forest College, before going to City College in 1935.

Ambrose White Vernon, professor emeritus of biography in Dartmouth College, died August 23 in his eightieth year. He had previously (1919-24) developed the course in biography while on the staff of Carleton College, Northfield, Minnesota.

Frederick S. Crofts, retired publisher, died on September 16 at the age of sixty-eight. Before starting his own firm, F. S. Crofts Publishing Company, he was in charge of the college book section of Harper and Brothers. With the onset of ill health he sold his business to the present firm of Appleton-Century-Crofts. As a bookman he was known and welcome on college campuses throughout the country, where many will regret the passing of "Freddie" Crofts. He had long been a member of this Association.

Communications

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

Professor Engel-Janosi's review of my study *The Multinational Empire, Nationalism and National Reform in the Habsburg Monarchy, 1848-1918* (AHR, April, 1951, p. 568) raises a number of points which require clarification and correction. Strict limitations of space force me to touch upon only the most important issues in the briefest way.

Both volumes of my study deal with one major issue, the national problem, though from different angles. Volume I, *Empire and Nationalities*, discusses the national claims of the various national groups from the standpoint of their true or alleged national interests. Volume II, *Empire Reform*, chiefly analyzes significant attempts of reformers to settle the national problem from a supranational viewpoint. Thus this study does not claim to be a history of nationalism in Austria, let alone a history of the empire itself. Yet, in effect, Professor Engel-Janosi charges that the character of a different though related main problem, namely

that of the evolution of the Austrian Empire—in his terms—"is not grasped." Except for a brief historical introduction my task was not to discuss it as such. Yet, if, as Dr. Engel-Janosi sees it, the western aspect of the empire problem has not been as adequately treated as the eastern—a contention I disagree with—it should be remembered that in the literature on the subject the latter aspect has been grossly neglected, and an attempt to balance, not to reverse, an often somewhat lopsided historiography would be warranted. It might be justified even if 1848, 1866, 1867, 1878, 1908 were not milestones in a gradual shifting of the empire's center of gravity from the West to the East. As to allegedly lacking East and West discussions of the "international power problem" they will be found where they belong in a study of this kind, namely in the context of the analysis of the various national groups, the chapter on the empire's collapse and the conclusions in both volumes. The same applies to the often oversimplified thesis of the empire's economic unity. Though these factors are most important contributing causes in the presentation of the national problem they could not be treated as separate sections of my study.

As to the cultural social factors, Professor Engel-Janosi criticizes me for not giving consideration to the great achievements of nineteenth and twentieth century Austro-German literature. I yield to no one in indebtedness to and love for them. Yet these great works were created at a stage of German literary development where their influence on Austro-German national evolution was far less significant than that of the pioneers of the Slavonic cultural Renaissance on Slav nationalism. The latter's achievements thus belong in a far more direct sense in the orbit of a political analysis of nationalism in Austria than those of the German-Austrian classics. There is no question of literary evaluation involved in this statement. To be sure, this literature in a very real sense represents not only Austro-German culture but a very important factor of Austrian culture in general. However I consider Austro-German culture even before 1848, Austro-German centralism, the tradition of Maria Theresa and Joseph II, as only one, though a highly important and in many ways a highly positive, factor in Austrian development. I do not identify this line of thought exclusively with Austrianism as a whole. I disagree with the widely held and still more widely implied assumption that cultural contributions in the Austro-German orbit are exclusively representative for Austrian as well as German culture whereas cultural achievements of the other national groups during that period are to be perceived only within their national orbit. This distinction seems to me a major mistake of traditional Austro-German historiography.

Dr. Engel-Janosi says further that the full significance of the supranational forces of army, nobility, church, and bureaucracy has not been considered. Yet, within the all too strict limits of my topic this influence has been discussed (see particularly I, 37, 38, 51-58 [Josephinism], 155, 156, 362; II, 208, 209, and many other passages). As to the degree of emphasis in the evaluation of these factors there seems to me room for honest disagreement. Austro-German centralism was undoubtedly a strongly centripetal force until 1848. Afterwards it got to some extent out of line with the concept of national evolution. Moreover its honest endeavors were increasingly exploited and distorted by the forces of a rising nationalism. Supranational Austro-German centralism after 1848 unfortunately failed to realize that without concessions to largely legitimate demands of other national groups it would further be identified with German national rather than supranational interests. Aristocracy and gradually also bureaucracy comprised a centrifugal as well as a centripetal force, to use the terminology of Oscar Jászi to

whose penetrating *Dissolution of the Habsburg Monarchy* I have widely though not uncritically referred in this context. Neither of these factors nor the supranational factor in the army, the officers and long-serving noncommissioned officers, were however fully representative of the Austrian social structure.

Professor Engel-Janosi states further, "the author has little patience with those who wanted to solve the nationality problem while carefully avoiding a revolutionary break." This is a fully erroneous statement. The whole second volume of my study, apart from a relatively brief discussion and rejection of Marxian revolutionary trends and an analysis of the empire's collapse during the World War period, deals primarily with evolutionary attempts to reform the empire. If I had as little patience with evolutionary reform projects as the reviewer asserts I would not have been the first to undertake a systematic analysis of these reform ideas. Thus the very selection of my topic already refutes this contention. None of the other twelve extensive reviews which thus far have appeared in this country and in Austria have, by the way, questioned the fairness of my interpretation. In fact, as the record of my study clearly shows, I consider the trend of enlightened conservatism as exemplified by Ostrožinski, Palácky, Andrian-Werburg, Stadion, Eötvös, Lammasch, as most constructive. I see further valuable ideas in the reform work of the late Austrian federal president, the Social Democrat Karl Renner, which on the issue of empire reform had much more support from circles far to the right of his party than from his own fellow party members. I also see much valuable material in the work of the liberal Fischhof and the conservative Seipel. My evaluation of conservatives like Schwarzenberg (see particularly passages in Volume II, 69, 71) and Bach, as well as of the whole neo-absolutist period (II, 66-87) is by no means as fully negative as it is to be deduced from Dr. Engel-Janosi's remarks. I consider, however, the wrecking of the reform work of the Reichstag of Kremsier by the shortsightedness of the Schwarzenberg cabinet a true and irretrievable Austrian tragedy. My answer to Dr. Engel-Janosi's question, "If the monarchy had concentrated on much-needed constitutional experiments at that time, might the map of Central Europe not have been in 1850 somewhat similar to what it was in 1950?" is as follows: If Kremsier had succeeded the Russian frontier might possibly still be at the Dniester and not, in effect, at the Enns Bridge between Upper and Lower Austria.

Professor Engel-Janosi states that I see the Austrian Empire just as "an agglomeration of these heterogeneous domains and strips of lands acquired from bygone or disintegrating neighboring countries" (II, 289). In the 867 pages of my work and particularly in the final conclusions there is superabundant evidence that this refers only to one of many facets of a difficult problem i.e., the technical expansion of Austria. I invite the reader to look six lines further. "Neither can it be denied that profound socio-economic and cultural factors supported and made possible the expansion of the Habsburg Power. Furthermore it is granted that the union of these lands in some ways created new cultural and social ties among them or strengthened already existing ties."

On the following page (II, 290) I state: "The price which would have to be paid for an almost inconceivable observation of the ethnic system as a state-building force in Eastern Central Europe in the 16th century when the Hungarian and Bohemian lands came under Habsburg rule would have been high indeed. It would have meant the emergence in place of the empire of a number of small, predominantly agricultural states subject to conquest from every direction. What is more important, that price would have to be paid at the expense of Western civilization. Not even the national groups which were culturally most

advanced at that time could have actively defended their lands against conquest by forces hostile to Christian occidental civilization." These words speak for themselves.

Thus I fully agree that the continued existence of the Austrian Empire would have been vastly preferable to the subsequent state of affairs in the Danube area let alone the conditions of today. I have expressly summed up this opinion on the very last page of my conclusions (II, 298). I consider the empire's dissolution at the end of World War I as regrettable but inevitable while, at least as far as the domestic crisis is concerned, Dr. Engel-Janosi feels the breakdown of 1918 could have been prevented. "Is there no legitimacy," he asks, "in the nineteenth century attitude which assumed that the wave of nationalism in Europe might one day pass away and that, if the empire had withstood its onslaught by then, its national problems might be resolved with more ease and possibly more mutual benefit?" Unquestionably this attitude was not only legitimate but fully rational at that time. Had it been otherwise, the idea of empire reform would have been as nonsensical as an attempt to analyze it under such an assumption. The point is, however, that the historian of today has to study these problems after the event which proved that the empire could not withstand this "onslaught." In the face of this overwhelming factual evidence it can hardly be denied that within the variety of reasons which led to the Austrian tragedy of 1918 the force of national disintegration played a decisive part.

The reviewer states further that "most surprising is his neglect of almost every publication on Austrian and Austro-German history since 1926." For reasons of space I have to answer this charge in figures. Both volumes—in two chapters pertinent to general Austro-German problems—contain some forty bibliographical references to works written between 1927 and 1948. Most of them have been listed or quoted more than once, some frequently. The corresponding figures for the more extensive chapters on the Magyars, and the Czechs and Croats, of items referred to, frequently several times, are 22 and 36 respectively. This does not include numerous references to literature published after 1926 to all these topics in other chapters and different context.

In 1,468 notes, most of them at least partly of a bibliographical character, an extensive literature in twelve languages has been covered. Yet strict standards of selection still had to be applied, particularly in regard to works either only tenuously connected with the main topic of the study or referring to background material. Furthermore obvious technical difficulties still prevailing at the time when the manuscript went to press in 1948 have prevented me from making the bibliography of the Second World War period and postwar period as full as I might have wished, particularly since as a matter of general principle I did not want to include items which I had no opportunity to check personally.

As to Srbik, a specific point of Dr. Engel-Janosi's criticism, references to four of his most representative works are listed in bibliographical notes. It is planned, in a reprinted edition which I hope will come out shortly, to include several references to his *Deutsche Einheit*.

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ROBERT A. KANN

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

The reply Professor Kann has written to my review of his book will give the reader the impression that the review was a disparaging one. May I therefore repeat that I consider this work "one of the most noteworthy" contributions

American historians have made to Austrian history during the last ten years, a list that contains such names as Professors Jerome Blum, Gulick, Langsam, and Rath. I spoke of the book as "scholarly and very thorough, a work which to my knowledge has no parallel in any language." I am accustomed to attach some meaning to such words. I drew attention to the chapters on the Slav nationalities as being of special interest.

One of my main objections remains that Professor Kann dealt with the nationality problem and especially with the national reform plans as detached from the connection with the international problems of the empire; such an "isolationist" approach is in my eyes not permissible in nineteenth-century Continental European history.

Professor Kann, I still contend, does not give the impression of being aware of the importance of the centuries-old trends that connected the Habsburg Empire with the West: a late seventeenth-century saying referred to the *casa d'Austria* as the basis of all Christendom. True, the last geographical symbols of such ties, like the "Vorlande," had been surrendered at the Congress of Vienna; but the trends were alive in the minds of Francis Joseph and a good number of his advisers.

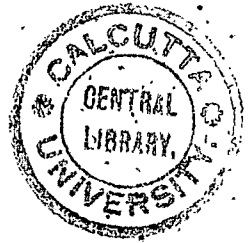
The problem of shaping a pure "Austrian nationality," as it were a "supernational" nationality is in my eyes an important one. I said in the review that Professor Kann refers to this problem "incidentally" but a systematic discussion is lacking. In a fine essay by Paul Thun-Hohenstein on *Österreichische Lebensform* published in the spring of 1938 and suppressed by the Nazis immediately, I read that internationalism was always a determinant of the Austrian character.

I should have written: "the author has little patience with those *statesmen* who wanted to solve . . ." (Eötvös, Lammasch and also Seipel up to 1918 being primarily political writers) and "while the bibliography is on the whole *very rich* (instead of "useful"). I apologize for the omission of these words.

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FRIEDRICH ENGEL-JANOSI

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Men Are More Alike

BOYD C. SHAFER

THE other day one of my students burst out, "If men want peace, they'll have to eliminate or change their histories. We ought to have a history of men, not just these national things." He thought that he had a new idea; it was new to him. Aristotle, of course, thought of it as he did of everything else, and so have occasional historians and social scientists ever since. Thirty years ago the prophet H. G. Wells prefaced his *Outline of History* with "There can be no common peace and prosperity without common historical ideas."¹

Historians do not write to propagandize for "peace and prosperity." The proper end of scholarly endeavor is the discovery of truth or the closest approximation to it. The first duty of a historian is to search for truth about the human past, to describe it and interpret it, "*wie es eigentlich gewesen ist*." If the historian first seeks any other end, he, like any other scholar, is denying his own reason for existence and refusing the primary though not the only responsibility of his profession. When he uses his craft for good or bad propaganda, fits facts to his prejudice, consciously or stupidly errs in logic

¹ H. G. Wells, *The Outline of History* (3d ed., New York, 1921), pp. v-vi. See discussion by Edward Mead Earle, "H. G. Wells, British Patriot in Search of a World State," *Nationalism and Internationalism* (New York, 1950).

to reach a predetermined point of view, he is neither historian nor scholar. But these are just the obvious types of error that modern historians may make.

There is another kind of error that leads them from truth, from scholarship, from history. This they usually commit in good faith and without conscious design. It is seeing men first of all and almost only as nationalities, races, classes, above all in Western civilization in viewing men almost exclusively in terms of national groups, therefore as but fragments of men particularly as these are differentiated from other fragments.²

The customary method of historians in our times, and for the last two centuries, has been to write national histories, to study national institutions, to attempt solution of national problems. It is easier and more convenient, the material can be more readily collected and synthesized, they themselves are nationalists, it is politic, and it has become a tradition. They also do it because the nation has become the most important social unit and the most obvious one to study. People in our time live in nation-states, and possess national consciousness; most of their vital activities are carried on within the framework of the nation-state. Moreover, as practitioners of the scientific method, scholars are bound to look for distinctions, for differences based on kind, level, and function; and nationality is the most significant contemporary group distinction. Our Western civilization, and this is one of the marks of a highly civilized society, teaches its intelligent men to look for variations from whatever seems to be the norm and to classify these within closed, schematic concepts. This, in the present case, usually means study of national thought and action, not the universal or local. Our whole scholarly orientation is toward the elaboration of the differences rather than concentration upon commonness or similarity.

Whatever the cause the modern Gibbons, Voltaires, Buckles, Guizots, and Andrew D. Whites³ are few and the standard works, with few exceptions, are histories of this or that nation, national idea, or institution. This way of looking at men has validity; it is not always false; it is often the only way historians, for example, can get at anything tangible—most modern documents are produced by national institutions. But to study men as if they existed only in segments, to ignore what they have in common and how they are alike is not to approximate the whole truth. It is partial, incomplete, and

² Thus the late Robert C. Binkley in his bibliographical essay in *Realism and Nationalism, 1852-1871* (New York, 1935), p. 307, had to remark, "The principal lacunae in European History of this period is a deficiency of histories of Europe." Except for American textbooks usually divided into chapters on each nation, this is true of all periods of European history since 1815.

³ See his plea as first president of the American Historical Association in his address "On Studies in General History and the History of Civilization," 1884, *Papers American Historical Association*, I (New York, 1886), 49-72.

in a sense false. It is also incidentally one way to court the destruction of all men.

The historians are not alone. Like them, twentieth-century diplomats, scientists, journalists, and novelists have all been trained by their education and conditioned by their societies to seek the different, to bring out the peculiarities, and to build their policies, their theses, and their stories upon these, not upon the likenesses among men. In their sometimes well-meaning, sometimes self-seeking efforts to foster their own countries' interests, to classify types scientifically, to gain popularity (or circulation) by catering to prejudice, and to bring out the novel or esoteric, they have nearly all overlooked the simple fact that men as individuals and men in groups are in many ways more alike than different.

In the nature of their trade diplomats act, as Robert Sherwood remarks in *Roosevelt and Hopkins*, not for man but for particular men.⁴ From Aristotle onward science has been, in part, the art of observing, distinguishing, and classifying phenomena—which in most cases means the establishment of convenient resemblances which *differentiate* specific objects from all other objects. Journalism, from its beginning, and especially since Hearst, has been the business of selling news, that is the odd or the new, and their customers have bought more papers when the superiority of their own peculiarities has been confirmed by comparison with others'. Novelists beginning with Fielding have delighted in depicting the national (not the common) character of men, becoming therefore not just novelists but English, French, or Russian novelists.⁵ In all fields of writing, with the possible exception of some in pure science, authors have usually attempted to describe their subjects not only in terms of properties within the subjects themselves but also as peculiar to a particular race, class, or nation. Since the eighteenth century few intellectuals have been able to see men as *man*. Even the apostles of Marxian internationalism have succumbed to nationalism. We may poke fun at the American schoolmarm who in France desperately desires her orange juice and Kohler plumbing. She is evincing the same provincialism on a superficial level as the social scientist on a deeper level who studies only the national mind, the national problems, and sees only these and not man.

Immediately it must be granted that differences exist among individuals and among societies. Immediately it must be admitted that differences of

⁴ Robert Sherwood, *Roosevelt and Hopkins* (New York, 1948), p. 796.

⁵ Professor Albert Guérard recently attacked the teaching of "English" rather than "literature" as narrow, provincial, and impossible because literature is world literature and related by other than national ideas. "The Quick and the Dead," "English or Literature," *Chap Book* (College English Association, n.d.).

culture based upon climate, physiology, class, nation, and possibly race warrant all manner of intensive scientific research. The study of these, however, ought to be tempered by realization and study of similarities that are at least as important. *Homo sapiens* is a species!⁶ Within the species varieties occur. But as with the trees and forests the varieties ought not obscure the view. It is upon certain aspects of the common nature and common cultural development of the species that this essay is focused.

II

Someday new mutations may occur which break up the species. As yet man is a single species and there is no evidence that this kind of cleavage impends. This is true in spite of all the findings of the young sciences of man, psychology and anthropology, and of all the descriptions of men found in the older disciplines of history and political economy. It is true though the studies and writings of Galton, Binet, Frazer, Childe, Marx, Sombart, Kohn, and Hertz have been convincing in their conclusions about individual, tribal, class, and national differences.

Men vary; the study of their variations has given us important insights into man's actions. Nevertheless, we know little about the fundamental nature of man, not to speak of nations and races. There are few truly scientific studies. While there has been extended observation there has been little experimentation. There is, consequently, little real evidence that will serve for more than tentative hypotheses. What we have of positive nature on national and racial differences still does not go far beyond the random comments of such intelligent men as David Hume, the biased books of racialists like Gobineau and Houston Stewart Chamberlain, and the entertaining guesses of popular writers like Madariaga, Siegfried, and Demiazhkevich.⁷ What we *know* is largely of negative nature. What we ought to realize about all men in regard to nationality and race is what Professor Otto Klineberg and his collaborators concluded from their study of the Negro:

⁶ The best recent book dealing with the subject is William C. Boyd, *Genetics and the Races of Man* (Boston, 1950). See also G. G. Simpson, "The Principles of Classification and a Classification of the Mammals," *Bulletin American Museum of Natural History*, LXXXV (1945), 1-350. Proper classification has been a matter of vigorous dispute, often because of semantic difficulties, between some geneticists and some morphologists. Cf. Reginald R. Gates, *Human Ancestry* (Cambridge, 1948).

⁷ David Hume, "Of National Characters," in *Essays and Treatises* . . . (London, 1770), I; Arthur de Gobineau, *The Inequality of Human Races*, trans. Collins (New York, 1915). Houston Stewart Chamberlain, *Foundations of the Nineteenth Century*, trans. Lees (London, 1913); Salvador Madariaga, *Englishmen, Frenchmen, Spaniards: An Essay in Comparative Psychology* (London, 1928); André Siegfried, *America Comes of Age: A French Analysis*, trans. H. and D. Heming (New York, 1927) and his other books on France, England, New Zealand, and Latin America; Michael Demiazhkevich, *The National Mind: English, French, German* (New York, 1938). A survey of what little is known is Otto Klineberg, *Tensions Affecting International Understanding: A Survey of Research* (New York, 1950), pp. 1-92.

inherent differences between white and Negro may be found; our scientific methods of investigation have not yet revealed them or what they may signify.⁸

And yet we base our diplomacy and the shape of our future upon these alleged differences. We venture death because of diversities which may or may not exist. Our mental habits, nurtured by science and prejudice and dignified by Aristotelian logic as well as debased by ignorance, force us to stress unlikeness, and thence it is a short road to hate and destruction. Nowhere, save for a few rare scholars, poets, and philosophers, is there full recognition of what may be after all the plainest fact about men, that they are of man. The species may not long survive; certainly it will not if social scientists seeking the complete truth do not perceive the full importance of this fundamental fact.

What has been said about survival is also true if the species is to flourish. It is a truism (little recognized to be sure in contemporary Russia and the United States) that whatever "progress" men have achieved is the result of the common efforts of many men, nationalities, and races. Genius knows no national, racial, or any other boundary. Like imbecility it is uncommon in all groups, and at the same time common to all. When Russians or Americans claim a "first" they only reveal their naïveté. All inventions and discoveries are built upon previous ones and these in turn, as in the case of atomic energy, came from men of many nationalities and races located everywhere on the earth and living at least as long ago as the classic Greeks (Democritus).⁹ The simple electric light involved among others an Italian, an Englishman, a German, a Frenchman, and an American Middle Westerner—Volta, Watt, Ohm, Ampere, and Edison. What is true here is no less true, though much less recognized, of all ideas in literature, philosophy, of all knowledge in all the arts in all civilizations.

III

The outward likenesses, often overlooked because they are commonplace, are easy to see. All men walk upright, and, unlike most other vertebrates, normally use stairs instead of branches. Nine tenths of the mature members of the species measure four-feet-ten to six-feet-two in height, a relatively small difference if all vertical dimensions are considered.¹⁰ Nearly all men

⁸ Otto Klineberg, ed., *Characteristics of the American Negro* (New York, 1944).

⁹ See, for example, Ralph Linton, *The Study of Man* (student ed., New York, 1936) pp. 326-27; and Paul Radin, *The Racial Myth* (New York, 1937), pp. 80-81.

¹⁰ Alfred L. Kroeber, *Anthropology: Race, Language, Culture, Psychology, Prehistory* (rev. ed., New York, 1948), pp. 126-27, states that no race averages less than four feet ten inches and none more than five ten, while the majority of populations do not deviate more than two inches from the general average of five feet five inches.

as adults weigh from 90 to 220 pounds, a small range compared to the variations in animal life. All of them require daily, though they may not get them, from 2500 to 4000 calories and a certain variety of vitamins to be gained from meat, grains, green and leafy vegetables, and fruit. With few exceptions all of them have facility for manipulating their thumbs, and for conceptual thought and speech as no other animals do. More than any other living thing they can store up knowledge, establish traditions. They are not forced to start from scratch but can, though this is rare enough, begin with the accumulated experience and wisdom of the species. Unlike the dog and the ape, men may use (though they rarely do) the spoken word and books to avoid the mistakes of their ancestors and thus determine the direction of human evolution.¹¹ Though the opposite seems most often true, man is, to a greater degree than any other form of life, teachable.¹² He is at times, potentially at least, rational and the ranges of his comprehension and adaptability are wider. Men, it also seems, are singular in that they can modify what were once termed their "instincts," and may, without artificial conditioning, acquire neuroses. At the same time only they find escape in laughter and tears.

Precisely because men are of man and share one planet, they everywhere face the same basic problems, those concerned with food and shelter as well as those involving social relationships and creativity in the arts. Nearly all of man's food, however refined, comes from the soil and seldom has there been too much of either land or edibles. Always shelter is needed against the rain or the sun, the heat or the cold, and seldom have the caves or the houses been plentiful. Because men are gregarious they have always had to seek how best to live together and their social problems remain basically as the *Republic* and the *Politics* stated them, freedom or authority, justice or injustice. While there are many levels of culture, man's arts have always faced similar dilemmas: material usefulness or propitiation of the gods, truth or beauty, realism or escape.

Again, though there be arctic and torrid zone, hill and valley, the ranges of climate and geography which surround men are relatively narrow. Ellsworth Huntington's books which reveal so marvelously how geography and climate condition civilizations are valuable,¹³ but, in spite of his bad

¹¹ This may only be a hope. It was John Stuart Mill's belief, "Liberty," in *Utilitarianism, Liberty, Representative Government* (Everyman's ed.), p. 82; and is authoritatively maintained as a possibility by George Gaylord Simpson, *The Meaning of Evolution* (New Haven, 1949). Of course, as Professor Simpson remarks, "This awesome power includes the human prerogative of self-extinction" (p. 328).

¹² Linton, pp. 132 ff., summarizes some of the common characteristics.

¹³ Especially his *Civilization and Climate* (3d ed., New Haven, 1924), and *Mainsprings of Civilization* (New York, 1945).

astronomy, Comenius was as near the truth when he wrote, "The same sky covers us, the same sun and all the stars revolve about us, and light us in turn."¹⁴ It is not the heat and the cold, the hills and the valleys which divide men. "Nature begins and ends everywhere and nowhere."¹⁵ Only men set up the barriers which divide them, and this in itself is a common and peculiar disposition of man.

Men would appear to the proverbial interspatial invader, perhaps arriving these days in flying saucers from Venus, to be scarcely distinguishable from each other. Missing the tenuous distinctions set up by men themselves, he would probably think of them as one rather unimportant type of life. He would be right. Compared to a rotifer they are huge, to a whale small, to a star infinitesimal. In terms of simple magnitude they are midway between the largest material body, the giant red star, and the smallest, the electron—"the mean between macrocosm and microcosm."¹⁶ Their likeness, then, appears readily in their differences from other forms of matter. And if the invader turned to their spiritual nature he would perceive that everywhere on the Earth, in the words of Abdala the Saracen as reported by Pico,¹⁷ "There is nothing to be seen more wonderful than man," and in the phrase of Innocent III, "Nothing more miserable."

Again, it must be reiterated, great differences exist. The moron is not a genius. An Englishman is not a Chinese. A Comanche is not a Nordic. In the total picture perspective is nevertheless absent when these differences are given first importance. Shylock was a Jew with the "same eyes, hands, organs, dimensions, senses, affections, passions" as other men and he was "fed with the same food, hurt with the same weapons, subject to the same diseases, healed by the same means, warmed and cooled by the same summer and winter" as other men.¹⁸ The level or complexity of men's cultures condition them and influence their habits and their outlooks. But the cultures are all human, men are of man, and the earth is common to all. The more closely one examines the evidence or the lack of it, the more clearly this becomes evident.

IV

Men are all vertebrates and mammals. They are all multicellular animals with the same kinds of nervous, blood, respiratory, and reproductive systems.¹⁹

¹⁴ Quoted in Julian Huxley and A. C. Haddon, *We Europeans* (Oxford, 1940), p. 3.

¹⁵ Walter Sulzbach, *National Consciousness* (Washington, 1943), p. 52.

¹⁶ Lincoln Barnett, *The Universe of Dr. Einstein* (New York, 1948), pp. 14-15.

¹⁷ "Oration on the Dignity of Man," in Ernst Cassirer, Paul Kristeller, and John Herman Randall, eds., *The Renaissance Philosophy of Man* (Chicago, 1948), pp. 219, 223.

¹⁸ *Merchant of Venice*, Act III, sc. 1.

¹⁹ For the facts in this paragraph the writer has relied upon, in addition to the works of

The same approximate percentages of chemical elements make up their bodies. So long as there are males and females reproduction between all varieties is possible, even probable. Their females all carry their young nine months and usually produce only one offspring at a time. Maturation for all offspring is comparatively slow. Unlike all other animals the desire of their adults for sexual activity is continuous: the adult male is normally capable of reproducing at any time and the adult female of about fifteen to forty-five years of age twelve times a year. Probably none of them, Lysenko notwithstanding, can inherit acquired characteristics. All of them, regardless of race or nationality, have the same few O, A, B, and AB blood types. Though learned studies use terms like brachiocephalic and dolichocephalic their head shapes vary little, all being somewhat oblong. While their hair is round or oblong and straight or kinky, it is hair, and all usually have it in slightly varying intensities at the same points on their bodies. Their coloration runs from white to black but all gradations exist, while microscopic examination shows but slight differences in pigmentation and even these differences seem rapidly to be fading.

Where differences occur, little is known of what they signify. On the basis of fact no one can say whether color, hair, head shape, or blood type have any relationship to the quality of a man, to his character, philosophy, and intelligence, or to how he will react in any circumstance. Observable differences like these may be easily classified and the classifications statistically presented in impressive, encyclopedic volumes. That is all. These particular differences occur. Nothing more can be added, no more meaning can be attached to them.

In intelligence, to be sure, the gap between moron and genius may be as wide as Galton's studies and Binet's tests have shown. But both occur in all national groupings, and the gap between them is not as wide as between man, moron or genius, and other forms of life. All men above the imbecilic seem to have greater facility, though they may not use it, for reflective intelligence than do the smartest chimpanzees. On the other hand all are a bit short of omniscient gods. Further, it is impossible to disentangle the environmental factors in the formation of intelligence. No one knows to what extent intelligence is a product of a good diet and to what extent it is a part of the inherited physiological structure of the individual.²⁰ Nor does

Boyd, Kroeber, and Linton cited above, Julian Huxley, *Man Stands Alone* (New York, 1941); Ruth Benedict, *Race: Science and Politics* (New York, 1940); Franz Boas, *Anthropology and Modern Life*; and Melville Herskovits, *Man and His Works: The Science of Cultural Anthropology* (New York, 1949).

²⁰ For what is known concerning diet in relation to individual and national behavior, see

anyone know whether any particular kinds of intelligence are universally superior. In some primitive forest situations, in contemporary American college football, or in modern warfare, success most likely comes to the physically well-co-ordinated individual whom the imaginative poet might rightly consider dull and insensitive. As with intelligence so with emotions. All human creatures have the capacity for love, hate, and anger. While the depths and heights of their natures differ, capacity is common to all. The potential range and depth is greater in man than in any other animal, and which capacity is best in each situation has not been determined.

Since Darwin men's differences have been transformed into a sliding scale for moral evaluation, a scale which somehow indicates inferiority and superiority.²¹ During the latter half of the nineteenth century men calling themselves scientists, though their interpretation of "survival of the fittest" was certainly erroneous, first erected complex classifications of human characteristics with the clear purpose of showing how much fitter and therefore better were some groups of men than others. Their reasoning (read Houston Stewart Chamberlain or Madison Grant for the popular versions)²² went something like this: (1) men are naturally different as is proved by their observable physical and mental traits; (2) some are naturally fitter, hence superior; (3) some races and nations are naturally fittest and therefore superior; and (4) nature and evolution made men this way and hence some races and nations should be masters and others servants. With this structure of illogic, differences became the ideological basis of social action. And further to prove superiority, the significance of the obvious differences has been deepened and new distinctions are fanatically sought.

No intelligent man who knows anything of science and methods of scientific research need be told of the absurdity of this unreason. Though able scholars like Julian Huxley, Franz Boas, Ashley Montagu, and Ruth Benedict²³ have torn away the fabric of prejudice to reveal the few known facts, the fallacies persist and must be attacked again and again. Men as

Huntington, *Mainsprings of Civilization*, pp. 417-31; Sir Robert McCarrison "Nutrition and National Health," *Journal Royal Society of Arts*, LXXXIV (Aug. 28, Sept. 4, 11, 1936); Sir John Orr, *Food, Health, and Income* (London, 1936). On the interplay of biology and culture in intelligence see Norman Cameron, *The Psychology of Behavior Disorders: A Biosocial Interpretation* (Boston, 1947).

²¹ Among the many advocates of this view were: Walter Bagehot, *Physics and Politics* (New York, 1881, first published 1869); Henry Hauser, *Le principe des nationalités, ses origines* (Paris, 1916), pp. 12-13; Karl Pearson, *National Life from the Standpoint of Science* (London, 1901); and a long list of German writers of whom Heinrich von Treitschke, especially in his *Politics* (London, 1916), is outstanding.

²² Madison Grant, *The Passing of the Great Race, or the Racial Basis of European History* (New York, 1916). A half hundred other works could be easily cited. For the United States see Richard Hofstadter, *Social Darwinism* (Philadelphia, 1944).

²³ See their works cited above.

individuals differ widely. That men differ does not indicate inferiority or superiority. If it did, that would not show that nations and races either differ or are inferior or superior. If some races and nations were superior that might not be owing to nature but to chance, cultural environment, and historical development.

Who are the "fittest," the little, wiry men who formed the bulk of Rommel's North African army, the giants who play American football and basketball, the pale, bespectacled, physical scientists in the laboratories, the emaciated saints of the Middle Ages who surely went to Heaven soonest, or that "cream" of contemporary Western nations, the steel-nerved navigators and pilots of the long-range bombing planes? If it be agreed that the last are today's fittest, does it follow that their respective races or nations are? Are races and nations fittest just because they can destroy other races and nations most efficiently? Does, finally, fitness indicate anything about superiority unless certain prejudices are accepted as absolute values? Does, indeed, survival indicate anything but luck? The survivors in the next war, as in those of the past, will very likely be those who survive—nothing more.

Let us assume, however, that some nations survive and are therefore superior. There is no evidence to prove that this superiority, or any other, is natural. Rather what little knowledge we have reveals that the physical environment and cultural level of the society into which a man is born are at least as determinant in individual development as the gene and chromosome.²⁴ The younger Mill was not far wrong when he wrote, "Of all the vulgar modes of escaping from the consideration of the effect of social and moral influences on the human mind, the most vulgar is that of attributing diversities of character to inherent natural differences."²⁵

V

What has been said above of the physiological diversities among men can be applied with greater force to the differences among the so-called races.²⁶ We know that intelligence, emotional capacity, and bodily structure and size

²⁴ The genetic and cultural, so far as present knowledge goes, cannot be disentangled. Cameron, *Psychology of Behavior Disorders*; Ralph Linton, *The Cultural Background of Personality* (New York, 1945); Thomas Hunt Morgan, *Evolution and Genetics* (Princeton, 1925), p. 207; and especially Huxley, *Man Stands Alone*, pp. 111-12.

²⁵ John Stuart Mill, *The Principles of Political Economy* (London, 1849), I, 390.

²⁶ There is much confusion over the meaning of the word "race." See Earl W. Count, ed., *This Is Race* (New York, 1950), pp. xiii ff. A race, according to Professor Herskovits, "is a division of mankind, marked by physical characteristics which breed true" (*Man and His Works*, p. 133). In addition to the books cited in note 19 see, Herbert J. Fleure, *The Peoples of Europe* (London, 1922); Earnest Albert Hooton, *Up from the Ape* (2d ed., New York, 1946), and William W. Howells, *Mankind So Far* (New York, 1944).

vary widely *within* each race.²⁷ We also have solid grounds for believing that so far as we are able to measure these characteristics as well as other less obvious ones, they differ more widely within each race than they do from race to race. In all human characteristics there is overlapping among all races; the alleged differences are chiefly in statistical averages which hide the basic similarities.

That intelligent men should base any serious argument concerning men upon race is as absurd as to base diplomacy upon the consideration that one man likes his cottage cheese with garlic and another with onion.²⁸ As everyone who reads can know, all races have ceaselessly intermixed and have become so "impure" that almost all the peculiarities of any importance ascribed to membership in these groupings are the fabrication of wish fancy.²⁹ Ralph Linton, the anthropologist, neatly put it: "There is no human group whose ancestry is known for even five generations in the exact terms necessary for racial determinations."³⁰

In his zeal to make Christians out of heathens Paul preached that God "made of one blood all the nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth." His real converts at Athens may not have been many; his biology and sociology were good. Race usually cannot be distinguished because of visible, physical signs such as size, shape, or even color. Much less can it be determined by character and intelligence or any of the more esoteric classifications of dissimilarities. Conceivably, fundamental differences may be discovered. Our present scientific tools do not reveal them—even between "Slavic" Russians and "Anglo-Saxon" Americans. One may be able to tell something about a man by his shoes or by his color. One can tell something about his shoes and his color. The French children of the Third Republic, like the German children of the Third Reich, were told that their ancestors "were very tall, their eyes blue, and their hair was blond."³¹ The only known fact is that no one can know *who his* ancestors were nor can any group determine them with any exactitude except that they were men and before that—.

²⁷ "The evidence . . . demonstrates that every large human group . . . runs very close to the gamut of human capability. . . ." Herskovits, p. 149.

²⁸ And probably can only be characterized as the "art of exploiting a prejudice for an ulterior purpose." George Sabine, *A History of Political Theory* (New York, 1950), p. 889.

²⁹ See, for example, the descriptions of English mixtures in Jacquetta and Christopher Hawkes, "Land and People," in Ernest Barker, ed., *The Character of England* (Oxford, 1947); and John Oakesmith, *Race and Nationality: An Inquiry into the Origins of Patriotism* (New York, 1919), pp. 95-100. What is true of "Anglo-Saxon" England is true of all peoples. For Europe, see Huxley and Haddon, *We Europeans*, p. 221. Very probably no pure race ever existed.

³⁰ Linton, *Study of Man*, pp. 36-37.

³¹ Quoted by François Delaisi, *Political Myths and Economic Realities* (New York, 1927), p. 186.

Few if any of the so-called racial characteristics tell anything of importance about *a man*. Men have been encyclopedically catalogued as to hair form and color, skin pigmentation, eye color and shape, stature, head form, size and structure of bones, and the way the head sits on the shoulders. What does this all mean? Simply that in these specific physical ways individual men vary and for this or that group there is a slightly different mean or average or deviation for each of the *particular* physical parts of the body. To ascribe greater weight to these differences than this would be as wrong as to assert that all men are exactly alike because all their bodily temperatures average around 98.6 degrees.

Systematic theories of racial differences are of recent origin,³² dating back for the most part only to the eighteenth century when it was becoming more important to be superior and powerful than to go to Heaven. The theories (they are only that by the grace of inaccurate terminology) have varied widely in time and often with the race or nationality of the investigator. Moreover, racial characters, if they exist, seem to have changed quite unbelievably through the years. Once ("Nordic") England was called "merry" but that was not the England of Attlee and Cripps. Once a Venetian ambassador spoke of the "low morals and excellent cooking" of the English but that was in the sixteenth not the nineteenth century.³³ In praising folly, Erasmus spoke of the martial reputation of the ("Mediterranean") Spaniards,³⁴ a characteristic few would accuse them of possessing in our times. Once what we call the northern Europeans ("Nordics?") were supposed to be "full of spirit" but unintelligent (Aristotle);³⁵ the modern version is quite different. None of this proves that theories based upon race are completely untrue. It shows only that there is nothing scientific or God-given about them and that they are for the most part merely *a priori* guesses of men about other men.

The fallacies based upon racial interpretation of human societies may be slowly crumbling. Those pertaining to nationalism still cling as tenaciously as only prejudices can. The human race seems united on a common desire to destroy itself and nationalism happens to be one of the most popular, contemporary methods.

³² Jacques Barzun, *Race: A Study in Modern Superstition* (New York, 1937), pp. 51-52; Louis L. Snyder, *A History of Modern Ethnic Theories* (New York, 1944); Kroeber, *Anthropology*, pp. 141 ff.

³³ Barker, *Character of England*, p. 558.

³⁴ Erasmus, *Praise of Folly*, trans. Hoyt Hudson (Princeton, 1941), p. 61.

³⁵ Aristotle, *The Politics*, trans. H. Rackham, Loeb Classical Library (London, 1932), VII, vi, 1-3.

VI

For the present purposes nationalism may be defined as a sentiment of unity held by a social group, a sentiment based upon an apparent common, cultural heritage and upon a desire to live separately and independently as a group in the future.³⁶ This sentiment of unity at the same time is a sentiment of exclusiveness, and members of nations generally feel indifferent or hostile to members of other like nations. Both the unity and the exclusiveness are founded upon real or imagined differences between national groups. If the people of a group has a common past (and historians may give them one if they do not) of language, race, religion, if it has its own historically claimed rocks and rills and "natural" boundaries, in short, if its members have a common culture and a common geographic location, then its language, race, religion, and rocks and rills are held to be different from, and by a long jump in logic better and more beautiful than, those of other like groups. The well-developed nationalist asserts, "My country, right or wrong," or *Deutschland über Alles*. "A true nationalist," declared the *Action française*, which in the French Third Republic was no minor authority, is one who "places the fatherland above everything."³⁷ What the nationalist does not understand is what Schiller taught: That every "remarkable occurrence" that happens "to men" is of importance to *men*.³⁸ Denying Bentham's axioms about self-interest seeking the happiness of the greatest number, he believes his own self-interest to lie in development of his own nation's peculiar interests, in its gaining power and prestige at the expense of other like groups.³⁹

Of course, there is no more natural basis for the nationalistic interpretation of man and his relationships than there is for prejudices concerning race. No one can know, as Herder thought he knew,⁴⁰ that God created different nationalities just as he did different flowers and plants. Every nationality is a mixture of many peoples, races, tribes, families. The modern French are

³⁶ The books on nationalism are many and greatly varying in quality. Among the best in English, French, and German are those by Hauser, Hayes, Johannet, Hertz, Kohn, Meinecke, Mitscherlich, and the Royal Institute of International Affairs. But see Koppel Pinson, *A Bibliographical Introduction to Nationalism* (New York, 1935).

³⁷ Quoted by William Curt Buthman, *The Rise of Integral Nationalism, with Special Reference to the Ideas and Activities of Charles Maurras* (New York, 1939), p. 291.

³⁸ J. Holland Rose, *Nationality in Modern History* (New York, 1916), p. 39.

³⁹ Bentham quoted Fenelon approvingly, "I prefer my family to myself, my country to my family, and the human race to my country." "Principles of Penal Law," *Works*, ed. John Bowring (Edinburgh, 1843), I, 563. He looked forward to a "period when the moral code, grounded on the greatest-happiness principle, will be the code of nations, teaching them in their vast political concerns, to create no useless misery and to make their patriotism subservient to the demands of benevolence." Hans Kohn, *Prophets and Peoples* (New York, 1946), p. 18.

⁴⁰ Robert Ergang, *Herder and the Foundations of German Nationalism* (New York, 1931), pp. 97-100.

in origin of the Mediterranean, Alpine, Nordic, and a good many other "races." The modern Italians are compounded of Etruscans, Ligurians, Romans, Iberians, Greeks, Gauls, Teutons, and in recent times almost every nationality in Europe and some in Africa. Nor are the Germans, Russians, or Americans any purer.

All modern history is a document attesting to national intermixture: migrations, invasions, wars, conquests, marriages. In various degrees every nationality is a conglomeration of the short and tall, the round and the long headed, the dumb and the smart, the virtuous and the sinful. Any one of these characteristics is singular to no nationality, and among all nationalities the characteristics are endlessly duplicated. In fact the attempt to classify nations according to any biological or inherent mental characteristic is only a naïve error inherited from early propagandist historians like Tacitus and pseudo-anthropologists like Gobineau. Defoe could have been speaking of any nationality with his

Thus from a mixture of all kinds began
That heterogeneous thing, an Englishman.⁴¹

How little we know about national biological traits becomes clear when we consider that no nationality in Europe or America has individuals so different that they, given the same clothes, cannot easily be taken for members of any of several other nationalities. In Europe, as elsewhere, the so-called national physical characteristics do not correspond with boundary lines, with race, or even clearly with language.⁴² In fact they exist only as vague and almost meaningless averages for particular physical features. Do Alsations have French or German bodies? How does the chemical content of the French body differ from that of the German? Can the German spermatozoa impregnate a French egg?

Nor is there any such thing as a constant or ever-present national character, unless it is invented by historians.⁴³ The national sentiment, in fact, is of recent origin and the nations themselves are not constant. A modern student of nationality, Bernard Joseph, claims that the Russian is "morose

⁴¹ *The True-Born Englishman*.

⁴² See, for example, the studies of Stanley Rundle, *Language as a Social and Political Factor in Europe* (London, 1945); and Geoffrey M. Morant, *The Races of Central Europe* (London, 1939).

⁴³ Hamilton Fyfe, "The Illusion of National Character," *Political Quarterly*, IX (1938), 254 ff.; Richard Müller-Freienfels, *Persönlichkeit und Weltanschauung* (Leipzig, 1919). Sir John Seeley's comment is pertinent: "No explanation is so vague, so cheap, and so difficult to verify." Thomas P. Peardon, "Sir John Seeley, Pragmatic Historian in a Nationalistic Age," in Earle, *Nationalism and Internationalism*, p. 291. But cf. Morris Ginsburg, *Reason and Unreason in Society* (Cambridge, 1948), pp. 131-35.

and melancholy as the steppes of his country" while the Italian is "passionate and excitable" because he is "warmed by the sun."⁴⁴ Many Russians, especially those at conferences of foreign ministers, are "morose" and one part of Russia is "steppes." Many Italians are "excitable" and certainly the sun shines in Italy. But communists like crocodiles seem to know how to laugh and the sun shines now and then in Russia—especially, for example, in Stalin's Georgia. Leonardo da Vinci and Benedetto Croce, since they were sometimes calm and dispassionate, were of course not Italians. Only poetic license or intuition could connect steppes and sun with gloom and passion.

Of no nations has more of this kind of nonsense been written than of modern France and Germany. Possibly this is so because of the three wars since 1870 as well as because popular science during this period lent its weight to conflicting national interests. The Germans (including the Rhenish peoples?) are supposed to have a disciplined, military character; exactly the opposite of that they were supposed to possess during the early Napoleonic period. The French are thought of today as logical, cultivated (*fine*), pacifist lovers of freedom; exactly the opposite of what most Europeans considered them during the latter part of the Napoleonic era. What is German character, that of Goethe or Bismarck? What is French cultivation, that of Voltaire or Pétain?

This kind of fallacy, of course, grows not only out of bad history. The same error is committed by contemporary two-week tourists and society editors temporarily turned foreign correspondents who set out to confirm all their prejudices and to footnote with their profound platitudes all the horrible peculiarities everyone already, of course, knows about without having investigated. The French, to many contemporary Americans, are a penny-pinching, immoral (not to say licentious) people who have good wine, beautiful, scantily clad women, and a "mess in politics." The Germans to the same Americans are either agreeable, potbellied, kraut-eating, beer-drinking, and music-loving people, or more often during recent war years tall, ramrod-like, blond sadists who cruelly file out the gold fillings of their victims. There are Germans and Frenchmen who fit these stereotypes and Russians and Americans too. But how French logic and cultivation are combined with French licentiousness and "messy" politics is a French national secret and a universal secret as well. A picture of the tall, fierce Prussian soldier eating kraut is somehow unbelievable and did not appear even in Hollywood's colossal dramas or the more realistic shots of the Signal Corps during either Great War. And it happens more kraut is eaten in the

⁴⁴ Bernard Joseph, *Nationality: Its Nature and Problems* (London, 1929), p. 86.

United States than in any country while tall, fierce soldiers are highly desired and generally found in the armies of a good many countries.

Oliver Goldsmith's comment to a half-dozen patriotic Englishmen of the eighteenth century could be instructive even to modern social scientists.⁴⁶ He heard one of them declare "that the Dutch were a parcel of avaricious wretches; that the French a set of flattering sycophants; that the Germans were drunken sots and beastly gluttons; and the Spaniards proud, haughty and surly tyrants: but that, in bravery, generosity, clemency, and in every other virtue, the English excelled all the other world." Goldsmith's reply was, "for my own part, I should not have ventured to talk in such a peremptory strain, unless I had made the tour of Europe, and examined the manners of these several nations with great care and accuracy: that perhaps, a more impartial judge would not scruple to affirm that the Dutch were more frugal and industrious, the French more temperate and polite, the Germans more hardy and patient of labour and fatigue, and the Spaniards more staid and sedate, than the English; who, though undoubtedly brave and generous, were at the same time rash, headstrong and impetuous. . . ." But of course, Goldsmith lived in the eighteenth century which occasionally looked beyond national boundaries at man. And even then Goldsmith was asked why he stayed in England if he didn't like it.

The limited view of the nationalist stems from either blindness or vanity, probably both. As David Hume wrote in the eighteenth century, "The vulgar are apt to carry all national characters to extremes; and having once established it as a principle that any people are knavish, or cowardly, or ignorant, they will admit of no exception, but comprehend every individual under the same censure."⁴⁸

The faulty reasoning is simple to demonstrate, though its effects are tragic. A group, be it nation- or city-state, cannot be described, though many a wise theorist like Socrates or good modern historian like C. D. Burns has done so, as if it were a single man, an individual with very special qualities.⁴⁷ Reasoning by analogy is often helpful; it is never accurate. Does Gide, Pissarro, De Gaulle, or a Breton fisherman represent France? Does Mann, Kathe Kollwitz, Streicher, or a Moselle vineyardist stand for Germany? Every nationality has many, not just, as it is now popular to say of the Germans, two sides. Every nation has so many sides that it becomes almost impossible to classify any of them as exclusively or even primarily

⁴⁶ In Frederick Page, ed., *An Anthology of Patriotic Prose* (London, 1915), pp. 198-201.

⁴⁸ Hume, *Essays and Treatises*, I, 247.

⁴⁷ Cecil Delisle Burns, *Political Ideals: Their Nature and Development* (London, 1915), pp. 179-83. A summary of research on national stereotypes is in Klineberg, *Tensions Affecting International Understanding*, pp. 93-125.

national. Every nation is composed of individuals not stereotypes. When Thomas Mann has his Deutschlin announce, "The Russians have profundity but no form. And in the West they have form but no profundity. Only we Germans have both,"⁴⁸ one can only hope that the present "Field Marshal of Literature" is himself completely clear on the matter.

As with physical traits the mental and spiritual characteristics of the individuals in any one nation overlap those of individuals of other nations. Individuals within nations differ; at the same time they are much like individuals in other nations and the characteristics of any one nation are strangely enough found in individuals of other nations. If there are exclusive national traits, those English, French, and Spanish ones, for instance, so persuasively described by Madariaga, we still know so little about them that we cannot base any intelligent action upon them. "You can always tell an American by his shoes," goes an old tourist axiom. The point that you can't tell anything about *the* American usually escapes.

Languages have most often been thought to denote sharp differences between nations. No one can deny that languages are different, that one or another is better for any one purpose, or that their differences impede international understanding. But the old story about the American pointing at a French menu at five different places and getting *pois* five times has a point; language may even hide the fact that all men seem to dislike monotony. It is quite possible that the English language is best for novelists and German for scientists. It is also possible that were their languages the same the Russians and Americans might occasionally agree. Yet Fichte's dictum that the elasticity and precision of German made the German superior is precisely as unfounded as Bentham's fancy that English was superior because of its simplicity and force or Dostoevski's insistence that only the Russian could understand all humanity.⁴⁹ The fact is we don't know and probably can't know.

The superstructure of fantastic nonsense built upon the real differences in language might be dismissed by a hearty laugh were not its consequences so dangerous. The well-known English authority on early man, V. Gordon Childe, once pontificated, "The Nordics' superiority in physique fitted them to be vehicles of the superior [the Aryan] language."⁵⁰ In this short sentence only five fallacies appear: (1) the Nordics are not superior unless certain

⁴⁸ Thomas Mann, *Dr. Faustus* (New York, 1948), p. 123.

⁴⁹ Johann Gottlieb Fichte, *Addresses to the German Nation*, trans. Jones and Turnbull (Chicago, 1922), pp. 69-70; Jeremy Bentham, "Essay on Languages," *Works*, VIII, 310. On Dostoevski see the brilliant essay of Hans Kohn, "Russia: Dostoevsky," *Prophets and Peoples*, pp. 140-60. An interesting older (1614) example is R. Carew, "The Excellency of the English Tongue," in Page, p. 49.

⁵⁰ V. Gordon Childe, *The Aryans* (New York, 1926), pp. 211-12.

quite uncertain, arbitrary criteria are accepted; (2) the Aryan languages may be considered superior only in the same way; (3) a good many non-Nordics use an Aryan language and some Nordics use a non-Aryan language; (4) all languages, including one of the best developed of the Aryan family, the English, have had a tremendous influx of foreign words and phrases, and all languages are built upon older languages which in turn are built upon still others until each has a "medley of origins"; and (5) in many cases, as in France and England, peoples like the Bretons and Alsatians and Welsh and Scots have had national languages forced upon them by conquerors, and now may want to go back to their old languages which they think are superior.

This is not all. National languages are of recent origin, dating back at most to late medieval times. They were generally, in western Europe where nationalism first arose, not regarded as the national languages until the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Within any nation the nationals, as for instance the Swiss, may not speak the same language while in other nations people of diverse "races," as the American whites and Negroes, may speak the same language. At the same time nationals of separate nations may speak the same language as do the Spanish and most Latin-American peoples, or the English and the Americans. There is not, then, any exact correlation between language groups and nationalities, and language differences do not clearly divide nationalities.⁵¹

No objective criteria are available for the determination of superiority in language. All developed human languages, no matter how widely divergent, seem to be more alike than different, and have much more potential capacity for significant and specific meaning than do the sounds emitted by any other living thing. No matter how beautiful the language of Shakespeare or Goethe or Turgenev, there is no proof that language differences are of great importance except as barriers to understanding. The purely subjective and self-seeking fancies of nationalists like Fichte and Dostoevski are just that, fancies, and they are fancies apparently common to all nationalities.

If we know little of significance about physiological, racial, and language differences among nations, this does not prove that all nations are alike. That nations differ in many minor ways takes as much thought as to read "Lil' Abner." They are all and each the result of the myriad, cultural influences that have helped mold them in historical time, especially the last five hundred years of historical time. They differ, too, because their peoples have been

⁵¹ In central Europe, Morant points out, there is no relation between physical or racial characteristics and language; and Linton declares that language distributions everywhere "are only superficially related to those of any other elements of culture . . ." (*Study of Man*, p. 390).

trained and propagandized to feel and believe that they are peculiar, because, by way of illustration, their historians like Treitschke, Michelet, Green, and Bancroft have often provided each of them with a common history, at times quite out of whole cloth. But that they differ here or there does not mean that they are more different than they are alike.

The fundamental import of their real historical differences, except that they lead to war, we do not know. And the little we do know points to similarities both as striking and as important. Our little knowledge indeed reveals that nations most often differ precisely because they have conflicting aims for similar ends—prestige, power, and security.

Schiller sang, "What is the greatest of nations but a fragment?"—A fragment of humanity, one might add, which the Jew Jesus, the Frenchman Montesquieu, the German Goethe⁵² held to be above the arbitrary divisions into which petty patriots, narrow scholars, sadistic dictators, cheap journalists, and popular novelists have divided mankind.

VII

Men are physiologically, racially, nationally at least as much alike as they are different. That is not surprising. *Homo sapiens* is a species. The individuals of the species are not only much alike but so are their problems and their institutions. This is not so strange either. They have inhabited one globe in a comparatively short period of whatever is universal time. They all have had to provide for sustenance and protection against the elements. They have all had to seek the best circumstances for reproduction and the rearing of their children. They all have had a common desire for some kind of creative activity, for a "noble employment of their leisure" if not an "instinct for workmanship." Now they have the common problem of controlling science so that they may survive. As Lawrence K. Frank recently wrote, "all men, everywhere, face the same life tasks, share the same anxieties and perplexities, bereavements and tragedies, seek the same goals in their cultures."⁵³ And what is true now may have always been true. It has been the common error of men not to see this.

As men have set about to solve their similar problems, they have naturally evolved similar institutions.⁵⁴ The family with its ceremony of marriage is

⁵² For Montesquieu see Albert Sorel, *Montesquieu*, trans. M. and E. Anderson (Chicago, 1888), p. 52. On Goethe see Page, p. 103. The names of Bentham, J. S. Mill, Diderot, Helvetius, and Lessing could be cited also. Possibly the Stoics were among the first to believe all men brothers. Marcus Aurelius thought, "my nature is rational and social, and my city and country, so far as I am Antonius, is Rome, but so far as I am a man, it is the world." Whitney J. Oates, *The Stoic and Epicurean Philosophers* (New York, 1940), p. xxiv.

⁵³ Lawrence K. Frank, *Society as the Patient: Essays on Culture and Personality* (New Brunswick, 1948), pp. 394-95.

⁵⁴ Herskovits, *Man and His Works*, p. 234; Bronislaw Malinowski, *A Scientific Theory of*

almost universal, though there may be plural husbands or polygamy in some societies are exogamous and some endogamous, and some are fraternal and some consanguine. Government, though there may be many varieties of constitutions of which some provide justice and some injustice, is common to all. A class system of some kind has even in Soviet Russia. A church with one or several heads of religion that provides some kind of explanation of the unknown, though it may be mono- or polytheistic, anthropomorphic or pantheistic, is natural. Since man in the plural is men and since men inhabit the Earth, they have met common problems and erected common solutions. They are not, whatever they may have thought, different, but similar, and their cultures have as much in common as in difference.

Of the individual differences among men, of their nationalities, of their dissimilarities, the studies are many and some profound. The chief thing wrong with them is that they are based upon partial observations. They are incomplete because they are so exclusively histories of nations, biographies of heroes, analyses of national problems, and descriptions of national conditions. All that is argued here is that the whole truth be sought, not the national truth. If men are to survive and the species to flourish, we must pay at least as much attention to the species as to its varieties. As Josiah Royce remarked, apparently all a little lower than the angels: "We can hope that they will remain a bit above other animals." When experts write histories and make studies that go beyond the national and analyses, only if they see Germans, Russians, Chinese, Japanese, and Americans as part of a common breed called men. In their search for truth scholars will find differences not noted before, but that these will lead to the extinction of man. Our present knowledge does not reveal these differences. Scholars who stress them to the neglect of the known similarities do so at the expense of truth and to the peril of mankind's great peril.⁵⁸

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Culture and Other Essays (Chapel Hill, 1944), p. 92; and G. P. Murdock, "The Denominator of Cultures," in Ralph Linton, ed., *The Science of Man in the Twentieth Century* (New York, 1945), pp. 124-33.

⁵⁵ Josiah Royce, *Race Questions, Provincialism, and Other American Problems* (New York, 1908), p. 53.

⁵⁶ The quite Newtonian opinion of an outstanding contemporary scientist, about politics could apply to historians: "In politics the great actions are those that reveal the relations and the harmony between views, generalizations, and facts which superficially appear neither compatible nor relevant." Quoted by I. Robert Oppenheimer, *Life*, Oct. 10, 1949, pp. 136-37. This was the attempt of the philosophers in *The Heavenly City of the Eighteenth-Century Philosophers* (New York, 1932).

The Historian and Southern Negro Slavery

KENNETH M. STAMPP

A SURVEY of the literature dealing with southern Negro slavery reveals one fundamental problem that still remains unresolved. This is the problem of the biased historian. It is, of course, a universal historical problem—one that is not likely to be resolved as long as historians themselves are divided into scientific and so-called "subjectivist-presentist-relativist" schools.¹ These schools seem to agree that historians ought to strive for a maximum of intellectual detachment and ought not to engage in special pleading and pamphleteering. But whether they are entitled to pass moral judgments, whether they can overcome the subjective influences of their own backgrounds and environments, are still debatable questions—at least they are questions which are still being debated. Yet it must be said that so far as Negro slavery is concerned we are still waiting for the first scientific and completely objective study of the institution which is based upon no assumptions whose validity cannot be thoroughly proved. And as long as historians must select their evidence from a great mass of sources, as long as they attempt to organize and interpret their findings, the prospects are not very encouraging.

This does not mean that everyone who has written about slavery has had the *same* bias, or that some have not been more flagrantly biased than others, or more skillful than others in the use of the subtle innuendo. It most certainly does not imply that further efforts toward a clearer understanding of slavery are futile, or that we are not enormously indebted to the many scholars who have already engaged in research in this field. No student could begin to understand the complexities of the slave system without being thoroughly familiar with the findings and varying points of view of such historians as Ulrich B. Phillips, Herbert Aptheker, Lewis C. Gray, John Hope Franklin, Avery Craven, Carter G. Woodson, Frederic Bancroft, Charles S. Sydnor, John Spencer Bassett, and many others.

Among these scholars, the late Professor Phillips has unquestionably made the largest single contribution to our present understanding of southern slavery. It may be that his most durable monument will be the vast amount of new source material which he uncovered. But Phillips was also an unusually able and prolific writer. Measured only crudely in terms of sheer

¹ Chester McArthur Destler, "Some Observations on Contemporary Historical Thought," *American Historical Review*, LV (April, 1950), 503-29.

bulk, his numerous books and articles are impressive.² That, taken together with his substantial compilations of fresh factual information, his rare ability to combine scholarship with a fine literary style, and his point of view for which there has been a persistent affinity, explains the deep impression he has made. One needs only to sample the textbooks and monographic literature to appreciate the great influence of Professor Phillips' interpretations and methodology. A historian who recently attempted to evaluate Phillips' investigations of the slave-plantation system arrived at this conclusion: "So thorough was his work that, granted the same purpose, the same materials, and the same methods, his treatment . . . is unlikely to be altered in fundamental respects."³

"There is, however," this historian hastened to add, "nothing inevitable about his point of view or his technique." Rather, he contended that "a materially different version" would emerge when scholars with different points of view and different techniques subjected the slave system to a similarly intensive study.⁴ Indeed, he might have noted that a "materially different version" is already emerging. For the most notable additions to the bibliography of slavery during the past three decades have been those which have in some way altered Phillips' classic exposition of the slave regime. This revisionism is the product of new information discovered in both old and new sources, of new research techniques, and, to be sure, of different points of view and different assumptions. In recent years the subject has become less and less an emotional issue between scholarly descendants of the northern abolitionists and of the southern proslavery school. It may only be a sign of the effeteness of the new generation of scholars, but there is a tendency among them to recognize that it is at least conceivable that a colleague on the other side of the Mason and Dixon line could write something significant about slavery. For the new light that is constantly being shed upon the Old South's "peculiar institution" we are indebted to historians of both southern and northern origins—and of both the Negro and white races.

One of these revisionists has raised some searching questions about Phillips' methodology. Professor Richard Hofstadter has discovered a serious flaw in Phillips' sampling technique, which caused him to examine slavery and slaveholders on "types of plantations that were not at all representative of the common slaveholding unit." Phillips made considerable use of the case-study method, and he relied heavily upon the kinds of manuscript

² Phillips' findings and conclusions can be studied most conveniently in *American Negro Slavery* (New York, 1918), and in *Life and Labor in the Old South* (Boston, 1929).

³ Richard Hofstadter, "U. B. Phillips and the Plantation Legend," *Journal of Negro History*, XXIX (April, 1944), 124.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 122, 124.

records kept primarily by the more substantial planters. Therefore, Hofstadter concludes, "Insofar . . . as Phillips drew his picture of the Old South from plantations of more than 100 slaves [as he usually did], he was sampling about 10% of all the slaves and less than 1% of all the slaveholders."⁵ The lesser planters and small slaveholding farmers, who were far more typical, rarely kept diaries and formal records; hence they received considerably less attention from Phillips. The danger in generalizing about the whole regime from an unrepresentative sample is obvious enough.

Getting information about the slaves and masters on the smaller holdings is difficult, but it is nevertheless essential for a comprehensive understanding of the slave system. Professor Frank L. Owsley has already demonstrated the value of county records, court records, and census returns for this purpose.⁶ Phillips made only limited use of the evidence gathered by contemporary travelers, especially by Frederick Law Olmsted in whom he had little confidence. The traveler in the South who viewed slavery with an entirely open mind was rare indeed, but it does not necessarily follow that the only accurate reporters among them were those who viewed it sympathetically.

How the picture of slavery will be modified when life on the small plantations and farms has been adequately studied cannot be predicted with as much assurance as some may think. The evidence now available suggests conflicting tendencies. On these units there was very little absentee ownership, the proverbially harsh overseer was less frequently employed, and contacts between masters and slaves were often more numerous and intimate. Undoubtedly in many cases these conditions tended to make the treatment of the Negroes less harsh and the system less rigid. But it is also necessary to consider other tendencies, as well as the probability that the human factor makes generalization risky. Sometimes the material needs of the slaves were provided for more adequately on the larger plantations than they were on the smaller ones. Sometimes the lower educational and cultural level and the insecure social status of the small slaveholders had an unfavorable effect upon their racial attitudes. There are enough cases in the court records to make it clear that members of this group were, on occasion, capable of extreme cruelty toward their slaves. Nor can the factor of economic competition be overlooked. The lesser planters who were ambitious to rise in the social scale were, to phrase it cautiously, exposed to the temptation not to indulge their slaves while seeking their fortunes in competition with the

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 109-19.

⁶ Frank L. and Harriet C. Owsley, "The Economic Basis of Society in the Late Ante-Bellum South," *Journal of Southern History*, VI (February, 1940), 24-45. Much information about the treatment of slaves on the small plantations and farms can be found in Helen T. Caterall, ed., *Judicial Cases concerning American Slavery and the Negro* (5 vols., New York, 1926-37).

larger planters. To be sure, as Lewis C. Gray points out, many of these small slaveholders lived in relatively isolated areas where the competitive factor was less urgent.⁷ But there still is a need for further investigation of these small slaveholders before generalizations about conditions among their slaves will cease to be highly speculative.

A tendency toward loose and glib generalizing is, in fact, one of the chief faults of the classic portrayal of the slave regime—and, incidentally, of some of its critics as well. This is true of descriptions of how the slaves were treated: how long and hard they were worked, how severely they were punished, how well they were fed, housed, and clothed, and how carefully they were attended during illness. It may be that some historians have attached an undue significance to these questions, for there are important philosophical implications in the evaluation of slavery in terms of such mundane matters as what went into the slave's stomach. In any event, the evidence hardly warrants the sweeping pictures of uniform physical comfort or uniform physical misery that are sometimes drawn. The only generalization that can be made with relative confidence is that some masters were harsh and frugal, others were mild and generous, and the rest ran the whole gamut in between. And even this generalization may need qualification, for it is altogether likely that the same master could have been harsh and frugal on some occasions and mild and generous on others. Some men become increasingly mellow and others increasingly irascible with advancing years. Some masters were more generous, or less frugal, in times of economic prosperity than they were in times of economic depression. The treatment of the slaves probably varied with the state of the master's health, with the vicissitudes of his domestic relations, and with the immediate or subsequent impact of alcoholic beverages upon his personality. It would also be logical to suspect—and there is evidence that this was the case—that masters did not treat all their slaves alike, that, being human, they developed personal animosities for some and personal affections for others. The care of slaves under the supervision of overseers might change from year to year as one overseer replaced another in the normally rapid turnover. In short, the human factor introduced a variable that defied generalization.

This same human factor complicates the question of how the Negroes reacted to their bondage. The generalization that the great majority of Negroes were contented as slaves has never been proved, and in the classic picture it was premised on the assumption that certain racial traits caused them to adapt to the system with peculiar ease. If freedom was so far beyond

⁷ Lewis C. Gray, *History of Agriculture in the Southern United States to 1860* (Washington, 1933), I, 518, 556-57.

their comprehension, it was a little remarkable that freedom was the very reward considered most suitable for a slave who rendered some extraordinary service to his master or to the state. It is well known that many slaves took advantage of opportunities to purchase their freedom. Resistance by running away and by the damaging of crops and tools occurred frequently enough to cause Dr. Samuel Cartwright of Louisiana to conclude that these acts were the symptoms of exotic diseases peculiar to Negroes.⁸ Though there is no way to discover precisely how much of the property damage was deliberate, and how much was merely the by-product of indifference and carelessness, the distinction is perhaps inconsequential. Finally, there were individual acts of violence against masters and overseers, and cases of conspiracy and rebellion. If the significance of these cases has been overstated by Herbert Aptheker,⁹ it has been understated by many of his predecessors.

This is not to deny that among the slaves only a minority of undeterminable size fought the system by these various devices. It is simply to give proper emphasis to the fact that such a minority did exist. In all probability it consisted primarily of individuals of exceptional daring, or intelligence, or individuality. Such individuals constitute a minority in all societies.

That the majority of Negroes seemed to submit to their bondage proves neither their special fitness for it nor their contentment with it. It merely proves that men *can* be enslaved when they are kept illiterate, when communication is restricted, and when the instruments of violence are monopolized by the state and the master class.¹⁰ In the light of twentieth-century experience, when white men have also been forced to submit to tyranny and virtual slavery, it would appear to be a little preposterous to generalize about the peculiarities of Negroes in this respect. In both cases the majority has acquiesced. In neither case does it necessarily follow that they have reveled in their bondage.

To be sure, there were plenty of opportunists among the Negroes who played the role assigned to them, acted the clown, and curried the favor of their masters in order to win the maximum rewards within the system, sometimes even at the expense of their fellow slaves. There were others who, in the very human search for personal recognition within their limited social orbit, salvaged what prestige they could from the high sales prices

⁸ Raymond A. and Alice H. Bauer, "Day to Day Resistance to Slavery," *Jour. Negro Hist.*, XXVII (October, 1942), 388-419. For references to some of Dr. Cartwright's unique views see Felice Swados, "Negro Health on the Ante Bellum Plantations," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, X (October, 1941), 462.

⁹ Herbert Aptheker, *American Negro Slave Revolts* (New York, 1943). Many acts of violence by individual slaves are recorded in Caterall, *passim*.

¹⁰ The techniques of Negro enslavement are described in Aptheker, pp. 53-78.

attached to them, or from the high social status of their masters.¹¹ Nor is it necessary to deny that many slaves sang and danced, enjoyed their holidays, and were adaptable enough to find a measure of happiness in their daily lives. It is enough to note that all of this still proves nothing, except that it is altogether likely that Negroes behaved much as people of other races would have behaved under similar circumstances.

In describing these various types of slave behavior historians must always weigh carefully, or at least recognize, the moral implications and value judgments implicit in the adjectives they use. How, for example, does one distinguish a "good" Negro from a "bad" Negro in the slave regime? Was the "good" Negro the one who was courteous and loyal to his master, and who did his work faithfully and cheerfully? Or was the "good" Negro the defiant one who has sometimes been called "insolent" or "surly" or "unruly"? Was the "brighter" side of slavery to be found in the bonds of love and loyalty that developed between some household servants and some of the more genteel and gentle masters? Or was it to be found among those slaves who would not submit, who fought back, ran away, faked illness, loafed, sabotaged, and never ceased longing for freedom in spite of the heavy odds against them? In short, just what *are* the proper ethical standards for identifying undesirable or even criminal behavior among slaves? There is no answer that is not based upon subjective factors, and the question therefore may not be within the province of "objective" historians. But in that case historians must also avoid the use of morally weighted adjectives when they write about slavery.

The general subject of slave behavior suggests a method of studying the institution which revisionists need to exploit more fully. For proper balance and perspective slavery must be viewed through the eyes of the Negro as well as through the eyes of the white master.¹² This is obviously a difficult task, for slaves rarely wrote letters or kept diaries.¹³ But significant clues can be found in scattered sources. The autobiographies and recollections of fugitive slaves and freedmen have value when used with the caution required of all such sources. Slaves were interviewed by a few travelers in the ante-bellum South, and ex-slaves by a few historians in the post-Civil War period;¹⁴ but

¹¹ Historians who failed to grasp the psychological significance of such slave behavior have sometimes drawn some unjustifiable inferences from it, for example, that Negroes were naturally docile and felt no personal humiliation because of their inferior status.

¹² John Hope Franklin makes a brief attempt to accomplish this in *From Slavery to Freedom* (New York, 1948), pp. 204-12.

¹³ Cf. Carter G. Woodson, ed., *The Mind of the Negro as Reflected in Letters Written during the Crisis, 1800-1860* (Washington, 1926).

¹⁴ See, for example, Harrison A. Trexler, *Slavery in Missouri, 1804-1865* (Baltimore, 1914), *passim*.

unfortunately the interviewing was never done systematically until the attempt of the Federal Writers Project in the 1930's.¹⁵ The mind of the slave can also be studied through his external behavior as it is described in plantation manuscripts, court records, and newspaper files. For example, there is undoubtedly some psychological significance in the high frequency of stuttering and of what was loosely called a "downcast look" among the slaves identified in the advertisements for fugitives.¹⁶ Finally, the historian might find clues to the mental processes of the slaves in the many recent sociological and anthropological studies of the American Negro. The impact of nineteenth-century slavery and of twentieth-century prejudice and discrimination upon the Negro's thought and behavior patterns have some significant similarities.¹⁷

This kind of perspective is not to be found in the Phillips version of slavery, for he began with a basic assumption which gave a different direction to his writings. That he failed to view the institution through the eyes of the Negro, that he emphasized its mild and humorous side and minimized its grosser aspects, was the result of his belief—implicit always and stated explicitly more than once—in the inherent inferiority of the Negro race. The slaves, he wrote, were "by racial quality" "submissive," "light-hearted," "amiable," "ingratiating," and "imitative." Removing the Negro from Africa to America, he added, "had little more effect upon his temperament than upon his complexion." Hence "the progress of the generality [of slaves] was restricted by the fact of their being negroes."¹⁸ Having isolated and identified these "racial qualities," Phillips' conclusions about slavery followed logically enough.

It is clear in every line Phillips wrote that he felt no animus toward the Negroes. Far from it. He looked upon them with feelings of genuine kindness and affection. But hearing as he did the still-faintly-ringing laughter of the simple plantation Negroes, the songs sung in their melodious voices, Phillips was unable to take them seriously. Instead he viewed them as lovable, "serio-comic" figures who provided not only a labor supply of sorts but also much of the plantation's social charm. Thus slavery was hardly an institution that could have weighed heavily upon them.

Now, it is probably true that the historian who criticizes slavery per se

¹⁵ Selections from these interviews are published in Benjamin A. Botkin, ed., *Lay My Burden Down* (Chicago, 1945).

¹⁶ The present writer was impressed by this while searching through thousands of advertisements for fugitive slaves in various southern newspapers.

¹⁷ Especially suggestive is Robert L. Sutherland, *Color, Class, and Personality* (Washington, 1942).

¹⁸ *American Negro Slavery*, pp. 291-92, 339, 341-42.

reveals a subjective bias, or at least certain assumptions he cannot prove. The sociological argument of George Fitzhugh that slavery is a positive good, not only for the laboring man but for society in general, cannot be conclusively refuted with scientific precision. Those who disagree with Fitzhugh can only argue from certain unproved premises and optimistic convictions about the so-called "rights" and "dignity" of labor and the potentialities of free men in a democratic society. And the historian may run into all sorts of difficulties when he deals with such subjective matters.

But to assume that the *Negro* was peculiarly suited for slavery because of certain inherent racial traits is quite another matter. This involves not primarily a subjective bias but ignorance of, or disregard for, the overwhelming evidence to the contrary. Much of this evidence was already available to Phillips, though it must be noted that he grew up at a time when the imperialist doctrine of the "white man's burden" and the writings of such men as John Fiske and John W. Burgess were giving added strength to the belief in Anglo-Saxon superiority. Nor should he be blamed for failing to anticipate the findings of biologists, psychologists, anthropologists, and sociologists subsequent to the publication of his volume *American Negro Slavery* in 1918. It may be significant that he presented his own point of view with considerably more restraint in his *Life and Labor in the Old South* which appeared a decade later.

Nevertheless, it is this point of view which both dates and outdates the Phillips version of slavery. No historian of the institution can be taken seriously any longer unless he begins with the knowledge that there is no valid evidence that the Negro race is innately inferior to the white, and that there is growing evidence that both races have approximately the same potentialities.¹⁹ He must also take into account the equally important fact that there are tremendous variations in the capacities and personalities of individuals within each race, and that it is therefore impossible to make valid generalizations about races as such.

An awareness of these facts is forcing the revisionists to discard much of the folklore about Negroes that found a support in the classic portrayal of slavery. Take, for example, the idea that the primitive Negroes brought to America could only adapt to the culture of the civilized white man in the course of many generations of gradual growth. Phillips saw the plantation as "a school constantly training and controlling pupils who were in a backward state of civilization. . . . On the whole the plantations were the

¹⁹ For a summary of the evidence and literature on this subject see Gunnar Myrdal, *An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy* (New York, 1944), esp. chap. vi, including the footnotes to this chapter, pp. 1212-18.

best schools yet invented for the mass training of that sort of inert and backward people which the bulk of the American negroes represented."²⁰

This idea would seem to imply that the Negroes could only be civilized through a slow evolutionary process, during which they would gradually acquire and transmit to their descendants the white man's patterns of social behavior. In actual fact the first generation of Negroes born in the English colonies in the seventeenth century was as capable of learning these patterns of social behavior—for they were things that were learned, not inherited—and of growing up and living as free men as was the generation alive in 1865. Indeed many of the Negroes of this Civil War generation were *still* unprepared for freedom; and that fact reveals the basic flaw in the whole Phillips concept. It does not show that the plantation school had not had sufficient time to complete its work but rather that it was capable of doing little more than training succeeding generations of slaves. After two centuries of slavery most Negroes had to learn how to live as free men by *starting* to live as free men. The plantation school may have had some limited success as a vocational institution, but in the field of the social sciences it was almost a total failure.

Other discredited aspects of the mythology of slavery can be mentioned only briefly. Revisionists no longer attempt to explain the origin of the institution with a doctrine of "climatic determinism." Since white men did and still do labor long and hard in cotton and tobacco fields there is little point in tracing southern slavery to the generative powers of southern heat.²¹ Nor does it appear that the health of Negroes in the fever-infested rice swamps was as flourishing as it has sometimes been described.²² And the fact that unfree labor alone made possible the rise of the plantation system proves neither the "necessity" nor the "inevitability" of slavery. For there was nothing inevitable about the plantation. Without this supply of unfree labor southern agriculture would probably have given less emphasis to the production of staples, and the small-farm unit would have prevailed. But the South would not have remained a wilderness. Moreover, Negroes *might* have been brought to America as servants rather than slaves (as the first ones were). Thus, like the white servants, many of them might have become landowning farmers in the period when land was abundant and cheap.

²⁰ *American Negro Slavery*, pp. 342-43.

²¹ Oscar and Mary F. Handlin, "Origins of the Southern Labor System," *William and Mary Quarterly*, VII (April, 1950), 199.

²² Swados, pp. 460-72; J. H. Easterby, ed., *The South Carolina Rice Plantation as Revealed in the Papers of Robert F. W. Allston* (Chicago, 1945), p. 30; Bennett H. Wall, "Medical Care of Ebenezer Pettigrew's Slaves," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XXXVII (December, 1950), 451-70.

Slavery, then, was the inevitable product of neither the weather nor some irresistible force in the South's economic evolution. Slaves were used in southern agriculture because men sought greater returns than they could obtain from their own labor alone. It was a man-made institution. It was inevitable only insofar as everything that has happened in history was inevitable, not in terms of immutable or naturalistic laws.

And finally, the revisionists have brought some of the classic conclusions about the economics of slavery under serious scrutiny. Was it really a profitable institution? Although Thomas R. Dew and some other proslavery writers argued that it was and that it would have been abolished had it not been, there has been a persistent tendency, dating back to ante-bellum times, to minimize the question of profits and to emphasize other factors. It was not that slavery was profitable—indeed many contended that it was actually unprofitable for most slaveholders—but rather it was the race question or the masters' feeling of responsibility for the Negroes that explained its preservation. This was also the conclusion of Professor Phillips who believed that, except on the rich and fresh lands of the Southwest, slavery had nearly ceased to be profitable by 1860.²³

But in recent years there has been much disagreement with this conclusion. Lewis C. Gray, Thomas P. Govan, Robert R. Russel, and Robert Worthington Smith have found evidence that slavery continued to be profitable for the slaveholders as a class down to the very outbreak of the Civil War.²⁴ Frequently the average money investment in the plantation labor force has been exaggerated; depreciation on this investment has been figured as a cost when the slaves were actually increasing in both numbers and value; and faulty accounting methods have resulted in listing interest on the slave investment as an operational expense. Too often profits have been measured exclusively in terms of staple production, and the value of the natural increase of slaves, of the food they produced for the master and his family, and of the personal services they rendered have been ignored. Many of the debt-burdened planters provided evidence not of the unprofitability of slavery but of their tendency to disregard the middle-class virtue of thrift and to live beyond their means. Nor does slavery appear to be

²³ *American Negro Slavery*, pp. 391-92.

²⁴ Lewis C. Gray, "Economic Efficiency and Competitive Advantage of Slavery under the Plantation System," *Agricultural History*, IV (April, 1930), 31-47; Thomas P. Govan, "Was Plantation Slavery Profitable?" *Jour. Southern Hist.*, VIII (November, 1942), 513-35; Robert R. Russel, "The General Effects of Slavery upon Southern Economic Progress," *ibid.*, IV (February, 1938), 34-54; Robert Worthington Smith, "Was Slavery Unprofitable in the Ante-Bellum South?" *Agric. Hist.*, XX (January, 1946), 62-64.

primarily responsible for the crude agricultural methods or for the soil exhaustion that occurred in the South.²⁵

Rarely has a group engaged in agriculture earned the returns and achieved the high social status enjoyed by the southern slaveholding class. Certainly no colonial or nineteenth-century farmer could have hoped to reap such fruits from his own labor. The fact that some planters made fortunes while others failed, that the profits were painfully low in times of economic depression, merely demonstrates that the slave-plantation system had many striking similarities to the factory system based on private capitalist production. Is one to generalize about the profits of industrial capitalism from the fortunes accumulated by some, or from the failures suffered by thousands of others? From the high returns in periods of prosperity, or from the low returns in periods of depression? And what is to be made of the oft-repeated argument that the planters got nowhere because "they bought lands and slaves wherewith to grow cotton, and with the proceeds ever bought more slaves to make more cotton"?²⁶ If this is the essence of economic futility, then one must also pity the late Andrew Carnegie who built a mill wherewith to make steel, and with the proceeds ever built more mills to make more steel. The economist would not agree that either Carnegie or the planters were in a vicious circle, for they were simply enlarging their capital holdings by reinvesting their surplus profits.

The revisionists still agree that slavery, in the long run, had some unfavorable economic consequences for the South as a whole, especially for the nonslaveholding whites.²⁷ And some historian may yet point out that slavery was not very profitable for the Negroes. At least he may question the baffling generalization that the southern whites were more enslaved by Negro slavery than were the Negro slaves.²⁸ For in the final analysis, it was the *Negro* who had the most to gain from emancipation.

Abolitionists have suffered severely at the hands of historians during the past generation. They have been roundly condemned for their distortions and exaggerations. But are historians really being "objective" when they combine warm sympathy for the slaveholders' point of view with cold contempt for those who looked upon the enslavement of four million American Negroes

²⁵ Gray, *History of Agriculture*, I, 447-48, 470; Avery O. Craven, *The Repressible Conflict, 1830-1861* (Baton Rouge, 1939), chaps. I, II.

²⁶ Phillips, *American Negro Slavery*, pp. 395-98.

²⁷ Gray, *History of Agriculture*, II, 940-42.

²⁸ "In a real sense the whites were more enslaved by the institution than the blacks." James G. Randall, *The Civil War and Reconstruction* (Boston, 1937), p. 73. "As for Sambo . . . there is some reason to believe that he suffered less than any other class in the South from its 'peculiar institution.'" Samuel Eliot Morison and Henry Steele Commager, *The Growth of the American Republic* (4th ed.; New York, 1950), I, 537.

as the most shocking social evil of their day? Perhaps historians need to be told what James Russell Lowell once told the South: "It is time . . . [to] learn . . . that the difficulty of the Slavery question is slavery itself,—nothing more, nothing less."²⁹ It may be that the most important fact that the historian will ever uncover about the South's "peculiar institution" is that slavery, at its best, was still slavery, and that certain dangers were inherent in a master-slave relationship even among normal men.

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²⁹ [James Russell Lowell], "The Question of the Hour," *Atlantic Monthly*, VII (1861), 120-21.

The Federalist—A Split Personality

ALPHEUS THOMAS MASON*

IN his address of September 27, 1836, John Quincy Adams suggested that the line of demarcation separating the political thought of Madison from that of his collaborator, Hamilton, was easily discernible in the *Federalist* papers. "In examining closely the points selected by these great co-operators to a common cause and their course of argument for its support," Adams observed, "it is not difficult to perceive that diversity of genius and character which afterwards separated them so widely from each other on questions of public interest, affecting the construction of the Constitution which they so ably defended, and so strenuously urged their country to adopt."¹

But was this "diversity" as distinct as Adams would lead one to believe? Six years earlier, John Mercer viewed the *Federalist* in a somewhat different light, insisting that

He who studies it with attention, will perceive that it is not only argumentative, but that it addresses different arguments to different classes of the American public, in the spirit of an able and skillful disputant before a mixed assembly. Thus from different numbers of this work, and sometimes from the same numbers, may be derived authorities for opposite principles and opinions. For example, nothing is easier to demonstrate by the numbers of *Publius* than that the government . . . is, or is not a National Government; that the State Legislatures may arraign at their respective bars, the conduct of the Federal Government or that no state has any such power.²

Measured by the trouble editors and scholars have experienced in sorting out and identifying internal evidence of authorship of the eighty-five essays, Mercer's comment would appear to be more discerning than Adams'. Scholars are still not sure about the authorship of certain numbers.³

* In preparing this article for publication, I have had the assistance of Gordon E. Baker and Joseph G. La Palombara.

¹ John Quincy Adams, *An Eulogy on the Life and Character of James Madison* (Boston, 1836), pp. 31-32. See also *The Writings of James Madison*, ed. Gaillard Hunt (New York, 1900-10), V, 55.

² *Proceedings and Debates of the Virginia State Convention of 1829-1830* (Richmond, 1830), p. 187.

³ "There is still some doubt," Benjamin F. Wright observes in a recent article, "concerning the authorship of from six to twelve of the eighty-five essays." "The Federalist on the Nature of Man," *Ethics*, LIX (January, 1949), 3. See also Max Beloff, ed., *The Federalist, or the New Constitution . . .* (Oxford and New York, 1948), who, in this painstaking edition, continued the practice of labeling certain "disputed" numbers "Hamilton and/or Madison." Apparently the only recent edition of this classic which makes unqualified identification of authorship is that of Carl Van Doren, ed., *The Federalist* (New York, 1945). All quotations from the *Federalist* included herein are taken from this edition.

Apparently Madison's philosophy had not been precisely understood by Hamilton himself. In any event, the latter was taken aback in 1792 when Madison began "cooperating with Mr. Jefferson . . . at the head of a faction decidedly hostile to me [Hamilton] . . . and actuated by views . . . subversive to the principles of good government and dangerous to the Union, peace, and happiness of the country."⁴ Hamilton insisted that he "knew of a certainty, it was a primary article in his [Madison's] creed, that the real danger in our system was the subversion of the national authority by the preponderancy of the State governments."⁵ This not unwarranted assumption helps to explain why the arch Federalist was surprised and chagrined after 1790 to find Madison high "among those who are disposed to narrow the federal authority."⁶ Besides Madison's invaluable assistance with the *Federalist*, Hamilton may have been thinking of an earlier collaboration in the Continental Congress where the two men provided the leadership for those legislators who were sensitive to basic defects in the Articles of Confederation and bent on achieving strong federal union. In 1783 Madison had even disregarded specific instructions from Virginia and presented a set of resolutions firmly endorsing the federal import duties, previously passed by Congress and opposed by the states.⁷

As late as October 12, 1789, Hamilton apparently felt that Madison was firmly on his side. In a letter to his former collaborator Hamilton asked the Virginian to forward in writing his suggestions for the best methods of

⁴ Alexander Hamilton to Edward Carrington, May 26, 1792, *The Works of Alexander Hamilton*, ed. Henry Cabot Lodge (New York, 1904), IX, 513.

⁵ *Ibid.* For evidence of Hamilton's confidence, see Madison's preconvention essay, "The Vices of the Political System of the United States," April, 1787, *The Writings of James Madison*, ed. Gaillard Hunt (New York, 1900-10), II, 361. In a letter to Jefferson prior to the Constitutional Convention, Madison contended that the weaknesses of the Articles of Confederation could best be rectified by providing "the federal head with a negative in all cases whatsoever on the local legislatures." *Letters and Other Writings of James Madison*, published by order of Congress (4 vols., Philadelphia, 1865), I, 285. In reply Jefferson said: "Prima facie I do not like it. It fails in an essential character that the hole and the patch should be commensurate." Jefferson to Madison, June 20, 1787, *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson*, ed. Paul Leicester Ford (New York, 1892-99), IV, 390-91. Later, in *Federalist* no. 45, Madison reaffirmed his fear of the centrifugal tendencies of state legislatures: "The more I resolve the subject, the more fully I am persuaded that the balance is much more likely to be disturbed by the preponderancy of the last [state governments] than of the first scale."

⁶ Alexander Hamilton to Edward Carrington, *Works of Alexander Hamilton*, IX, 513. Henry Jones Ford, in his sympathetic biography of Hamilton, asserts that it was generally assumed at the time of the Constitutional Convention that Hamilton and Madison were philosophical bedmates: "Nobody," Ford observes, "then thought there was any important difference between Madison and Hamilton in their political principles. They were then working in close accord." *Alexander Hamilton* (New York, 1920), p. 198. The same view was held by another student of Madison, J. Mark Jacobson: "While he later became a follower of Jefferson, at this time he was an ardent nationalist and conservative." *The Development of American Political Thought* (New York, 1932), p. 171.

⁷ See Adrienne Koch, *Jefferson and Madison: The Great Collaboration* (New York, 1950), pp. 8-9. At this time Madison felt extremely confident of Jefferson's support. He assumed that the latter would work diligently in the Virginia legislature to promote enlargement of national power.

increasing the federal revenue and of modifying the structure of the public debt in the interest of both public and creditors.⁸ Further evidence of Hamilton's confident expectation of Madison's support is the pleasure he expressed on learning that Madison had been elected to the House of Representatives. Hamilton's faith that Madison would join him in pressing forward his nationalist program was not shaken, as his letter to Colonel Carrington shows, until some time after the Virginian had become an articulate member of the opposition in Congress.⁹

Hamilton's mistaken assumptions, as well as the uncertainty of scholars regarding the diverging political creeds of Hamilton and Madison, lay partly in the fact that, in the struggle over ratification, strategic considerations drove the contestants on both sides to minimize and to exaggerate. To quiet the fears of opponents, advocates of ratification said things which, in later years, proved embarrassing to themselves and misleading to scholars. On the other hand, certain of the Constitution's enemies turned alarmist, portraying the proposed national charter in the most extreme terms. This strategy obscured positions on all sides and made the Constitution's meaning less than crystal clear.

The Constitution itself was neither altogether satisfactory, nor free from ambiguity. To friends of "firm union" and energetic government, like Hamilton, it was bitterly disappointing; to defenders of the "sovereign" states, it made for a "consolidated" system, an "aristocratic" government calculated to be as obnoxious as that which the colonists had thrown off in 1776.¹⁰ Jefferson's position is distinguishable from that of both Federalists and anti-Federalists. Particular provisions of the document impressed him less than the Constitution as a gratifying demonstration of the power of reason to bring varying interests and divergent views into constructive accord. Jefferson cited the new instrument as a glorious example of "changing a constitution, by assembling the wise men of the State, instead of assembling armies. . . ." ¹¹ "I am captivated," he wrote James Madison, December 20,

⁸ *Works of Alexander Hamilton*, IX, 462-63. It may be significant that this letter, one of several which Hamilton wrote to his former colleague during this period, was apparently never answered.

⁹ Ford, *Hamilton*, pp. 211-12. From an analysis of the earlier co-operation between the two men, Ford draws the wholly unwarranted conclusion that Madison's antagonism toward Hamilton was not rooted in basic principles but stemmed primarily from regional political rivalry.

¹⁰ See my article, "The Nature of Our Federal Union Reconsidered," *Political Science Quarterly*, LXV (December, 1950), 503, 510.

¹¹ Jefferson to David Humphreys, Mar. 18, 1789, *Memoir, Correspondence, and Miscellanies from the Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, ed. Thomas Jefferson Randolph (Boston and New York, 1830), II, 449. Jefferson apparently never felt, as did Hamilton and other nationalists, that after 1783, the really crucial need was "firm Union." Far from considering Union, as did Hamilton, of "utmost moment to the peace and liberty of the States," he regarded "the State governments" as "the true barriers of liberty in this country." In explaining Jefferson's failure to appreciate the

1787, "by the compromise of the opposite claims of the great and little States, of the last to equal, and the former to proportional influence."¹²

But was not the accommodation Jefferson saw, or thought he saw, reflected in the Constitution more apparent than real? Do not Hamilton and Madison display a sharp theoretical split while at the same time making concessions to views they could not honestly support, and in language so equivocal as to disguise the Constitution's true import? Obviously the Constitution did not draw the boundary lines between general government and the states, nor "define" the powers of Congress, nor indicate the source of such powers, with enough distinctness to escape bitter disagreement, protracted controversy, and finally civil war. But, did not the *Federalist*, instead of elucidating and clarifying the points of contention within the fundamental law, actually gloss these over and thereby add to the confusion? This paper may help to answer these questions.

Though first public reaction to the proposed Constitution was favorable in most states, strong and dangerous opposition soon asserted itself. In scores of pamphlets and speeches its critics—notably Elbridge Gerry in Massachusetts, Luther Martin in Maryland, George Mason and Richard Henry Lee in Virginia, Robert Yates and John Lansing in New York—began an unorganized but effective opposition.¹³ This lack of organization, however, did not prevent them from agreeing that the Constitution established a most objectionable "system of consolidated government." In the vital state of New York, Governor Clinton's stubborn fight frightened friends and supporters of ratification, and with good reason. For even if enough states ratified (which seemed not unlikely), it was recognized on all hands that any system omitting New York State would be analagous to *Hamlet* without Hamlet.

need for strong union growing out of the weaknesses of the Articles of Confederation, Hamilton observed that Jefferson "left the country before we had experienced the imbecilities of the former." Hamilton to Carrington, May 26, 1792, *Works of Alexander Hamilton*, IX, 513. And, in pointing out a fundamental difference between Madison and Jefferson on this point, Adrienne Koch, pp. 44-45, indicates that Madison had witnessed rash acts of state legislatures, driving him to support the move for a strengthened general government. At this same time, Jefferson was in France watching powerful "wolves" in Europe devour the "sheep"—the people. In justice to Jefferson it should be pointed out that he did give consideration to strong union; indeed, he was a staunch advocate of union, but the ingredients he envisaged as contributing to its achievement were far different from those of Hamilton. See in this connection, Julian P. Boyd, "Thomas Jefferson's 'Empire of Liberty,'" *Virginia Quarterly Review*, XXIV (Autumn, 1948), 538-54.

¹² *Writings of Jefferson*, ed. Ford, II, 274.

¹³ See, for example, Luther Martin, "The Genuine Information," in Max Farrand, ed., *The Records of the Federal Convention of 1787* (New Haven, 1911), III, 172 ff.; Elbridge Gerry, "Observations on the New Constitution and on the Federal and State Conventions," in Paul L. Ford, ed., *Pamphlets on the Constitution of the United States* (Brooklyn, 1888), pp. 8-14; Richard Henry Lee, "Letters from the Federal Farmer to the Republican," *ibid.*, p. 282; Robert Yates and John Lansing, "To the Governor of New York Containing their Reasons for not Subscribing to the Federal Constitution," *Senate Documents*, 60 Congress, 2 Session, Dec. 7, 1908-Mar. 4, 1909, p. 191.

It was this crucial situation in New York that prompted Hamilton to plan the now famous *Federalist* papers as ammunition for use there and in other states. That the essays literally constituted a debaters' handbook for Federalist delegates in the ratifying conventions of several states is an indication of the persuasiveness in these papers, if not the clarity of the arguments they contain.

In this enterprise—propaganda we might call it today—Hamilton joined with him John Jay, seasoned diplomat and expert in foreign affairs, and James Madison, Father of the Constitution. Jay was a key participant because of his extensive experience in and knowledge of external relations. Madison was indispensable not only because he was "the best informed Man of any point in debate"¹⁴ but also because, as the convention's semiofficial note-taker, he had gained unrivaled command of its proceedings.

These papers were published anonymously under the pseudonym "Publius," and for many years following 1787 neither Hamilton nor Madison, for political reasons, was disposed to take the public into his confidence. During the writing of the essays they took special pains to guard the secrecy of authorship. When the two men corresponded with each other on matters concerning the papers, they frequently spoke of "Publius" as a third person, at times going so far in this deception as to speculate about the possible authorship of the essays.¹⁵

An interesting aspect of this period of "silence" has to do with Madison's relationship to Jefferson. The two friends had carried on a regular correspondence while the papers were in preparation, yet Madison, apparently, never divulged his share in the *Federalist* until a two-volume edition of the work had been in circulation for over two months. Madison, it is true, referred to the progress being made in the struggle over ratification but never alluded to the essays of "Publius" that figured so significantly in that contest. When, finally, Madison did take his friend into his confidence, he did so almost as an afterthought in a letter primarily concerned with other matters.

Col. Carrington tells me [he] has sent you the first volume of the *Federalist*, and adds the 2d by this conveyance. I believe I never have yet mentioned to you that publication. It was undertaken last fall by Jay, Hamilton, and myself. The proposal came from the two former. The execution was thrown, by the sickness of

¹⁴ "Notes of Major William Pierce on the Federal Convention of 1787," *American Historical Review*, III (January, 1898), 331.

¹⁵ In a letter to Madison, written as the task was drawing to a close, Hamilton remarked: "I send you the *Federalist* from the beginning to the conclusion of the commentary on the Executive Branch. If our suspicions of the author be right, he must be too much engaged to make a rapid progress of what remains." Hamilton to Madison, Apr. 3, 1788, *Works of Alexander Hamilton*, IX, 427. See also *ibid.*, p. 431.

Jay, mostly on the two others. Though carried on in concert, the writers are not mutually answerable for all the sides of each other, there being seldom time for even a perusal of the pieces by any but the writer before they were wanted at the press, and sometimes hardly by the writer himself.¹⁶

Adrienne Koch suggests that Madison was probably uneasy about revealing to Jefferson the nature of this collaboration with Hamilton. The Republican struggle against the New Yorker had not yet flared openly, but "Madison knew the tenor of Hamilton's contempt for democracy and democratic republicanism."¹⁷ And Madison went out of his way, as his letter to Jefferson makes clear, to point out that the authors were not "mutually answerable" for the other's arguments. Nor was Madison's silence due wholly to the desire to keep his authorship absolutely unknown, since he had strongly intimated his part in the essays to General Washington shortly after the project was begun and nine months before the "confession" to Jefferson.¹⁸

If Jefferson was surprised or chagrined at Madison's co-operation with Hamilton, he did not clearly divulge his feelings in reply: "With respect to the *Federalist*, the three authors had been named to me. I read it with care, pleasure and improvement, and was satisfied that there was nothing in it by one of those hands, and not a great deal by a second. It does the highest honor to the third, as being, in my opinion, the best commentary on the principles of government which ever was written." In addition to perceiving this distinction of talent and genius, all in Madison's favor, Jefferson evidently saw clearly, as did John Mercer, the concessions which Madison made to opposite viewpoints: "In some parts it is discoverable that the author means only to say what may be best said in defense of opinions in which he did not concur."¹⁹

So successful were the major authors of the *Federalist* in keeping their secret that one careful student has concluded that throughout the period in which the papers were written there were not more than a dozen individuals who could identify the three authors.²⁰ But two days before his fatal duel with Aaron Burr, Hamilton went to the law office of a friend, Egbert Bensen, and "ostentatiously" concealed in the lawyer's bookcase a slip listing what was presumably an accurate accounting of the authorship of various numbers. As was not unusual under the circumstances, Hamilton claimed

¹⁶ Madison to Jefferson, Aug. 10, 1788, *Writings of James Madison*, ed. Hunt, V, 246.

¹⁷ Koch, p. 52.

¹⁸ Madison to Washington, Nov. 18, 1787, *Writings of James Madison*, ed. Hunt, V, 55.

¹⁹ Jefferson to Madison, Nov. 18, 1788, *Writings of Thomas Jefferson*, ed. Ford, V, 433-34.

²⁰ Douglass Adair, "The Authorship of the Disputed *Federalist* Papers," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d Ser., I (April and July, 1944).

numbers he did not write. In 1818, Madison counterattacked, being prepared to state under oath that he had written twenty-nine of the essays instead of the fourteen accredited to him by Hamilton. Because of this conflict of claims, editors of the *Federalist* have been wont to elude the issue, using the "and/or" formula for the "disputed" numbers. This is no longer necessary. Professor Douglass Adair makes it clear that of the eighty-five essays, Jay wrote only five (numbers 2-5 inclusive and 64); Hamilton did numbers 1, 6-9, 11-13, 15-17, 21-36, 59-61, and 65-85 inclusive. Numbers 18, 19, and 20 appear to have been the result of the combined effort of Hamilton and Madison.²¹ The remaining numbers were written by Madison, making the authenticated tally Hamilton 51, Madison 26.

In a joint literary endeavor of such dimensions, done under great pressure, a distribution of labor was as necessary as it was natural. It was reasonable, too, that the division made should represent the special interests of the authors. Hamilton had diagnosed "the fundamental defect" in the Articles of Confederation as early as 1780: "want of power in Congress." "The first step must be," he said, "to give Congress powers competent to the public exigencies."²² As to the state constitutions he was less categorical: "Perhaps the evil is not very great . . . for, notwithstanding their imperfections . . . they seem to have, in themselves . . . the seeds of improvement."²³ But later, in Philadelphia, behind closed doors, he urged the necessity of "a general government completely sovereign," the annihilation of "State distinctions and State operations, . . . State governments reduced to corporations with very limited powers."²⁴

Madison, on the other hand, though not ignoring the need for more power in Congress, had pointed especially to troubles growing out of flagrant abuses in state legislatures, especially the subversive effect of laws affecting vested rights of property and contract. He had dealt with these inadequacies at length in his preconvention essay, "The Vices of the Political System of the United States."²⁵ These evils were still in the forefront of his mind at Philadelphia when, on June 6, he queried Roger Sherman's statement of "the objects of Union" as primarily "defense against foreign danger," "treaties with foreign nations," "regulating foreign commerce and drawing

²¹ However, Carl Van Doren, *The Federalist*, p. vi, asserts: "As to 18, 19, 20 . . . both Madison's manuscripts and his statement make it clear that, while Hamilton did turn over some notes on historic confederacies to Madison, it was Madison who wrote the three essays and sent them to the printer." On the basis of this editor's findings, Madison would be accredited with twenty-nine of the essays.

²² *Works of Alexander Hamilton*, I, 213, 223.

²³ *Ibid.*, I, 247.

²⁴ Farrand, ed., *Records of the Federal Convention of 1787*, I, 287, 323.

²⁵ See n. 5 above.

revenue from it," etc. All these objects were important, Madison agreed, but he "combined with them the necessity of providing more effectually for the securing of private rights, and the steady dispensation of justice." "Interferences with these," he maintained, "were evils which had, more perhaps than anything else, produced this convention."²⁶ Madison reinforced his convictions on June 26;²⁷ he gave the same ideas full-dress treatment in the *Federalist*, numbers 10 and 51. For him an important object of the Constitution was to limit state legislative power. Article I, Section 10, was therefore among its most important provisions. For Hamilton, on the other hand, the new Constitution was chiefly significant as a grant of power. The heart of it was the congressional authority enumerated in Article I, Section 8, paragraphs 1 to 18 inclusive, and in the supremacy clause, Article VI, paragraph 2.

That Hamilton and Madison co-operated effectively in this joint enterprise is a matter of history. One reason is that there were between them certain important areas of agreement. Both men entertained an extremely pessimistic view of human nature.²⁸ Government is necessary, they agreed, because men are not angels. "What is government itself," Madison queried in essay 51, "but the greatest of all reflections on human nature?" "Why has government been instituted at all?" Hamilton asked in essay 15. "Because the passions of men will not conform to the dictates of reason and justice, without constraint." This distrustful refrain (with exceptions to be hereafter noted) runs indistinguishable throughout the various numbers of the *Federalist*.

Human beings are seen as "timid and cautious" (no. 49). The essays stress the "caprice and wickedness of man" (no. 57), the "depravity of human nature," "the folly and wickedness of Mankind" (no. 78). In Madison's essays, no less than in Hamilton's, one notes the conviction that "men are ambitious, vindictive, and rapacious," that "momentary passions and immediate interests" (no. 6), "the infirmities and depravities of the human character" (no. 37), rather than "considerations of policy, utility, or justice" (no. 6), are dominant drives in politics. Here, at least, one supposes, is an element or factor that can be regarded as constant, giving politics whatever scientific criteria it may possess. The authors of the *Federalist*, like Montesquieu, the oracle to whom both Hamilton and Madison paid great

²⁶ Farrand, I, 131, 134.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, I, 421-23, 430-32. Madison reiterated this basic argument in the Virginia Constitutional Convention of 1829-30. *Proc. and Debates . . . Virginia State Convention of 1829-30*, pp. 538, 574.

²⁸ For a detailed discussion of this thesis, see B. F. Wright, "The Federalist on the Nature of Man" (see n. 3 above).

deference, were convinced that "virtue itself has need of limits."²⁹

Nor did the *Federalist* collaborators look forward, eventually, as did Karl Marx in 1848, to some earthly paradise, emerging either from changed economic and social environment or spiritual regeneration. "Have we not already seen enough," Hamilton observed with disdain, "of the fallacy and extravagance of those idle theories which have amused us with promises of an exemption from the imperfections, weaknesses, and evils incident to society in every shape? Is it not time to awake from the deceitful dream of a golden age, and to adopt as a practical maxim for the direction of our political conduct that we, as well as the other inhabitants of the globe, are yet remote from the happy empire of perfect wisdom and perfect virtue?" (no. 6). Human nature being what it is, man must employ his feeble contrivance of reason in building institutional fences around unconquerable human avarice and greed.

Hamilton and Madison also agreed that the Articles of Confederation were inadequate to cope with "the variety of controversies" which grow out of the "caprice and wickedness of man" (no. 57). Hamilton called the Articles of Confederation "an odious engine of government," so "radically vicious and unsound, as to admit not of amendment but by entire change in its leading feature" (no. 16). Madison's language was somewhat less drastic, and his stand less unequivocal, as we shall see, but he concurred in holding that the Articles were based on "principles which are fallacious; that we must consequently change this first foundation, and with it the superstructure resting on it" (no. 37).

Finally, Hamilton and Madison agreed that in a free society, "inequality of property" is inevitable. For them it was axiomatic that "inequality will exist as long as liberty existed," and the primary task of government is to protect "liberty," i.e., "the different and unequal faculties of acquiring property," from which the different degrees and kinds of property immediately result."³⁰ Growing out of these inevitable inequalities, both men envisaged society as torn by strife and struggle, the major manifestation of discord being identified as "factions."

These points of agreement should not, however, blind us to divergences so great as to prompt Professor Adair to speak of America's illustrious

²⁹ Montesquieu, *The Spirit of the Laws*, trans. from the French by T. Nugent (4th ed., 1766), I, Book 11, p. 220.

³⁰ Madison, in *Federalist* no. 10. "It was certainly true," Hamilton remarked on the floor of the Philadelphia Convention, June 26, 1787, "that nothing like an equality of property existed: that an inequality would exist as long as liberty existed, and that it would unavoidably result from that very liberty itself. This inequality of property constituted the great and fundamental distinction in Society." Farrand, I, 424.

political classic as afflicted with a "split personality." At what points can this charge be documented?

Generally speaking, both men addressed themselves to the problem of finding a "republican" remedy for the evil to which popular government is peculiarly addicted. Madison described the disease as "faction." An ineradicable malady, the "factionous spirit" will exist "as long as the reason of man continues fallible, and he is at liberty to exercise it." This phenomenon is present whenever "a number of citizens, whether amounting to a majority or a minority of the whole [is] united and actuated by some common impulse of passion, or of interest adverse to the rights of other citizens or to the permanent and aggregate interests of the community" (no. 10).

Madison is especially concerned with "factions" having "the superior force of an interested and overbearing majority," and therefore capable of sacrificing to "its ruling passion or interest both the public good and the rights of other citizens." A minority faction may, he admits, "clog the administration" or "convulse the society," but he concludes, too easily perhaps, that the Republican principle will enable "the majority to defeat its sinister views by regular vote" (no. 10). In the preconvention essay, mentioned above, Madison had gone so far as to say that a luxuriance of "vicious legislation" had brought "into question the fundamental principle of republican Government, that the majority who rule in such governments are the safest Guardians both of the public Good and private rights."³¹

The "latent causes of faction are thus sown in the nature of man," Madison observed in essay 10. They are "everywhere brought into different degrees of activity according to the different circumstances of civil society. A zeal for different opinions concerning religion, concerning government, and many other points, as well of speculation as of practice; an attachment to different leaders ambitiously contending for pre-eminence and power; or to persons of other descriptions whose fortunes have been interesting to the human passions, have, in turn, divided mankind into parties, inflamed them with mutual animosity." Madison saw "the most frivolous and fanciful distinctions" exciting the "most violent conflicts." "Property" was "the most common and durable source of factions," not, as Harold Laski "quotes" him as saying, "the only" foundation.³²

For this many-faceted evil there was no easy remedy. Pure democracy was no cure because it is "incompatible with personal security or the rights of property." Two other possible remedies suggested themselves, but these

³¹ *Writings of James Madison*, ed. Hunt, II, 366.

³² Harold J. Laski, *A Grammar of Politics* (London, 1925), p. 162. See Wright, p. 22.

were also rejected. One would destroy liberty and create in the community a will "independent of the majority," as in monarchy; the other would give all citizens the same interests, the same passions, the same opinion, as in, say, communism (no. 51). Neither of these authoritarian correctives was acceptable: the first was unthinkable, the second impracticable.

"A Republic," "a well-constructed union," opened for Madison "a different prospect," for it comprehends society in many descriptions of parties, sects, interests, thus making an unjust combination of the whole very improbable, if not impossible. Madison's thesis is that the evil of factions and the social chaos which they breed could be ameliorated, consistently with republican principles, by establishing a limited federal government, by a system of indirect election "to refine and enlarge the public views, by passing them through the medium of a chosen body of citizens, whose wisdom may best discern the true interest of their country, and whose patriotism and love of justice will be least likely to sacrifice it to temporary or partial considerations." Far from destroying the states, he would utilize them in the "refining" process, and as vital units of government. Furthermore, the vast size of the country, with its multiplicity of economic, geographic, social, religious, and sectional interests, was a blessing. "Extend the sphere," Madison reasoned, "and you take in a greater variety of parties and interests; you make less probable that a majority of the whole will have a common motive to invade the rights of other citizens." "The influence of factious leaders may kindle a flame within their particular states," but will be unable to encompass the entire nation (no. 10). Madison would carry over this self-correcting remedy into the organization of government itself, "by so contriving the interior structure of the government as that its several constituent parts may, by their mutual relations, be the means of keeping each other in their proper place" (no. 51).

Hamilton was as sensitive to the evil of "factions" as his collaborator, but whereas Madison saw them as multifarious, and "the various and unequal distribution of property" as only the "most common and durable source" thereof, Hamilton saw the social cleavage more exclusively grounded in economics. For him every community was divided "into a few and the many," rich and poor, debtors and creditors. Hamilton's cure in Philadelphia had been monarchical government similar to that of England. He queried whether a "good" executive "could be established on Republican principles." "The aristocracy," he had told the convention, "ought to be entirely separated; their power should be permanent. . . . They should be so circumstanced that they can have no interest in change. . . ." 'Tis essential there

should be a permanent will in the community."³³ "A firm union," a national government with "coercive" powers acting directly on individuals, were necessary "to repress domestic factions and insurrections," he concluded in essay 9. John Quincy Adams did not take the trouble to spell it out, but he had hit upon a most significant aspect of the "diversity" in this great collaboration when he described Hamilton's number 9 and Madison's number 10 as "rival dissertations upon Faction and its remedy."³⁴

Adams might have made the contrast even sharper by adding Madison's number 51 and Hamilton's numbers 70, 71, 76, and 78 in which the New Yorker elaborated his remedy for factions, stressing "the advantage of permanency in a wise system of administration," of duration in office of "considerable extent," of "independence" in government. "The republican principle," he wrote in *Federalist* 71, "demands that the deliberate sense of the community should govern the conduct of those to whom they intrust the management of their affairs; but it does not require an unqualified complaisance to every sudden breeze of passion or to every transient impulse which the people may receive from the arts of men, who flatter their prejudices to betray their interests." "There is an idea, which is not without its advocates," he observed, "that a vigorous Executive is inconsistent with the genius of republican government." Hamilton rejected this categorically, saying that "energy in the Executive is a leading character in the definition of a good government. It is essential to the protection of the community against foreign attacks; it is not less essential to the steady administration of the laws; to the protection of property against those irregular and high-handed combinations which sometimes interrupt the ordinary course of justice; to the security of liberty against the enterprises and assaults of ambition, of faction, and of anarchy." The arch-Federalist went on to illustrate the point:

Every man the least conversant in Roman story knows how often that republic was obliged to take refuge in the absolute power of a single man, under the formidable title of Dictator, as well against the intrigues of ambitious individuals who aspired to the tyranny, and the seditions of whole classes of the community whose conduct threatened the existence of all government, as against the invasions of external enemies who menaced the conquest and destruction of Rome [no. 70].³⁵

Hamilton placed perhaps even greater reliance on the federal judiciary—especially because of the provision for indefinite tenure of judges—as a safe-

³³ Farrand, I, 288, 299: 304-10, *passim*. See also *Federalist* nos. 35 and 36.

³⁴ Adams, *Eulogy on . . . James Madison*, p. 32.

³⁵ Hamilton cited this example with evident approval. Years later Jefferson recalled his own unfavorable reaction to Hamilton's remark that "the greatest man . . . that ever lived, was Julius Caesar." *Writings of Jefferson*, ed. Ford, XI, 168.

guard against factions. "In a monarchy," he explained, holding office during good behavior "is an excellent barrier to the despotism of the prince; in a republic it is a no less excellent barrier to the encroachments and oppressions of the representative body." Nor did judicial review involve any violation of republican principles. "It is far more rational to suppose, that the Courts were designed to be an intermediate body between the people and the legislature, in order . . . to keep the latter within the limits assigned to their authority. . . . It only supposes that the power of the people is superior to both; and that where the will of the legislature, declared in its statutes, stands in opposition to that of the people, declared in the Constitution, the judges ought to be governed by the latter rather than the former" (no. 78). In addition to serving as guardian of the people against Congress and against themselves, Hamilton emphasized as of equal, if not greater, importance, judicial review of state legislation and of state court decisions (nos. 16 and 22). The judiciary thus became the symbol of "firm union," of national prestige and power. "The majesty of the national authority," he wrote in *Federalist* 16, "must be manifested through the medium of the courts of justice."

The authoritarian note is evident throughout Hamilton's discussion of executive and judicial power. In essay 71 one encounters Rousseau's sentiments, that though the "people commonly *intend* the PUBLIC GOOD," they do not "always *reason right* about the *means* of promoting it."³⁶ The exalted role carved out for the executive and judiciary, especially the latter, is faintly suggestive of Rousseau's "Legislator"—"a superior intelligence beholding all the passions of men without experiencing any of them."³⁷ Hamilton was naturally less outspoken in the *Federalist*, than he had been at the Philadelphia convention, but he made no less clear his conviction that an independent will in government, immune from fluctuating gusts of popular passion, is an essential safeguard against "domestic insurrection and factions." The effect, he tells us, is not to enthrone authoritarianism nor flout popular government, but rather to safeguard "the people" when their "interests are at variance with their inclinations," thus protecting them from the "arts of men, who flatter their prejudices to betray their interests," giving them "time and opportunity for more cool and sedate reflection" (no. 71).

But does not such executive and judicial pre-eminence call for considerable qualification of those unseemly qualities Hamilton elsewhere

³⁶ Rousseau put it this way: "Of itself, the people will always the good. The general will is always right, but the judgment which guides is not always enlightened." *The Social Contract*, Everyman's Library (New York, 1935), p. 34.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 35.

attributed to the general run of mankind? It would seem so if he were to avoid the logical inconsistency we are accustomed to associate with Hobbes. Hamilton, considering himself in this connection "as a man disposed to view human nature as it is, without either flattering its virtues or exaggerating its vices," maintained: "The sole and undivided responsibility of one man will naturally beget a livelier sense of duty and a more exact regard to reputation. . . . This supposition of universal venality in human nature is little less an error in political reasoning, than the supposition of universal rectitude" (no. 76).³⁸

One discovers in Madison's essays no such confidence in the purifying effect of power.³⁹ "The truth is," he said on the floor of the Philadelphia convention, "all men having power ought to be distrusted to a certain degree."⁴⁰ In *Federalist* 51 he held that government must be obliged "to control itself" through a policy of supplying "by opposite and rival interests the defects of better motives." In number 48 he had observed: "It will not be denied that power is of an encroaching nature, and that it ought to be effectually restrained from passing the limits assigned to it." Even when Madison spoke of energy and stability as being essential to security and good government he was wont to temper his stand with caution. In the achievement of his principal objective—"energy in government" combined "with the inviolable attention due to liberty and the republican form"—there is no suggestion of Hamilton's faith that "responsibility" and office-holding "during good behavior" will develop "impartiality" and the "requisite integrity" in government (nos. 76 and 78). "On comparing . . . these valuable ingredients [energy and stability] with the vital principles of liberty," Madison commented in essay 37, "we must perceive at once the difficulty of mingling them together in their due proportions." No such "difficulty" troubled Hamilton.

Madison's approach was consistently pluralistic. For him the states need

³⁸ Cf. Farrand, I, 82.

³⁹ In *Federalist* no. 55, Madison seems to qualify his earlier misgivings on human nature, but the context makes clear the contrast with Hamilton. "As there is a degree of depravity in mankind which requires a certain degree of circumspection and distrust, so there are other qualities in human nature which justify a certain portion of esteem and confidence. Republican government presupposes the existence of these qualities in a higher degree than any other form. . . . Were the pictures which have been drawn by the politically jealous of some among us faithful likenesses of the human character, the inference would be, that there is not sufficient virtue among men for self-government; and that nothing less than the chains of despotism can restrain them from destroying and devouring one another." In the Virginia Constitutional Convention of 1829-1830, Madison again cautioned that government means power and that the necessity of placing power in human hands means that it is liable to abuse. The danger of abuse is greatest when men act in a body, and since conscience alone is not a sufficient check, safeguards for minority rights must be found in the structure of government. Thus Madison conceded that the slavery interest would have to be incorporated into the government in order to guard against oppressive taxation which might result from the government falling into the hands of nonslaveowners. *Proc. and Debates . . . Virginia State Convention of 1829-30*, p. 538.

⁴⁰ Farrand, I, 584.

not be obliterated; they were adapted to a broad expanse of territory and helpful in serving the ends of a "well-constructed union," of liberty and justice. "If they were abolished, the general government," he wrote in number 14, "would be compelled by the principle of self-preservation, to reinstate them in their proper jurisdiction." Hamilton, on the other hand, saw the great size of the country, torn by warring factions, as necessitating a consolidated system with "unconfined," "coercive power," poised at one center. If the states continued, as under the Articles of Confederation, as members of a "partial" union, "frequent and violent contests with each other" would be inevitable (no. 6). In contrast, Madison envisaged a counterpoised, confederate system, a "compound republic" with the power of the people divided between the states and the nation and national power "sub-divided among distinct and separate departments" (no. 51). Just as in a society, composed of sects, interests, classes, and parties, ambition checks ambition, vice checks vice, and interest is set against interest, so the governmental structure itself provided an institutional expression of social diversity, of action and counteraction.

Hamilton's and Madison's divergence is further reflected in their views on the Constitution and the government it established. For Hamilton the crucial infirmity of the existing system was congenital—"it never had ratification by the people." To avoid the "gross heresy" that a "*party* to a *compact* has a right to revoke that *compact*," "the fabric of American empire ought to rest on the solid basis of THE CONSENT OF THE PEOPLE" (no. 22). The Constitution corrected "the great and radical vice . . . legislation for States . . . as contradistinguished from the individuals of which they consist." "If we are unwilling," Hamilton commented, going to the heart of his nationalist creed, "to be placed in this perilous situation; if we still adhere to the design of a national government, or, which is the same thing, of a superintending power, under the direction of a common council, we must resolve to incorporate in our plan those ingredients which may be considered as forming the characteristic difference between a league and a government; we must extend the authority of the union to the persons of the citizens,—the only proper objects of government" (no. 15).

Hamilton, like the opponents of ratification, saw the proposed Constitution as designed to establish a "consolidated system," "Union under one government," "perfect subordination [of the states] to the general authority of the union" (no. 9).⁴¹ "If the federal system be not speedily renovated

⁴¹ However, Hamilton cautiously added: "It would still be, in fact and in theory, an association of states, or a confederacy. The proposed Constitution, far from implying an abolition of the State governments . . . leaves in their possession certain exclusive and very important portions of sovereign power."

in a more substantial form," the "plain alternative" was "dissolution of the union" (no. 16). A critic of the proposed Constitution, Richard Henry Lee, had also identified "consolidation" as its objective, but had queried "whether such a change could ever be effected, in any manner; whether it can be effected without convulsions and civil wars."⁴² Madison was not so unequivocal as either his collaborator or those fighting ratification. "This assent and ratification is to be given by the people," he wrote in essay 39, "not as individuals composing one entire nation, but as composing the distinct and independent States to which they respectively belong. It is to be the assent and ratification of the several States, derived from the supreme authority in each State,—the authority of the people themselves. The act, therefore, establishing the Constitution, will not be a *national*, but a *federal* act."⁴³

The Madisonian distinction between *confederacy* and *consolidation*, so much labored in essay 39, Hamilton had brushed aside lightly in essay 9 as "a distinction more subtle than accurate," "in the main, arbitrary, . . . supported neither by principle nor precedent." In this he was in full accord with the Constitution's most rabid opponents, but not with his collaborator, Madison. In a word, Hamilton interpreted the Constitution as designed to correct "fundamental errors in the structure of the building." It was intended to slay "the political monster of an *imperium in imperio*" (no. 15). It may be that Hamilton's caveat thrown down to enemies of the Constitution—"let us not attempt to reconcile contradictions, but firmly embrace a rational alternative" (no. 23)—might have been more appropriately addressed to his colleague, Madison.

Nor were Hamilton and Madison fully agreed as to the nature and scope

⁴² Lee, "Letters . . ." (see n. 13 above), p. 283.

⁴³ It should be noted, however, that in the opening sentence of the paragraph in which this statement occurs, Madison says that "the Constitution is to be founded on the assent and ratification of the people of America. . . ." It is important also to recall Dr. Johnson's observation that in the Philadelphia Convention "states" were considered in two different senses: "as districts of people comprising one political society" and "as so many political societies." (Farrand, I, 461.) Madison endorsed Dr. Johnson's distinction, but "thought too much stress was laid on the rank of states as political societies." (*Ibid.*, 463-64.) The context in which this matter is discussed, both in essay 39 and in Madison's notes, makes it altogether clear that, in speaking of "assent and ratification" by the "several States," he is thinking of states as "districts of people comprising one political society"—that is, as "agents." On the floor of the Convention he had "considered the difference between a system founded on the Legislatures only, and one founded on the people, to be the true difference between a *league or treaty* and a *Constitution*." (Farrand, II, 93.) He "thought it indispensable that the new Constitution should be ratified . . . by the supreme authority of the people themselves." (Farrand, I, 123.) Many years later, Chief Justice Marshall had likewise considered the states as "districts of people comprising one political society." "It is true," Marshall agreed, "that they [the people who ratified the Constitution] assembled in their several states—and where else could they have assembled? No political dreamer was ever wild enough to think of breaking down state lines and of compounding the American people in one common mass. Of consequence, when they act, they act in their States. But the measures they adopt do not, on that account, cease to be the measures of the people themselves, or become the measures of the State governments." (*McCulloch v. Maryland*, 4 Wheat. 316, 403; but compare *Writings of James Madison*, ed. Hunt, VI, 348-49.)

of the power granted to the national government. For Madison the task of the convention was not to abolish the Articles of Confederation, but to "reduce" them: "The truth is, that the great principles of the Constitution proposed by the convention may be considered less as absolutely new than as an expansion of the principles which are found in the Articles of Confederation" (no. 40). "If the new Constitution be examined with accuracy and candor," he wrote in essay 45, "it will be found that the change which it proposes consists much less in the addition of NEW POWERS to the Union, than in the invigoration of its ORIGINAL POWERS." "The powers delegated by the proposed Constitution to the federal government," he explained in number 45, "are few and defined."

For Hamilton, on the other hand, the objects of the national government were general, and the powers granted for achieving them were undefined—indeed, undefinable. It would be, he declared, "both unwise and dangerous to deny the federal government an *unconfined authority* as to all those objects which are entrusted to its management. . . . Not to confer . . . a degree of power commensurate to the end, would be to violate the most obvious rules of prudence and propriety, and improvidently to trust the great interests of the nation to the hands which are disabled from managing them with vigor and success" (no. 23). Thus the powers granted the national government differed not merely in degree, as Madison insisted, but in kind. In Hamilton's mind Article I, Section 8, paragraphs 1 to 18 inclusive, combined with Article VI, paragraph 2, meant far more than "invigoration of original powers." Here was a grant of power broad enough to meet any and all unforeseeable exigencies. Nor was the force of the new government to be applied so exclusively as Madison suggested in *Federalist* 45 to the field of foreign relations, or "in times of war and danger." Hamilton conceived of the national government as dominant in domestic affairs, especially as a positive coercive force to suppress "factions and insurrections."

How could men whose opinions took paths so widely separated co-operate effectually—indeed, work together at all? There are numerous possible answers. The particular division of labor served to preclude any head-on clash, or at least obscure a basic antagonism. For those unable to detect the seeds of future strife, the split rendered the Constitution more, rather than less, acceptable.

Nor can one always be certain in identifying the stand of either Hamilton or Madison. Their interpretations become less categorical when either author enters the province of the other. Thus Madison's nationalism in *Federalist* 14 is qualified in essays 39 and 40. The diminutive scope of the

power he accorded Congress in essays 40 and 45 was lost sight of in essay 44: "No axiom is more clearly established in law, or in reason, than that whatever end is required, the means are authorized; whenever a general power to do a thing is given, every particular power necessary for doing it is included." In later years these words were easily fashioned into an effective instrument of national statesmanship.⁴⁴

Similarly, Hamilton's bold nationalist stand in numbers 9, 15, and 22, his inference that the proposed Constitution, as a logical necessity, eliminated every essential vestige of the old relationship of states as members of a "League," is toned down, even neutralized, elsewhere. "An entire consolidation," he remarked in *Federalist* 32, "of the States into one complete national sovereignty would imply an entire subordination of the parts; and whatever powers might remain in them, would be altogether dependent on the general will. But as the plan of the convention aims only at a partial union or consolidation, the State governments would clearly retain all the rights of sovereignty which they before had, and which were not by that act, *exclusively* delegated to the United States." In case of conflict even in the crucial matter of taxation Hamilton suggested the desirability of "reciprocal forbearance" (no. 32). Anticipating the provisions of Amendment X, he declared "that the States will retain all *pre-existing* authorities which may not be exclusively delegated to the federal head" (no. 82). And in essay 26, he cast the states in the role of "jealous guardians of the rights of the citizens against the encroachments from the federal government."

Madison's balanced purpose—to combine "energy in government, with the inviolable attention due to liberty and the republican form"—made a certain degree of equivocation quite natural. And when, during Washington's administration, Madison began his retreat from the nationalist stronghold, Hamilton discerned the underlying ambiguity in the Virginian's statesmanship. Madison's "attachment to the government of the United States," Hamilton told Colonel Carrington in 1792, was "more an affair of the head than of the heart; more the result of a conviction of the necessity of Union than of cordiality to the thing itself."⁴⁵ Madison's essays in the *Federalist* bear this out.

On the surface Hamilton's motives were elusive. In the opening number of the *Federalist* he confessed mixed feelings toward the project he had

⁴⁴ Daniel Webster, in his brief submitted on behalf of the plaintiffs in the *Dartmouth College* case, cites number 44 in support of his contention that the Constitution was intended to impose severe curbs on the powers of the several states. *The Trustees of Dartmouth College v. Woodward*, 4 Wheaton, 589, 608. For other examples, see Adair, "Authorship of the Disputed Federalist Papers" (see n. 20 above), p. 103.

⁴⁵ *Works of Alexander Hamilton*, IX, 531.

launched: "The consciousness of good intentions disdains ambiguity," he said. "My arguments will be open to all, and may be judged of by all. . . . My motives must remain in the depository of my own breast." No such obscurity cloaked his attitude on September 17 when he signed the Constitution. Then it was "impossible to deliberate between anarchy and Convulsion on one side, and the chance of good to be expected from the plan on the other."⁴⁶ He knew that even this chance would be lost unless a strong national authority could be immediately established. "A good administration will conciliate the confidence and affection of the people, and perhaps enable the government to acquire more consistency than the proposed constitution seems to promise for so great a country. It may triumph altogether over the State governments, and reduce them to an entire subordination, dividing the larger States into smaller districts."⁴⁷

This Machiavellian twist in Hamilton's reasoning, foreshadowed in his letters to Duane and in the *Continentalist*, suggests what he had in mind—squeeze out by interpretation whatever power was necessary to achieve an adequately energetic government. "A statesman," he had remarked earlier, "ought to walk at the head of affairs and produce the event." This was a far easier job than even he dared hope, for the ambiguity lay far less in the language of the Constitution than in the "diversity of genius" John Quincy Adams noted in the *Federalist*.

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⁴⁶ Farrand, II, 646.

⁴⁷ *Works of Alexander Hamilton*, I, 423. Compare these sentiments with those expressed in the *Federalist*, nos. 26, 28, 32, 81, and 82.

* * * *Notes and Suggestions* * * *

Samuel Gridley Howe as Phrenologist

HAROLD SCHWARTZ

IN the 1830's, perhaps the most sensational of the many scientific developments which bade fair to revolutionize human concepts was phrenology, the science of the mind. Though the twentieth century classifies it with astrology and other fortune-telling pseudo-sciences practiced along boardwalks and midways, serious thinkers of an earlier era greeted it with as much fervor as contemporary America has displayed for psychoanalysis. Franz Joseph Gall, a Viennese physician specializing in brain physiology, started the study in the 1790's. He was joined in 1804 by John Gaspar Spurzheim, who became his leading disciple and associate.¹ Working together they spread their theories throughout Europe. In a short time what had started out as the study of the brain became a philosophy of the mind, an aid to the study of character, and eventually a system of moral philosophy. Its basic principle was that by analysis of the structure of a physical object, the brain, one could determine intangible qualities of character. Each human faculty, it was claimed, is controlled by a section of the brain, the individual's character being the sum of these sections taken together, and as ratios differ, characters vary. Phrenologists drew up charts of the brain showing the seat of each faculty. For example, a popular text gave directions for finding the degree of moral sentiment in a man:

The centre of Causality corresponds to the point of ossification in the frontal bone, and the centre of Cautiousness to the point of ossification in the parietal bone, all that part of the head which lies above these points belongs to the Moral Sentiments, allowing a little for Causality and a little for Cautiousness. Pass a string, therefore, round the head over these points, and if that part of it which lies above a plane, of which this string is the boundary, be low and flat, you may rest assured that the Moral Sentiments are small; if it be high and broad, you may be certain that they are large.²

Phrenology came later to America than it did to Europe. Though texts on the subject were read here in the 1820's and noted physicians, such as John C. Warren of the Harvard Medical School and Charles Caldwell of Transylvania University, wrote and lectured on it, its flowering dates from

¹ John Gaspar Spurzheim, *Phrenology, or the Doctrine of Mental Phenomena* (Boston, 1832), I, 11.

² George Combe, *Lectures on Phrenology* (New York, 1839), p. 189.

Spurzheim's visit of 1832.³ He arrived in August to begin a lecture tour of the United States, but lived only long enough to deliver one series in Boston before his death and burial at Mt. Auburn in November. In that short time he captivated the minds of a small number of interested persons who believed in him implicitly. They mourned him by pen and deed. Elizabeth Palmer Peabody commemorated his passing with the bathetic verses, "Welcome of Angels & Farewell of Men to the beloved Spurzheim."⁴ His more stoic masculine followers formed the Boston Phrenological Society on November 17, the day of the master's funeral. Samuel Gridley Howe, the hero of the Greek Revolution, served as corresponding secretary.⁵ The society conducted lectures at which the members heard the latest dogma preached. It maintained also a museum of phrenology, the chief attraction of which was Spurzheim's skull. Within a few years there were similar organizations all over the country, since Howe mentions corresponding with them in every state.⁶

As the new subject spread, a great flood of pamphlets appeared in the leading cities to explain it to the uninitiated. Little manuals for self-instruction were written for the benefit of those already converted.⁷ In answer to charges that it was anti-Christian, that it was too materialistic, other pamphlets were prepared to assure the faithful that one could believe without endangering one's soul.⁸

After Spurzheim's death the leading phrenologist was the Scotsman George Combe, and it was he who exerted the greatest influence on American believers. At first glance, Combe seems a strange person to lead a scientific movement which claimed such leaders as Warren, Caldwell, Howe, all three trained as physicians, and Benjamin Silliman, the pioneering chemist, among its votaries, but when one considers the type of science it was, it does not appear too surprising. Combe was converted in 1818 upon hearing Spurzheim in Edinburgh. The Viennese physician convinced the Scottish attorney casting about for something worthy of his capacities that phrenology had all the an-

³ Edward Warren, *The Life of John Collins Warren* (Boston, 1860), II, 11; Caldwell's numerous works are available in the New York Public Library and probably in other large collections.

⁴ The original is available in the Berg Collection, New York Public Library.

⁵ John C. Warren, *The Collection of the Boston Phrenological Society—A Retrospect* (New York, n.d.), III, 4. This was by no means the first. Washington, possibly because of the presence of foreigners, appears to have had such a society in 1828, since the Widener Library of Harvard University has one of its reports of that date.

⁶ Howe to [?], Phrenological Society, Dec. 30, 1836, Howe Papers, Houghton Library, Harvard.

⁷ E.g., William Hunt, *A Concise Introduction to Phrenology* (Boston, 1834).

⁸ William Ingalls, *Phrenology Not Opposed to the Principles of Religion, Nor the Precepts of Christianity* (Boston, 1839); also, Charles Caldwell, "Phrenology Vindicated," *New England Magazine*, VIII (January, 1835), 14-19.

swers. Combe came to regulate his life according to its principles, even choosing a wife on that basis after Spurzheim advised him of his fitness for matrimony. His search was over in 1833, when he found a fairly wealthy girl with a large anterior lobe, whose Benevolence, Conscientiousness, Firmness, Self-esteem, and Love of Approbation were amply developed, and whose Veneration and Wonder were as moderate as his own.⁹ A man of one idea, he knew nothing else, feeling that he hadn't begun to live until he learned the science.

But for Phrenology [he wrote Howe], I should have lived & died longing for a field in which I could do good to mankind & earn an honourable fame. I yet can see no science, no vocation, in which I could have obtained scope for my desires & capacities except this one. . . .¹⁰

His success in the practical application of his theories was legendary. It was told of him that when presented with an article written jointly by two authors, he was able by an examination of casts of their heads to determine which of the sections each of the collaborators had written.¹¹

In numerous works, particularly the phenomenally successful *Constitution of Man*, he taught a moral philosophy based on the relationship between natural laws and the mind. His basic tenet became the key principle of his followers' conception of the subject, namely, "We are physical, organic, and moral beings, acting under the sanction of general laws, whether the connection of different portions of the brain, as taught by Phrenology, be admitted or denied."¹² The truths of the science would enable mankind to construct a practical system of mental philosophy, capable of combining harmoniously with religion and promoting the improvement of the human race.¹³ This book became more than any other the Bible of the creed. No less a personage than Horace Mann, secretary of the Massachusetts Board of Education, considered it as having done more to vindicate the ways of God to man than any other work for hundreds of years.¹⁴

American phrenologists were thrilled when Combe, the greatest teacher of them all, arrived in the United States in 1838 on a lecture tour. His disciples flocked about him as if to experience a spiritual communion. For years they had devoured his words, now they could hear him at last. Of all his followers, none grew closer to him than the illustrious Dr. Samuel Gridley Howe, the director of the New England Institution for the Educa-

⁹ Article on Combe in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, IV, 884.

¹⁰ Combe to Howe, Mar. 5, 1840, Howe Papers, Houghton.

¹¹ "Answer to the Article on Phrenology, in the *Christian Examiner*," *New England Mag.*, VIII (March, 1835), 183.

¹² George Combe, *The Constitution of Man* (5th American ed.; Boston, 1835), p. iv.

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 17-18.

¹⁴ Mann to Lydia Mann, Nov. 9, 1838, Mann Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society.

tion of the Blind, which in 1839 was renamed the Perkins Institution. His youthful years in Greece behind him, Howe was now in the full flower of his manhood, achieving international fame as the teacher of Laura Bridgman, the little deaf-blind girl from Hanover, New Hampshire, whom he placed in contact with the world. Fiery and dynamic, Howe never did things by halves. During his Greek years, a more violent Turcophobe than most of the natives, when he took up teaching, he became in less than a decade one of the foremost members of the profession. In later years he became an abolitionist. As he grew more committed to its program there developed within him a pathological hatred of slavery and its works. But just as Howe could hate, so he could love. Julia Ward, his wife, one of the most charming of women, Charles Sumner, Horace Mann, and Theodore Parker, as distinguished a group as one could hope to know, are testimony to the power of his personality.

George Combe, too, found a place in that choice circle upon his arrival in Boston. Howe was drawn irresistibly to him, having found in his writings the answer to the vexing problems of the connection between immaterial and material in the human being. The master-disciple relationship quickly became a warm friendship of equals. The elder philosopher visited the blind school and marveled at the work he saw in progress. To Howe, Combe was the most high-minded of men who devoted himself to his calling "simply that he may do good in his day & generation."¹⁵

Combe's leading American interpreter had come to realize the basic fact that the condition of the mind depended on the state of the physical organization.¹⁶ These relationships were bound inextricably to divine will and benevolence, since by following proper phrenological principles mankind could develop and improve, but their neglect would lead to punishment unto the third and fourth generations.¹⁷

Howe saw more than mere physical truth in the principle; he felt it had applications to society as a whole. Mankind, he insisted, is a unit in which all individuals are implicated. If one portion is unhealthy, the disease is reflected on the other parts as well. Phrenology teaches that institutions and the regulations of society are built on the principle of social feeling. In man's mind as in his body, all faculties must be developed. "The society which effects this to the greatest possible number of its members," he wrote, "is in accordance with the principles of phrenology, and is good."¹⁸

¹⁵ Howe to John O. Sargent, Nov. 17, 1838, Howe Papers, Houghton.

¹⁶ Howe, *Thoughts on Language; A Lecture Delivered before the American Institute of Instruction* (Boston, 1842), p. 4.

¹⁷ Howe, *Discourse on the Social Relations of Man* (Boston, 1837), p. 4.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

His devotion to phrenology was complete. He now gave new interpretations to certain ideas he had during his undergraduate days considered as based on reason. There was no shred of doubt in his mind as to the truth of the science. As a teacher he claimed to follow its principles in his work, although he never alleged so in his reports. His course of study, adumbrated in 1832, with its emphasis on development of mind and body might be claimed as a phrenological principle, except that he wrote it before his conversion, so far as this author can tell.¹⁹ Howe felt phrenology's simplicity, clearness, and universal applicability were light shed on dark corners of the science of the mind, making it immensely valuable to the legislator and to the teacher. It would effect changes in the whole social system of man. "What the discovery of the mariner's compass has been to navigators," he prophesied, "will be the philosophy of Phrenology to education and legislation."²⁰ The body as well as the mind had to be developed, to prevent the abuse of God's gift. The science taught the necessity of balance, and it was on this principle that he based his teaching. Precocity in youth upset the equilibrium he strove for since it forced the development of a faculty before children were ready for it. In his opinion, premature cerebral development resulted in distorted growth.²¹

In the field of moral philosophy, phrenology was the only system which gave him a rational explanation of the difference between the mental endowments of man and the lower animals, the only system which explained why man does what he does, why he must know, and why he worships his Creator. There is an innate disposition implanted in the species which impels individuals to worship superior beings, and all in whom this disposition is most strongly marked have the organ of veneration in the brain most strongly developed.²²

The true phrenologist must be religious, but he must recognize that many sacred institutions run counter to the principles of science. Howe wished to see Christianity purified of its fanaticism and all observances injurious to physical health or conducive to undue cerebral excitement. Man should not hesitate to touch what is aged and venerable, for, he queried, "had the reformers of past days hesitated, where should we now be?"²³ Man's innate spirit is religious, but he will reject what offends reason. Among these were

¹⁹ See for example the First Report of the Perkins Institution, 1832, which was published as *Address of the Trustees of the New England Institution for the Education of the Blind to the Public*.

²⁰ Howe, *Address Delivered at the Anniversary Celebration of the Boston Phrenological Society, December 28, 1835* (Boston, 1836), p. 18.

²¹ Howe, *Social Relations of Man*, pp. 23-25.

²² Howe, *Anniversary Address*, pp. 20-21.

²³ *Social Relations of Man*, p. 28.

such rites contrary to natural law as revivals, which he considered demoralizing in their effects and humiliating as exhibitions of fanaticism and folly.²⁴

To Howe it was absurd to war against phrenology on the ground that it would overthrow Christianity, for, if the religion is false, the sooner it is exploded the better. There was no need to fear this, however, since God is truth and his worship is founded in eternal principles of nature, which science can only confirm.²⁵ No phrenologist could ridicule the notion of the perfectibility of man,²⁶ and phrenology presenting a simple and beautiful system of moral philosophy would be one of the means aiding this development.²⁷

Howe lived his belief, carrying it into his daily relations. In a statement prepared expressly for George Combe, he acknowledged that whatever success he had attained, had come from his understanding of the science of the mind: "Before I knew Phrenology, I was groping my way in the dark as blind as my pupils; I derived very little satisfaction from my labors, and fear that I gave but little to others."²⁸ It entered into the curriculum of his school where the upper classes studied it from an outline he prepared. He even allowed them to attend Combe's lectures in the fall of 1838.²⁹

No one was safe from Howe's searching gaze; he always looked at people's heads trying to judge their character, especially those of famous men. In the spring of 1838 he wrote an article on "The Heads of Our Great Men" for Park Benjamin's *American Monthly Magazine*, that was a farcical demonstration of the *post hoc* reasoning typical of phrenologists.³⁰ The flaws of their faith were clearly laid forth in all their ridiculous pretension. To Howe, the tops and backs of men's heads were almost as little alike as their faces. Taking as true the theory that all who have a long reach of head from the ear forward and but little behind are intellectual, while all who have a great thickness in back of the neck are decidedly animal, he reprinted a table of the heads of prominent men prepared by the Surgeon General of the Army. All the skulls under survey were larger than average, each showing the chief characteristic of its owner. The Indian Agent had a small faculty of inhabitiveness, and consequently Howe was not surprised to learn that he had traveled all over the world. John Quincy Adams showed, not eloquence, but the largest perceptive faculty according to the distances from

²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 32-36.

²⁵ *Anniversary Address*, p. 27.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 23.

²⁷ *Social Relations of Man*, p. 39.

²⁸ George Combe, *Notes on the United States* (Philadelphia, 1841), II, 204.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, I, 63.

³⁰ *American Monthly Magazine*, N.S. V (April, 1838), 354-69; Park Benjamin to Howe, Apr. 8, 1838, Howe Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society, gives the authorship. The article was published anonymously.

ear to forehead and between the eyes. Truly, no American could match the former President's varied knowledge.³¹

The measure of destructiveness was through the head from ear to ear, and, next to an officer cashiered for theft, President Van Buren's was largest. Howe in mock indignation noted "the folly of phrenological predictions," as indeed it was, but considering the view he had earlier expressed of the Little Magician in a series called "Atheism in New England," one wonders if he were not now more convinced than ever of the truth of the science.³²

Daniel Webster didn't come off well in this study either. He had the largest head to be sure, but there was too much in the "animal region, and though he has 'most brains of the bunch,' they are not of the very choicest kind."³³ Howe never did think well of the pride of Massachusetts Whiggery, and as the slavery crisis deepened, his dislike for him grew stronger.

Phrenology began to fade within a few years. Most scientific men refused to accept it, as Howe himself noted in his article.³⁴ Furthermore, its pretensions were repugnant to many who could not accept so deterministic a philosophy of mind.³⁵ There were also serious flaws in its teachings as others were quick to point out. One author showed that Spurzheim, Gall, and Combe ascribed three different functions to the same part of the brain.³⁶ The fatuousness of its leaders may be gauged by the analysis Combe wrote of Howe after their acquaintance had endured for a couple of years. Had he been able to do this immediately at their first meeting one could say that there might perhaps have been something in his theories, but one hardly needed to examine Howe's brain to know he was combative. After telling him that he was an easy subject to analyze, with a temperament and brain allied to genius, Combe continued:

You have very large Love of Approbation, which gives you the desire of distinction; & large Combativeness. In youth, the fire of your temperament joined to these two faculties led you to Greece: But even then a large Benevolence served to direct your steps.—There was generous philanthropy combined with the love of military glory inciting you to join in that noble struggle.—Genius with such a combination as yours cannot be idle, or be content without a field commensurate to its desires. . . . You have powers for yet a brighter destiny, if it could be found.³⁷ Howe sought ceaselessly for this brighter destiny.

³¹ "Heads of Great Men," p. 360.

³² "Atheism in New England," *New England Mag.*, VII (December, 1834), 500-509 and VIII (January, 1835), 53-62.

³³ "Heads of Great Men," p. 362.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 354.

³⁵ See the review article on Combe's *System of Phrenology* in the *Boston Quarterly Review*, ed. Orestes Brownson, III (April, 1839), 205-27.

³⁶ "O," "Phrenology," *New England Mag.*, VI (June, 1834), 471.

³⁷ George Combe to Howe, Mar. 15, 1840, Howe Papers, Houghton.

The science fell into the hands of practicing "phrenologists" who for a small fee offered to give character readings to their clients. The ubiquitous firm of Fowler & Wells with offices in New York and other cities were only the most prominent of such concerns whose notices cluttered up the meager newspapers of the day. Phrenology had at last taken the path leading to the midway and boardwalk; its decline was complete.

The Boston Phrenological Society gave up the ghost sometime in the 1840's after a flourishing existence of about a decade. Its collection, with Spurzheim's skull, came into Howe's possession. He stored it at the Perkins Institution for several years until he sold it for debts the society owed him to Warren, who turned it over to Harvard.³⁸

Howe remained loyal to the fad long after it had been discredited. His wife has noted that he was likely in meeting new acquaintances to observe the shape of the head, once going so far as to insist that a prospective household servant take her hat off, before he would hire her, so that he could judge her character. Combe's friendship stayed with him. When they were both in Rome in 1844, they toured the art galleries together. Julia Ward Howe has left an amusing description of her husband and Combe as they stood before a head of Zeus which they examined according to phrenological principles.³⁹ More significantly, Howe clung to Combe's moral philosophy. Though he never used the term "phrenology," or even referred to it publicly, he bore in mind the necessity of keeping the body healthy as well as the mind, doctrines not yet repudiated. He carried these principles into effect both at the Perkins Institution and the Massachusetts School for Idiotic and Feeble-Minded Youth which he organized late in the 1840's.

Phrenology was one of those curious sidetracks of knowledge down which intellectuals in their eagerness to embrace some new thing of great promise sometimes wander. It generally takes several years before the true character of these movements appears, at which time, if the promise is shown to be hollow, most will revert to good sense, leaving the field to the charlatans. The twentieth century has shown us the pattern repeated many times.

Baltimore, Maryland

³⁸ The Howe-Warren Correspondence extending from 1847 to 1849 is available at the Massachusetts Historical Society. Warren to President and Corporation of Harvard, Nov. 11, 1849, announces his intention of turning over the collection to the university. It should be said that Howe considered Spurzheim's skull priceless. He refused to sell it, but turned it over for safekeeping and for preservation as a sacred relic. Howe to Warren, Sept. 17, 1849.

³⁹ Julia Ward Howe, *Reminiscences, 1819-1899* (Boston, 1900), p. 132.

* * * * * *Reviews of Books* * * * * *

General History

CLOSING THE RING. By *Winston S. Churchill*. [The Second World War, Volume V.] (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1951. Pp. xvi, 749. \$6.00.)

Now that Winston Churchill is once again Prime Minister of Great Britain additional interest attaches to the history of his former premiership. It is not only that the book lover may wonder whether urgent political duties may delay the publication of later volumes in this series; diplomats and men of affairs will also turn with redoubled attention to these volumes to study the man himself and his special way of thinking. There is, for instance, some contemporary importance in the fact that Churchill wrote in 1944 that the reason British Communist war correspondents had not been sent to the front was that "Communists do not hesitate to betray any British or American secrets they may find to the Communist Party, no doubt for transmission to Russia" (p. 715), or his recommendation to support the Jewish rather than the Arab policy in Palestine (p. 689), a recommendation tragically neglected by the Labor government which followed his own.

The scope of the present volume is the year extending from June, 1943, to June, 1944. It deals largely, in fact principally, with the Italian campaign and its diplomatic setting, but the other events of the year are all touched on: the campaign by air and on the sea, the negotiations with Stalin, the preparations for the invasion of Normandy, the events in the Pacific and the Far East. So far as it is an argument, the thesis of the book is that not enough attention was paid to military possibilities in the Near East. The "most acute difference I ever had with General Eisenhower," he says, was over a campaign for Rhodes and Leros in the Aegean area: "It would have been easy, but for pedantic denials in the minor sphere, to have added the control of the Aegean, and very likely the accession of Turkey, to all the fruits of the Italian campaign" (pp. 224-25). Again, he argued to convince Stalin that he was not making a choice between the Mediterranean campaign and the Normandy invasion, but between the Mediterranean campaign and one in Burma (p. 377). In his opinion, the Far East could wait its turn, until the Near East had been served. He did not agree that China was really a great power, or a major factor in the war, though he personally liked Chiang Kai-shek and his wife, who "are now regarded as wicked and corrupt reactionaries by many of their former admirers" (p. 329).

Churchill seems at all times to have put usefulness to the war effort ahead of both ideology and idealism. He wrote to Roosevelt: "We should not be able to agree here in attacking countries which have not molested us because we dislike their totalitarian form of government. I do not know whether there is more freedom in Stalin's Russia than in Franco's Spain. I have no intention to seek a quarrel with either" (p. 627). He dealt with De Gaulle, though he con-

stantly complains of the French patriot's stiff and unco-operative attitude. He swung British support from the royalist Serb Mihailovic to the Communist Tito because Tito was carrying on a more active campaign. He went very far indeed to meet Russia's demands for a share of prewar Poland. He would have welcomed Mussolini as an ally, though he was insistent on crushing him as an enemy ("His fatal mistake was the declaration of war on France and Great Britain. . . . Had he not done this, he might well have maintained Italy in balancing position, courted and rewarded by both sides. . . . Even when the issue of the war become certain, Mussolini would have been welcomed by the Allies," p. 51). Now, a statesman equally capable of getting along with Roosevelt, Stalin, Tito, De Gaulle, Franco, and (had the Duce been willing) even Mussolini, is not to be classed as either a conservative or a liberal; he is simply a British patriot. Anyone negotiating with him in the future can safely put aside all doctrinaire considerations and discuss everything from the standpoint of national interests.

One of the most interesting parts of the book is the account of the rival plans which Roosevelt and Churchill discussed with Stalin for the postwar partition of Germany. Both favored the idea, but Roosevelt had in mind the "Balkanization" of Germany into seven fragments, five independent and two under the United Nations; Churchill thought of a two-fold division, into Prussia and South Germany. Neither plan was, perhaps, very realistic, and the kind of partition of Germany which actually came about, into a free zone and a Russian zone, is as objectionable to Churchill as to anyone.

As in his other volumes, Churchill appears equally concerned with details and with broad problems. As he himself said that "An efficient and a successful administration manifests itself equally in small as in great matters," it is scarcely surprising to find him taking a personal interest in artificial runways for air-planes, made of ice and wood pulp (pp. 75-76); in the use of "aircraft" for "aeroplane," and "intense" for "intensive" and other niceties of official style; in extra grain for chicken farmers; in extra leather for civilian boots; in the use of dignified terms for code words covering military operations, since we should not "enable some mother to say that her son was killed in an operation called 'Bunnyhug' or 'Ballyhoo'" (p. 662). Churchill's mind suggests to the reader some enormous, perhaps rather elephantine, engine, equally capable of picking up a locomotive or a safety pin.

University of Michigan

PRESTON SLOSSON

Ancient and Medieval History

THE BIRTH OF CIVILIZATION IN THE NEAR EAST. By *Henri Frankfort*.

(Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1951. Pp. 116. \$4.00.)

THE ancient Near East has now provided material sufficient for a profitable consideration of the broad question of the birth of civilization. Here, in the two

areas of Egypt and Mesopotamia, there arose societies which were far enough above the level of primitive existence to be called civilized and this rise seems to have taken place without the stimulus of contact with more advanced foreigners. For Frankfort, the two mature civilizations were not the result of gradual growth but rather the outcome of a sudden and intense change. In Mesopotamia about the middle of the fourth millennium there appeared suddenly a rapid increase in the size of settlements, monumental architecture in the form of the temple, the invention of writing, representational art, and the mastery of other new techniques. Later, in the Nile Valley, the form of Egyptian civilization began to take shape along lines somewhat parallel. Here too the transition was not gradual, and few things that mattered in later times were without roots in that first burst of creativity.

By Frankfort's definition civilization has two aspects. There is the "form," a core of individuality which, although it may change, is never destroyed. This can best be recognized not at the birth of the particular civilization, but at the peak of its maturity and then traced back to a point when the familiar phenomena are lost sight of entirely. This "form," or consistency of orientation, is difficult to grasp and can be laid hold of only by those who are willing "to meet an alien spirit on its own terms." The other aspect is "dynamics," which he views as the total of the changes which the form undergoes in history. The first chapter of the book is given over to a method of study which the author feels is suitable to the material which the ancient Near East provides. He comes to grip with Spengler, who in his "sensational, arrogant, and pompous volumes," denies the freedom of the human spirit and falls short of understanding the material from the ancient world. Toynbee, Frankfort believes, has come under the influence of evolutionary bias, is preoccupied with a system of categories derived from the crucial period in Western history when the Roman Empire disintegrated, and has come up with observations about the birth of civilization in Egypt and Mesopotamia which are irrelevant. He is more favorably inclined toward the approach of ethnologists, such as Benedict and Malinowski.

In Mesopotamia, the city is given as the key to an understanding of both the birth and the later growth of civilization. Particularly valuable is Frankfort's synthesis of the architectural features of the Mesopotamian city discovered by archaeologists and the social organization of the urban society as it can be described from the religious and economic texts which were written in cuneiform on clay tablets. There were both a planned economy and considerable opportunities for private enterprise in the system. The characteristic pattern of the city state made inevitable the political instability which caused the ultimate downfall of the civilization.

If the key to Mesopotamian civilization is the city, the basis for the social fabric in Egypt may be said to be the pharaoh. He was the living god, to whom authority was willingly delegated, the "living fount of law." This system was not

tyrannical but good, according to Frankfort, when judged within the context of Egyptian civilization. It was a structure evolved through thousands of years and served to give peace and security, which was so sadly lacking in Asia, to ancient Egypt. An appendix presents the evidence for the influence of Mesopotamia on Egypt toward the end of the fourth millennium, but steers clear of the view that Egyptian civilization was dependent upon Mesopotamia.

Frankfort's wide interests and stimulating theories have been combined with telling effect in these lectures to produce a book which will be read with profit far beyond the narrow circle of those interested primarily in Mesopotamia and Egypt.

Crozer Theological Seminary

JAMES B. PRITCHARD

HOMER AND THE MONUMENTS. By *H. L. Lorimer*. (New York: Macmillan Company, 1950. Pp. xxiii, 552, plates. \$9.00.)

WHILE this is primarily a book for the specialist, its conclusions will be of great interest to the general scholar, historian, archaeologist, or linguist. Miss Lorimer has fully collected and sifted, for the first time in two generations, the archaeological material of the late Bronze and early Iron Ages which bears on the poems; it is correlated in detail with Homeric descriptions in three long sections on arms and armor, dress, and the house. The background is set by sketches of the development of prehistoric Greece and of the foreign relations of Greece in the late Bronze and early Iron Ages, while the significance of the archaeological material for Homeric problems is discussed in a concluding chapter. In general, Miss Lorimer finds that, while features of the Bronze Age are present in Homer, they are much less considerable than once supposed, but that the archaeological evidence does attest a continuity of poetic tradition down to the latter part of the eighth century. This epic tradition, it is argued, originated on the Greek mainland in Mycenaean times, was preserved in Athens by the Mycenaean nobility who took refuge there, and was carried by them to Ionia when colonization of that region began. The author's position is that of the unitarian who holds that the poems were composed in Ionian Greece in the latter part of the eighth century B.C., but admits a continuous poetic tradition from the late Bronze Age and a partially fluid text from the date of composition to *ca.* 650 B.C.

Miss Lorimer's chief aim, to collect and discuss the pertinent archaeological material and to correlate it with the Homeric descriptions, has certainly been achieved, at least for material available to 1939. The book will be a necessary starting point for further studies of that nature, since it is well documented, has a useful index, and the author's discussion is clear and to the point. At times too much is built on purely archaeological evidence: e.g., the assumption that Athens was a strong naval power in the late eighth century, on the basis of the Late Geometric vase paintings. Points of this nature will be noticed by the users

of the book, but the important groups of material fundamental to the problems are well and fully treated. Some hypotheses, however, seem open to serious question. One such is the role of Athens as a transmitter of the epic tradition to Ionia. While there is a strong literary tradition that Athens was the metropolis of the Ionian colonies, that tradition is not the earliest nor is it that of Asiatic Ionia. Mimnermus of Colophon (Frag. 9, Bergk) knows only of a direct colonization from the Peloponnesus, without any digression to Attica. Miss Lorimer's suggestion that cremation, virtually unknown to Mycenaean burial practice, but the normal form in Homer and in the cemeteries of Assarlik and Colophon in Asia Minor, was developed in Athens by the Mycenaean refugees to prevent despoiling of their dead and by them transferred to Ionia, seems doubtful. Mylonas has pointed out that cremation seems to have been usual in Troy VI, destroyed *ca.* 1300 B.C. It may have been practiced there later and brought back to Greece by the Achaeans who fought at Troy and found it a convenient practice for the battlefield (*American Journal of Archaeology*, LII [1948], 80). Miss Lorimer finds considerable support for the date of composition in the picture of Greek-Phoenician relations in the *Odyssey*. Their treatment by the poet certainly suggests that he is describing relations contemporary with or slightly older than his own period. Thus, their correct setting is a vital matter. Miss Lorimer follows the conventional dating of Phoenician expansion to the mid-eighth century and later, thus establishing a *terminus* for the composition of the poem. Yet, in the past decade, Albright has argued for a tenth-century date for Phoenician expansion westward, and recently has used the material to arrive at the conclusion that the *Odyssey* was composed before *ca.* 950 B.C. (*Am. Jour. Archaeol.*, LIV [1950], 172 ff.). Old questions are still open, but Miss Lorimer has given us a valuable block of material with which to work.

University of Chicago

CARL ROEBUCK

THE ORIGINS AND HISTORY OF THE PROCONSULAR AND THE PROPRAETORIAN IMPERIUM TO 27 B.C. By *Wilhelmina Feemster Jashemski*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1950. Pp. ix, 174. \$5.00.)

THIS is a very competent doctoral dissertation, clear, accurate, and scholarly. Appropriately, it appears almost at the same time as the first volume of T. R. S. Broughton's exhaustive and definitive work, *The Magistrates of the Roman Republic*, and contributes modestly, as Broughton's does in a large way, toward the achievement of a Republican prosopography to accompany Mommsen's *PIR*. Indeed, Broughton was able to read Jashemski's first draft in time to use its finds in his own work (pp. viii, 257 n.1, 303, 305 n.2, 332 n.6, 514, 528 n.2), while she received in turn the mature criticism of an older scholar (pp. vii, viii).

Jashemski's argument is that the Augustan principate was the culmination of constitutional changes which did not begin, but were merely accelerated, in

the last century of the Republic; that the extraordinary commands of Pompey, for instance, were rooted in much earlier Republican precedents; and that, consequently, the searches for precedent by Mommsen, Meyer, and Boak do not go back far enough. Certainly, the unprecedented nature of some of the later commissions has been overstressed (see, for instance, F. B. Marsh's overstatement on page 100 of his *History of the Roman World, 146-30 B.C.*, and the author's criticism of it on page 92). But, in seeking support for her thesis, the author also exaggerates. For instance, in making the career of Scipio Africanus the prototype of Pompey's, Jashemski misses the two points in which Pompey's authority differs from Scipio's, and which make *all* the difference: (1) Pompey's *imperium proconsulare* was initially (and not merely by a succession of annual grants) conferred upon him for a period longer than one year; and (2) the extent of Pompey's authority was defined to exceed the limits of a single province.

Again, it is not correct to say that "the theory back of *prorogatio* was that a man who was not a magistrate was allowed to act 'as a magistrate'" (p. 20), but rather that a man who was a magistrate was empowered to continue to act as a magistrate beyond his normal term by an extension of his authority in time.

In at least two places, the author throws light upon matters in dispute. On pages 41-47, she raises the question at issue between Mommsen and Wilsdorf (*Fasti Hispaniarum Provinciarum*) with regard to the proper title of the Spanish governors, and settles it conclusively in favor of Mommsen, *viz.* that all the praetors and propraetors in Spain served *proconsule*.

Again, on pages 49-52, in investigating the nature of the *imperium* of Q. Caecilius Metellus, the first governor of Macedonia, the author writes a valuable commentary on the meaning of the Greek phrase στρατηγὸς ἀνθύπατος, in which she persuasively argues that it signifies any magistrate holding proconsular power, and thus rejects both Mommsen's narrow interpretation (*praetor proconsule*), and Holleaux's wider extension of the term to include all Roman magistrates other than consuls.

On page 91, line 20, should not χαὶ be read καὶ?

Ohio State University

W. F. McDONALD

THE ITALIC REGIONS FROM AUGUSTUS TO THE LOMBARD INVASIONS. By *Rudi Thomsen*. [Classica et Mediaevalia, Dissertationes IV.] (Copenhagen: Gyldendalske Boghandel. 1947. Pp. 339, vi. 30 kr.)

It is generally admitted that the division of Italy into eleven regions by Augustus exerted an enduring influence on the form of the later organization of Italy throughout the Roman Empire and into more recent times, but the precise boundaries of the original regions and the exact relations of the later transformations to them has remained in need of closer analysis and discussion. The task is one of extraordinary difficulty, for it involves a fresh analysis of such sources

as Pliny's description of Italy and the *Liber Coloniarius*, the exact boundaries at several periods are very hard to define for lack of evidence, and the purpose of many of the successive changes remains in doubt. Some of the earlier studies, even those of Mommsen, were vitiated by an incorrect estimate of Pliny and of the *Liber Coloniarius*, and it has required a closer definition of the exact boundaries of the individual Italic peoples and tribes, such as those of Beloch, and more recently of Afzelius, to provide a sound approach to the problem. This comprehensive and carefully argued monograph by Dr. Thomsen has met that problem with a very considerable measure of success.

The work is divided into two parts, of which Part I is devoted to the study of the Augustan regions and Part II to the later organization. The first chapter presents an attractive interpretation of Pliny: the source of his alphabetic lists had nothing to do with the Augustan regions; it was an earlier Augustan list based on the tribal groupings and drawn up either for the purposes of the census or as a preliminary to Agrippa's map; and hence arose repetitions and inconsistencies when he adapted it to his account of the Augustan regions without realizing how far Augustus had been influenced by natural geographic boundaries. A second chapter shows the inadequacy of Ptolemy as a source, and the third, the main chapter in this part, subjects the boundaries of the various regions to detailed critical examination. Uncertainties, such as the attribution of Metapontum to Region II or Region III, are clearly marked, and a number of corrections are made of former lists: Bergomum should probably be included in Region X, and Forum Vibi in Region XI. The inclusion of Emona in Region X seems more dubious.

In Part II the first chapter reviews the relation of the Augustan regions to the juridical districts, and distinguishes three "permanent" forms of these: they were based on the Augustan organization but were necessarily modified because the sphere of the urban prefect was artificially set within one hundred miles of the city. Other administrative units, those for the *vicesima hereditatum*, and after a time even the domanial districts, were in some degree based on the regions of Augustus, which through all these, and particularly through the juridical districts, finally conditioned the form of the provinces of the *correctores* under the Later Empire. These provinces are examined in the final chapters, first in the light of the inscriptions, the imperial constitutions, and the provincial lists, and then, after an elaborate analysis, in the light of the *Liber Coloniarius*. The final chapter is especially valuable for its analysis of the tradition which created this work, judiciously taking a stand between the skepticism of Mommsen and the too great confidence of Pais. The second edition, he holds, is of quite subsidiary value, but the first has in it a good tradition from the days of Augustus and Tiberius, if he is the Nero Claudius named, through Balbus in the age of Trajan, and represents in its final compilation the provincial division of the early fourth century. This analysis, though applied particularly to the problem of the regions,

has already proved valuable for other problems too (see now, Castagnoli, in *Bull. Comm.*, LXXII [1946-48], Append. 50-58).

The strength of Dr. Thomsen's study lies in its thorough and acute analysis of the sources, and its careful definition of the original and the later regional organizations. Two major questions remain unsolved: the first is the purpose of the Augustan organization, for no close organic relation in time or even in space to the administration of the *vicesima hereditatum* is clearly proved; and the second is the reasons for the many later changes that can be traced and described. The decision to publish a work so clearly valuable to scholars in many lands in an international language, in this case English, can only be applauded, but it is a pity that the translation has at times prevented arguments from being presented with gradation and balance, and has rendered many passages awkward, some even obscure.

Bryn Mawr College

T. ROBERT S. BROUGHTON

WEST ROMAN VULGAR LAW: THE LAW OF PROPERTY. By *Ernst Levy*, Professor of Law, History, and Political Science, University of Washington. [Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society, Volume 29.] (Philadelphia: the Society. 1951. Pp. xix, 305. \$5.00.)

ANY contribution to our knowledge of Roman law from the pen of Professor Ernst Levy, long established as one of the most eminent students of this discipline, is bound to be significant, illuminating, and provocative. The present monograph possesses these properties to a high degree and fulfills all expectations of the reader. It presents a comprehensive treatment of the law of property in West Roman vulgar law. Thus it marks another milestone in the author's long endeavors to uncover and reconstruct this important body of law, and at the same time rounds out and consolidates his previous studies on various phases of the same subject dispersed in a truly international array of publications.

West Roman vulgar law was that body of law which flourished in the West from the post-classical period—about A.D. 240—until it was amalgamated with and absorbed by the laws of the Germanic states. In the east an analogous body existed but was superseded by the neoclassicism of Justinian's reform. Professor Levy takes great pains to place into distinct relief the true character of this vulgar law (which is not even perfunctorily defined by use of the labels "postclassical" or "pre-Justinian") and to differentiate the eastern and western brands. The western law, of course, forms the author's chief focus of attention, and appropriately so, because it was this body of law which influenced directly the course of subsequent European legal history and civilization. The full measure of this influence certainly deserves some further careful study. Professor Levy (understandably but regrettably) had to content himself largely with the brief statement: "As late as the eighth century, the Frankish collections of *formulae* and the

Lex Romana Curiensis furnish striking proof of its continuing efficacy and strength." Now, it has been known for a long time that the Frankish *formulae* were one of the models of the Anglo-Norman writs, and Fritz Schulz has recently re-emphasized this fact, in a brilliant article, in reference to the early general handmaid of royal justice, the writ "*precipe quod reddat*" ("The Writ 'Precipe Quod Reddat' and Its Continental Models," *Juridical Review*, LIV [1942], 1). In the light of this connection between West Roman vulgar and the early common law the present monograph gains a special interest also for the legal historian of not purely romanistic bent.

Professor Levy discusses West Roman vulgar law of property from four fundamental aspects: concept, limitations in the public interest, acquisition, and judicial enforcement (remedies). In each of these chapters the author works out the pertinent details and complex ramifications of the specific topic. His amazing though now well-known mastery of the sources, his superb skill in unraveling hopelessly intertwined strands of development and his imaginative manipulation of the various layers of evolution succeed in giving the reader an almost four-dimensional (time, of course, being the fourth dimension) picture of the transformation of the legal institution called "property" under the impact of changing economic, social, and intellectual conditions. Thus the author traces minutely but lucidly the corrosion of the classical differentiation between the obligatory transaction and the act of transfer of ownership in performance thereof and the ensuing coalescence of the underlying contract with the passage of the title envisaged thereby, especially for the sale and the donation. Similarly illuminating and, in a way, fascinating is his careful account of the eclipse of the classical antithesis of *actiones in rem* and *actiones in personam* and the transformation of the classical *actio in rem*, predicated strictly on title, into an action for the *res ipsa* regardless of the nature of the right entitling the plaintiff thereto. Happily the author in this case contrasts in detail the position of the vulgar law in that respect with the early Germanic approach and shows how the pre-Frankish and Frankish law completely rejected the vulgar proprietary action and transformed all actions except those based on contract into those of a tortious nature, predicated all liability of the defendant on the reason "that he *malo ordine invasisset* or, at least, *malo ordine retinere, teneret, possideret*." Since this is very nearly the status of the early English writ system in the days of Glanvill with its still broad and untechnical concept of trespass (*transgressio*) and the "*deforciat*" as the gist of the undifferentiated actions of debt and detinue alike, again Professor Levy's researches are invaluable for the understanding of the early phase of the English post-Conquest law.

In the opinion of the reviewer, Professor Levy's contribution is one of first magnitude. It is not only the masterful and undoubtedly in many respects final discussion of an important phase of western legal history but it also opens innumerable vistas for the explanation of puzzling problems in later eras. Thus

it is actually much broader than its title indicates and amounts to an important chapter in a much needed "Universal History of Occidental Law." It is hoped that the second part of the work dealing with contracts and torts will follow in short order.

University of Minnesota

STEFAN A. RIESENFELD

FROM DOMESDAY BOOK TO MAGNA CARTA, 1087-1216. By *Austin Lane Poole*, President of St. John's College, Oxford. [Oxford History of England.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1951. Pp. xv, 541. \$5.00.)

THIS is the first comprehensive treatment of this period of English history which has appeared for several years. It is more comprehensive than its predecessors such as the works of Adams, Davis, and Ramsay. The main topics are the manner of life of the king and his household, of barons and knights and of dwellers in country and in town throughout the whole period (chaps. I-III), the relations with Normandy 1087-1135 (IV), Stephen's reign (V), church and state primarily to 1189 (VI, VII), learning, literature, and art of the whole period (VIII), relations with Scotland, Ireland, and Wales during the whole period (IX), the Angevin empire 1154-1204 (X, XI), justice and finance principally of the reigns of Henry I and Henry II (XII), and the reign of John 1204-1216 (XIII, XIV). There is also a select critical bibliography. The arrangement provides an effective basis for the understanding of the period as a whole. If one is interested in a particular phase, such as the constitutional development, it may be necessary to hunt a little to find the whole story, but the material is so well organized that the search presents no difficulty.

The narrative is based on thorough research. It incorporates the results of the numerous monographs and articles which have added so much to our knowledge of various aspects of the subject. It also profits greatly from the author's extensive and intensive knowledge of the original sources. The pipe rolls and the plea rolls, for example, are utilized, on a scale which is rare, to illumine and enlarge our knowledge of many developments other than the financial and the judicial. It is a convincing demonstration of the interesting and important information which the dry bones of such records can be made to yield.

The new points of view and the new facts presented cannot be specified within a reasonable amount of space, but they may be illustrated. The portrayal of the life of the times presents many new details and produces a picture which is exceptionally good. The judgments of the personalities and characters of some of the rulers of the period are different from those which have been customary. Henry I and Henry II are depicted in darker colors and John in a comparatively light shade of gray. The author has to deal extensively with wars. He describes most medieval campaigns as "a haphazard series of sieges of castles interrupted by an occasional clash of arms in the open" (p. 465), but he succeeds in presenting

the essential causes, course, and results of one campaign after another with a clarity which gives them meaning. His estimate of the devastation caused by the wars of Stephen's reign is a particularly enlightening example. With regard to the great charter he thinks that the barons who led the movement for it were a bad lot, and he takes a rather more favorable view of John's part in the negotiations with the barons than has been held generally.

Occasional details might perhaps be amended. It is not incorrect to say that tallages could be imposed on unfree tenants on the royal demesne (p. 6), but they could be levied also from the free tenants other than the townsmen, and elsewhere the phrase "demesne tenants" is used (p. 418). In such a work as this one does not expect an exposition of the controversy over the authenticity of *Laudabiliter*, but to accept the conclusions of Orpen without mention of Thatcher (p. 303, n. 1) seems hardly fair to the reader. Likewise the possibility might be noted that the letter in which Henry II purports to acknowledge the feudal superiority of the pope in 1173 (p. 458) may be a forgery. The statement that the quarter raised for the ransom of Richard I was levied on both revenues and chattels (p. 365) is not documented, but it must rest on Roger de Hoveden (III, 210). Elsewhere Roger calls it a fourth of revenues, as do other contemporary chroniclers. These and a few other counsels of perfection which might be offered do not affect my opinion that the work is a fine product of scholarly research which will be a fundamental guide to all who wish to understand the history of the period.

Haverford College

W. E. LUNT

Modern European History

LA CRISE RELIGIEUSE DU XVI^e SIÈCLE. By *E. de Moreau*, de l'Académie royale de Belgique, *Pierre Jourda*, Professeur à la Faculté des Lettres de Montpellier, and *Pierre Janelle*, Professeur à la Faculté des Lettres de Clermont-Ferrand. [Histoire de l'Eglise depuis les origines jusqu'à nos jours, tome XVI.] (Paris: Bloud & Gay. 1950. Pp. 461. 960 fr.)

THE sixteenth volume of the "Histoire de l'Eglise," edited by Augustin Fliche and Eugène Jarry in co-operation with a group of French and Belgian Catholic scholars, deals with "the religious crisis of the sixteenth century." Most scholars would probably reserve this title for the treatment of the general transformation of the Christian faith and of Christian church institutions that took place at the end of the Middle Ages and expressed itself not only in Protestantism but also in humanism and certain Renaissance philosophies. The crisis was resolved both in the creation of Protestant churches and in a reform of the Roman

Catholic church. The volume under review deals exclusively with the origins and spread of Protestantism in Europe, while the Roman Catholic forces are mentioned only insofar as they appear as effective opponents to Protestantism. The term "religious crisis" is thus used in a more limited sense than has become customary. But the title expresses the intention of the authors to interpret the growth of Protestantism not as the result of religious degeneracy or political conspiracy but as the upshot of genuinely religious developments.

Roman Catholic and Protestant historians cannot be expected to reach agreement on a large number of fundamental problems of Reformation research. But it has fortunately proved possible to narrow down the field of controversy and to achieve a mutual understanding of the basic differences in historical interpretation. Substantial progress has been made in this direction during the last fifty, and particularly thirty, years. Common opposition to modern secular liberalism was an important element in originally repressing reckless denominational polemics. The common experience of modern totalitarianism has been a fresh cause of renewed efforts to reappraise the inner motives of the religious struggle of the sixteenth century. Joseph Lortz's work on the German Reformation (Freiburg, 1939-40; 3d ed., 1949-50), written by an orthodox Roman Catholic theologian, is a good example of this trend.

It is a happy event that the volume under review supports the endeavors of modern Reformation scholars to interpret the origins of Protestantism in genuinely religious terms. Protestants, no doubt, will not feel satisfied with many statements on individual issues. They will argue that the authors of the volume do not pay enough attention to the Protestant attempt at a revival of the original Christian faith. They also may complain that too much emphasis is placed upon the temporary nature of the secularization of the Roman church or on the psychological and intellectual handicaps of the Protestant reformers. Though it would be misleading to pass over these and many other differences of opinion, there is every good reason to applaud the earnest scholarly spirit of the writers.

The book comprises three separate studies. The first one, by E. de Moreau, deals with Luther and Lutheranism, while the second, on Calvin and Calvinism, was written by P. Jourda except for one of the six chapters, in which E. de Moreau deals with the Netherlands. P. Janelle is the author of the third section, on Henry VIII and Anglicanism. The three contributors are equally competent in their fields. Together they have created a handbook of the history of sixteenth-century Protestantism that will be of value to historians for a long time to come. Students of general history may perhaps regret the conservatively rigid concept of the task of church history writing to which the authors adhere. The general intellectual history is approached almost exclusively through the theological doctrines of the official churches. Humanism, as a movement outside and beyond the churches, and also the free Protestant groups, receive scant treatment. More could also have been done with the interplay of religious and social forces. But within

the framework of ecclesiastical history the three authors have given us a work of great learning and broad understanding.

Yale University

HAYO HOLBORN

LORD CHESTERFIELD AND HIS WORLD. By *Samuel Shellabarger*. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1951. Pp. 456. \$5.00.)

THIS book was first published in England sixteen years ago. It now appears in America with few textual changes. The achievement of Dr. Shellabarger reminds us that he is indeed a scholar, a Harvard doctor of philosophy who wrote a thesis in Anglo-Saxon. His research and study in the lacquered age of the eighteenth century have obviously been arduous and disciplined. His ideas are presented with skill and armored with knowledge. The result is a happy and unusual combination of honest scholarship and human prose.

Most of the urbane individuals in Lord Chesterfield's world agreed that the virtues might be looked at but the graces must be cultivated. The curtains were thick but the women were not pure. Some, of course, doubted these values: Lady Francis Shirley, Chesterfield's mistress, turned Methodist; Melusina, Chesterfield's wife, so comfortable, dull, and kind; John Wesley, whose parish was not the court of the Georges.

With vivid and elaborate artistry Dr. Shellabarger cleverly shows how Chesterfield moves in his age with hardened soul and unrevealing eyes. His lordship's cold breath and schooled face are everywhere. His flawless fibers never let him show emotion. "I am sure that since I have had the full use of my senses, no one has heard me laugh." Groomed, careful, precise as a dancer in a minuet, Chesterfield travels through his joyless decades: patriot, ambassador, lord lieutenant of Ireland, secretary of state.

When Chesterfield played cards at White's he always lost. He also failed when he played for bigger stakes. Old, deaf, toothless, writing nauseating flattery to the young earl of Huntingdon, he was finally forced to surrender power and place. His illegitimate son Philip, who received a thousand famous letters, failed in everything: he upset the gooseberries at a formal dinner, mumbled in the House of Commons, married a base-born woman, sickened and died in a starveling post in Ratisbon. Lord Chesterfield did not groan. That would have been inconsistent. He began the education of his grandsons.

There is no doubt of Dr. Shellabarger's passionate interest in his subject. He tries to write with integrity and he usually succeeds. Nevertheless, when he comes to the famous dictionary incident he is, I think, unfair to Dr. Johnson. It is surely not fully defensible to call Dr. Johnson "dishonest" or to refer to his "mischievous pen." Dr. Shellabarger is also unjust to Jonathan Swift. About Lord Chesterfield he says: "The main issue is to accept or reject that way of the world he so bluntly expressed." Chesterfield "accepted" that world and its art of life and ended by

throttling life itself. All spirit dies in his bleak lordship's arctic. What, then, can Dr. Shellabarger mean by "the frank realism" of Chesterfield? Is it realism to believe that a good society is the society the "best people" believe to be good? Does all value depend upon the opinion of somebody else? That is the heart of the matter.

Wayne University

GOLDWIN SMITH

HUSKISSON AND HIS AGE. By C. R. Fay. (New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1951. Pp. xv, 398. \$6.50.)

Mr. Fay might have done a good turn to his readers and himself if he had prefaced his volume by a more extensive introductory note, perhaps even an *apologia pro libro suo*. For this is a book which, for all its considerable merits, demands of the reader a certain sympathetic understanding. It is not a conventional biography, no orderly view of Huskisson's life or times. What we have, rather, is a highly individual approach to biographical writing, almost a series of jottings—discursive, wayward, and at points brilliantly suggestive—on Huskisson's milieu, interests, and associates. One can hardly criticize Mr. Fay for not having produced a less casually organized biography. This is obviously the kind of book he wanted to write, and, just as obviously, he thoroughly enjoyed his assignment.

The prefatory chapter entitled "15 September 1830" sets the tone. Instead of being presented to the hero in the usual fashion, by way of his background, parentage, and youth, the reader first encounters him on the occasion of his sudden and dramatic death. This reversal of chronology is, I think, a sound enough artistic device. There was tragic symbolism in Huskisson's death under the wheels of Stephenson's *Rocket* at the opening of the Liverpool & Manchester. But, oddly enough, Mr. Fay uses the accident less as an introduction to the age of Huskisson than as the occasion for an inquiry into the origins and infancy of the Liverpool & Manchester Railway Company. This is an interesting chapter, not least because of the concluding paragraphs, "If only the *Rocket* had been stopped in time," in which Mr. Fay ventures some speculations on the later career of a Huskisson who might have lived into the mid-forties. Yet the kind of detail and documentation that has been included in the chapter, absorbing as it is, seems out of place in the introduction to a work as spaciouly conceived as this.

Mr. Fay was drawn to the study of Huskisson by his own interest in the economy of the British Empire, which was first aroused at the University of Toronto and developed during his period of service at Cambridge. The present volume, the first of two, provides the background for a later examination of Huskisson's commercial and imperial statesmanship in the 1820's. No one can complain that Mr. Fay has restricted his researches, documentary or otherwise. He has accumulated a formidable mass of material, both official and personal,

and it is clear that he has read his sources with relish, whether or not they bore immediately on his subject. Nor has he hesitated to explore some moderately distant fields. For example, the curious and fascinating chapter entitled "Woods, Forests, and Crown Lands" which nominally has to do with Huskisson's term as "estates bursar" turns out to be a monograph on the administration of crown lands in the early nineteenth century, in which is incorporated an eight-page digression on the crown lands, "From Edward the Confessor to 1950"! Here Mr. Fay has exploited such novel and unlikely-sounding material as the Wood Book of the Treasury.

Mr. Fay has not been content merely to examine the documentary sources. He has cycled over the Huskisson counties and explored the Huskisson Thames-side; he has followed his subject to commercial Liverpool and agricultural Sussex. And although he leaves unanswered many legitimate questions about Huskisson, he does implant in the reader a certain sense of familiarity with the statesman and his age. In short, it is in incidentals rather than essentials that this study scores most tellingly—the excursion into the economics of the salt trade, the brief essays on such worthies as Sturges Bourne and James Deacon Hume, the re-creation of the Liverpool mercantile community in the early century, notably the elder Gladstone. No doubt in the volume that is to follow, the qualities and achievements of Huskisson himself will come into sharper focus than they do in this untidy, rewarding book.

Harvard University

DAVID OWEN

LLOYD GEORGE. By *Thomas Jones*. [Makers of Modern Europe, Volume IV.] (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1951. Pp. x, 330. \$5.00.)

READING Roy Harrod's life of Keynes and Thomas Jones's *Lloyd George* on alternate evenings, one could not help being struck by the similarities of the two men, so brilliantly and warmly drawn in these two books, though superficially no two were less alike. They crossed each other's paths several times; both left their mark on their generations; both were quick, intuitive, clever, with the baffling elisions of genius; and both, we might feel in this second generation of disenchantment, left nothing but barren leaves: the one a transient peace treaty which the other did much to discredit, Keynes a theory of employment which gives no guidance to the problems of postwar "full employment." Where is now Lloyd George's victory in the First World War, his Irish treaty, the Liberal party he helped to strangle, the concert of Europe he tried to restore? Where the loan to Britain which Keynes wore himself out to win? Yet no man who held the highest office in times of peril, and won through, is a study in futility; no original thinker like Keynes fails to add to the world's slender stock of ideas.

Thomas Jones's book is by far the best sketch of Lloyd George we can hope to get: compressed, full of fiber, a brilliant evocation of a living personality.

Its great merit is to portray Lloyd George in all his greatness and his weakness, to show him warts and all. And for Lloyd George, more than for many statesmen (but like others such as Franklin Roosevelt) this task must be done by one who knew him, so much of the man being expressed in talk and action rather than letters, in speeches to be heard, not read. There have been many books on Lloyd George already; two others since his death. J. Hugh Edwards will tell you more of his early life; Mallet will give you a better criticism of the fallen angel of Liberalism; Spender a warm, contemporary appreciation; E. T. Raymond the friendly judgment of a shrewd journalist and an endearing picture of his home life. A. J. Sylvester's *The Real Lloyd George*, the work of his personal secretary, shows "the Chief *en déshabillé*," as Jones says (p. 280), with all the best anecdotes; Malcolm Thomson's *David Lloyd George: The Official Biography*, the work of another secretary, is fuller but less critical, less revealing than Jones's work, and valuable chiefly for the sketch of Lloyd George by his second wife, long his secretary. And of course we have Lloyd George's own account of the war and the peace, in eight solid volumes, based on his own papers.

What does Jones add? Alone of all Lloyd George's biographers he has fullness of knowledge, experience of life. Teacher and lecturer, then a civil servant and member of the cabinet secretariat from 1916 to 1930, friend and confidant of four prime ministers, secretary of the Pilgrim Trust, who can know more of the last fifty years in Great Britain, whether of public life or of politics from within—unless it be Lord Hankey or, on a different level, Sir Horace Wilson? Not, needless to say, that he betrays any confidences or draws on any secret memorandums; but as a participant at the center of events he has an advantage no other biographer of Lloyd George can have. Beyond that, he cites on occasion recollections from his own diary and from Lord Hankey's unpublished "Supreme Command"; and he has read and quotes felicitously from all the multitudinous memoirs, biographies, and studies of the time. The bibliography, enriched by all-too-few critical comments, is the best we have for the period. Only the illustrations are disappointing; the best picture of Lloyd George we are given is put on the jacket.

The book is a masterpiece of condensation, and gives a more vivid picture of all phases of Lloyd George's life than other works which are fuller for certain periods. The gradual revelation of Lloyd George's scintillating character is unsurpassed, as much in numerous stray passages as in the final chapter on "The Man." As a speaker, administrator, conversationalist, writer of memoirs, Lloyd George is shown as he was, as he worked (not as he thought: for as the embroidered text at the head of his bed in Downing Street had it, "There is a path which no fowl knoweth and which the eye of the vulture hath not seen" [Job 28:7]). There is no slurring over his weaknesses: witness the accounts of the Marconi episode, of his dealings with the Irish in 1916 (p. 82), with Haig and Robertson and concerning the Passchendaele campaign in 1917 (pp. 113, 118-22), the Lloyd

George Fund (pp. 203, 222-25, 288), his affluent circumstances in later life (p. 279), his misjudgment of Hitler (p. 248), his defeatism during the Second World War. His advent to the prime ministership is summarized in Churchill's words after his death: "Presently, Lloyd George seized the main power in the State . . ." (Hon. Members: "Seized?") "Seized." ("Hear, hear.") "I think it was Carlyle who said of Oliver Cromwell: 'He coveted the place; perhaps the place was his'" (p. 86). There is little told that is new: some details of administration during Lloyd George's prime ministership (pp. 95 ff.), the effects of the juxtaposition of Numbers 10 and 11 Downing Street in strengthening and, after 1915, dissolving the bonds between Lloyd George and Asquith (p. 61), Lloyd George's light-hearted departure from Number 10 in 1922 (p. 200). If there is a weakness, it is in the omission of more than very brief mention of the industrial troubles and the problems of decontrol in the postwar coalition. His final claims to greatness Jones puts as his prewar social measures and that he was, in Simuts's words, "the supreme architect of victory" (p. 290); to which one might add only the reconstruction and enlargement of government as the result of his wartime improvisations. Among British leaders of this century only Churchill, so like him and yet so different, is his equal.

University of Chicago

C. L. MOWAT

AUSTRIA-HUNGARY AND GREAT BRITAIN, 1908-1914. With an Introductory Chapter on the diplomatic relations between Austria and England up to 1908. By *Alfred Francis Pribram*. Translated by *Ian F. D. Morrow*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1951. Pp. xiii, 328. \$4.50.)

DR. Pribram was born in London in 1859 and died near there in 1942, but he spent the greater part of his life as professor of history in Vienna. He was as at home in the British Public Record Office as in the Austrian archives, and he loved both countries. It was therefore not unnatural that, in the evening of his long life, in exile from Austria because of his Jewish blood, he should write this account of the relations—generally friendly—of Austria-Hungary and Great Britain. It is now well translated, except for some misprints and misspelled names, by his literary executor.

The first chapter, "Through Seven Centuries," is a masterly *tour de force* sketching in fifty-seven pages Austro-English relations from Richard Coeur de Lion and Leopold V of Babenberg to 1908. Then, believing rightly that individuals "have decisively influenced the course of history," especially so in the case of diplomatic history, he gives discriminating thumbnail estimates of Francis Joseph, Edward VII, and George V, and their foreign officials and ambassadors during the years 1908-1914. These profiles are interesting and valuable, not only because of the weight of Pribram's authority and his familiarity with their work but also because of his personal acquaintance with many of the men,

He brings out well that Grey often differed in opinion from Hardinge, Nicolson, and Crowe, and acted independently on his own judgment with the single-minded aim of preventing any outbreak of war. Pribram's estimates of Aehrenthal and Berchtold, however, seem to the reviewer to be too favorable. Many passages seem to suggest a nostalgic desire to defend the policy of the old Austria that he loved and to justify it in accordance with the dictum which he cites from another of his books: "Better a fearful end than endless fears" (p. 229).

Three chapters on the Bosnian Crisis, the Balkan wars, and the outbreak of war fulfill the expectation of the title. The diplomatic relations between Austria-Hungary and Great Britain are narrated in such detail that there is a good deal of rather tiresome repetition of each country's viewpoints. Furthermore, the narrative has an air of unreality because almost nothing is said of the activities of the other Great Powers. For instance, only a sentence is given to the so-called German ultimatum which virtually solved the Bosnian Crisis, and nothing at all to the Moltke-Conrad exchanges of confidence in 1909 and July, 1914. Austria and England occupy the stage mostly alone, and the dialogue is almost exclusively between them. This no doubt explains why Pribram relies mainly on the Gooch and Temperley documents and the Austrian collection which he himself edited, and makes virtually no use of the French and Russian documentary collections. He does, however, cite many secondary works, often in cases where he might better have referred to the original diplomatic dispatches. His book is useful as giving the carefully considered interpretation of a great scholar to a narrow segment of pre-1914 history, but for a well-rounded view, complete with all the actors speaking, one had best turn to the works of B. E. Schmitt, E. C. Helmreich, and others.

Harvard University

SIDNEY B. FAY

THE HAPSBURG MONARCHY, 1867-1914. By *Arthur J. May*, Professor of History in the University of Rochester. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1951. Pp. x, 532. \$6.00.)

PROFESSOR May has thrown away a good title. The lands of the house of Habsburg were without a name for most of their history; but in the period which this book covers, they became "Austria-Hungary," and it would have defined the subject more precisely if this name had been used. For the Habsburg monarchy was the external structure which counted in the relations of the Great Powers, while after 1867 there were two additional themes, the internal politics of Hungary and of "the other Imperial half." It is perhaps impossible to weld the three stories into one. Certainly Mr. May has not attempted it. Each chapter is an independent essay; and, as well, the chapters on social and cultural development stand apart from the others.

The chapters on domestic politics are the most successful. They give a sound

account of political developments in both halves of the monarchy, though without much discrimination. There are no serious errors, though Mr. May does not seem to have grasped the intricacies of Taaffe's fall. It is only technically true that he "resigned"; he was thrust out by Francis Joseph, when his policy threatened to create a parliamentary coalition in opposition. More seriously, these chapters need to be tied up with the chapters on social questions. When social history is treated as "history with the politics left out," it becomes merely a string of anecdotes; and, on the reverse side, political history without social factors becomes a catalogue of individuals. This has happened here. The study of national development is little more than a procession of leading writers. The historian would be more interested to know who read them. There is no discrimination between the nationalities—little to suggest that some of them had a long and proud history, some no history at all. One nationality was led by a historic aristocracy, another by university professors, and a third by regimental officers. Only confusion follows if they are all described in the same terms.

In truth, if we are to make sense of the history of Austria-Hungary, we need fewer facts and more figures. Mr. May's book is good old-fashioned literary history, with agreeable phrases instead of statistics. How the historian can absorb figures yet make his book readable is a hard problem, but it must be done if historical studies are to advance. For instance, we need here precise figures of the national populations and of their changes—the proportions in town and country, the income level, the respective shares in industry and government. One could go on indefinitely. A comparison of this book with, say, Mr. Ensor's comparable volume in the *Oxford History of England* will bring out the fatal effects of imprecision.

Mr. May reserves his general comments to the end. Then he suggests that "all Hapsburg citizens benefited from living in the largest free-trade area in all Europe." This is only true of those in the advanced industrial districts. The inhabitants of Croatia or Slovakia would have benefited from protection, as they did between the wars. Still he does not make much of this argument. Instead he concludes that the principal force holding the monarchy together was the common loyalty of the army. This is good sense. The Hapsburg monarchy never meant much more than an organization for providing an army of Great Power standards. And by 1914 even the army was the most ramshackle in Europe; in the First World War it could not defeat even the Italians.

Oxford, England

A. J. P. TAYLOR

GERMAN AGRARIAN POLITICS AFTER BISMARCK'S FALL: THE FORMATION OF THE FARMERS' LEAGUE. By *Sarah Rebecca Tirrell*, Assistant Professor of History, University of Omaha. [Studies in History,

Economics, and Public Law, No. 566.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1951. Pp. 354. \$4.50.)

AMERICAN students of German history have long known at least the outlines of the subject of the volume under review: the effort of Bismarck's successor, Caprivi, to increase German industrial exports by means of commercial treaties, which reduced the tariffs on German imports, especially foodstuffs; the bitter opposition which this policy aroused among German farmers and landowners and the organization of the *Bund der Landwirte* (Farmers' League); and the fall of Caprivi within a few months of the climax of his policy in the Reichstag's approval of the treaty with Russia in March, 1894.

Miss Tirrell's study of these developments is based on wide research in German sources. Her book has broadened the reviewer's knowledge of both the internal and external aspects of Caprivi's chancellorship. Still it fails to realize the potentialities of the subject. Miss Tirrell never lifts her eyes from the facts. The opposing groups are analyzed, their motives considered, their maneuvers recounted in detail. Yet the heat and fury of the conflict are left largely to the imagination of the reader.

More serious than this monograph's shortcomings as a narrative is its lack of penetration, and this at some points at which its material is potentially most valuable. In this connection, the reviewer is obliged to remark that the author has failed to utilize the brilliant work of Eckart Kehr, *Schlachtflottenbau und Parteipolitik* (Berlin, 1930), and that while Pauline R. Anderson's *The Background of Anti-English Feeling in Germany, 1890-1902* (Washington, 1939) is cited, its insights are ignored. For instance, Miss Tirrell points out the connection between the commercial treaties with Italy and Austria-Hungary and the renewal of the Triple Alliance in 1891 and also the impetus which commercial and political differences with Russia gave to negotiation of the treaty with this country. She neglects, however, to explore the relationship, which Kehr and Mrs. Anderson have illuminated, between the acute social tensions within the Reich and its foreign policy.

Again, Miss Tirrell fails to deal explicitly with an issue raised by Kehr, namely, that whereas the agrarian agitation against the commercial treaties emphasized the depressing effect of grain imports on prices, the chief reason for the severity of the difficulties of the middling large landowners east of the Elbe was their long-continued and systematic effort to raise and maintain land prices at artificially high levels. This omission is the more regrettable since in other respects the reviewer has learned most from Miss Tirrell's evidence on the agricultural depression and her demonstration from the Reichstag votes on the Rumanian and Russian treaties that the opposition thereto derived fewer votes from the East Elbian provinces, in which the large landowners predominated, than from western and southern Germany where middling and small holdings were more nearly the rule.

On the whole, Miss Tirrell has contributed what is less a book than the materials for a book. She has, however, given reason to hope for more enlightening use of her materials in the future.

Brown University

SINCLAIR W. ARMSTRONG

VNESHNAIA POLITIKA I DIPLOMATIIA GERMANSKOGO IMPERIALISMA V KONTSE XIX VEKA [The Foreign Policy and Diplomacy of German Imperialism at the End of the Nineteenth Century]. By A. S. Yeruslimskii. (2d ed.; Moscow: Academy of Sciences. 1951. Pp. 604.)

THIS study, first published in 1948, came out in 1951 in a second, slightly enlarged edition which is more legibly printed than the first one. The work is a comprehensive and, in its manner, objective study of one of the most complicated phases in the history of German diplomacy and of Wilhelminian imperialism, comprising roughly the last six years of the nineteenth century. While following the Stalin line both in his sociological analysis of imperialism and in his economic theory as such, the author also shows considerable qualities as a scholar in the not doctrine-bound sense of this word. He pictures with care the individual characteristics and the gradual historical evolution of the personalities and social groups he analyzes. He puts unusual emphasis on the study of mere *Machtpolitik* (while of course not losing sight of its socio-economic background) and displays a rare knowledge of the entire Western literature on this topic, as well as of the printed sources and of all collections of documents available to him, both printed and unprinted. Fortunately, all non-Russian works and articles he uses are quoted, both in his footnotes and in his bibliography, in their original language and in Latin characters, which will make his collection of material valuable for readers and scholars not familiar with the Russian language.

Among the highlights of this study are the author's presentations of the Transvaal problem, of German naval policy, of the internal relations of the Triple Alliance in the 1890's, and of the Turko-Greek War as well as his analysis of the Bagdad Railway question and, especially, of the Far Eastern problem and of the Anglo-German collaboration against Russia in Asia. In analyzing the last-mentioned topics, especially the Bagdad Railway and in some other chapters of his book, the author uses much unprinted material from Russian archives, including the reports of the Russian ambassador in Berlin, Count Osten-Saken. In this way, Yeruslimskii has been able to fill one of the major gaps left in the *Grosse Politik der Europäischen Kabinette* (in which the Far Eastern policy and especially the pre-history of the Kiao-chow occupation are sadly neglected) and to present a painstaking—even if not edifying—picture of the way in which the Germans dealt with the Tsungli Yamen. The course of German diplomacy in China revealed here is the most outstanding example of the cut-throat diplomacy of pre-1914 imperialism that the reviewer has seen and thus is of historical impor-

tance, though this activity did not reach the level of the somewhat highbrow concept of *Kabinettspolitik* which guided the editors of the *Grosse Politik* in selecting their documents. Through Yerusalimskii's investigation the imperial German policy of playing England against Russia and vice versa and of thus blackmailing both, a policy euphemistically called "Die Politik der Freien Hand," has been brought into better focus than ever before. Even in those parts of his work where mostly Western sources are used, as for instance in his analysis of the Austrian interior problem in the time of the fight against the Badeni language directives, in his description of the Prussian policy toward the Poles and, to a still greater extent, in his analysis of the Transvaal and naval problems, the author, partly because of the general Russian interest in the first-mentioned questions and partly because of his broad erudition, gives an interesting presentation and brings to light neglected aspects and facts.

As the USSR seldom encourages and sponsors important studies unless they serve some practical purpose, it is to be assumed that a work such as this and the prominence given to it, have more than a purely scientific *raison d'être*. Yerusalimskii's study actually and admittedly reflects, in addition to scientific aims, a political purpose, as it tends to stigmatize the kind of combination between an imperialistic Germany and the Western powers against both China and Russia, as *de facto* and almost *de jure* materialized in the late 1890's. Also Yerusalimskii's treatment of German Social Democracy and his analysis of Wilhelm Liebknecht's anti-Russian policy—even though in itself correct—fulfills this mission and thus follows the Stalinist line which regards all attacks against Russia—be it tsarist or Soviet Russia—as something like treason against the Russian fatherland. But even in dealing with these topics Yerusalimskii is foremost a scholar who visibly dislikes to make statements that would be hard to prove. His study makes him a major figure in modern historiography and should be consulted by everybody dealing with that period, including the most determined opponents of the Marxian approach to history.

Washington, D. C.

GEORGE W. F. HALLGARTEN

HOSTAGES OF CIVILIZATION: A STUDY OF THE SOCIAL CAUSES OF ANTI-SEMITISM IN GERMANY. By *Eva G. Reichmann*. (Boston: Beacon Press. 1951. Pp. 281. \$3.00.)

WITH few exceptions, the history of the persecution of the Jews has been written with an air of lachrymose melancholia and apology. Historians have painted the picture as an eternal and inevitable battle between Christians and Jews. In the face of brutal attacks the Jews have in the past concentrated on denying accusations. Fearing to supply anti-Semites with fuel for their hatred, they have often placed themselves in an unrealistic light of pure innocence. These approaches offer little toward making anti-Semitism understood as a social and

political force, nor do they show how it has been possible for agitators to associate the Jews with the general areas of the misery and discontent of our time.

Recent studies of anti-Semitism have been developed more "scientifically." They furnish us with a great abundance of objective data, but they fail to integrate the results of their research into a comprehensible whole. This is why Dr. Reichmann's analysis of the problem of anti-Semitism in Nazi Germany is so outstanding and stimulating. She possesses a rich historical, political, and psychological background. This, combined with a profound understanding of human problems, enables her to shed light on crucial aspects of anti-Semitism which have heretofore been allowed to rest in darkness. These broad insights, however, make her work at moments appear unnecessarily complicated and entangled.

Dr. Reichmann's first object is to counteract the disillusionment which has swept Western Jewry since the Nazi orgies. German Jewry up to the advent of Nazism had stood for the "ideal type" of emancipation, i.e., that Jews can live successfully as an integral part of the Gentile world without losing their character as a Jewish community. The Nazi experience led many to believe that emancipation had proved a failure. Mrs. Reichmann, however, shows that the real causes of the Jewish tragedy in Germany are to be found primarily in factors lying outside the context of Jewish-Gentile relations. Nevertheless, she is not afraid to acknowledge the "objective" causes of anti-Semitism, the actual antipathies and aversions which exist between groups of different characteristics (cultural, religious, economic, etc.). When a fundamentally homogeneous minority group is brought into continuous and vital contact with the dominant group, they will both undergo psychological reactions which disturb their equilibrium, causing antagonisms. These tensions existed in Germany as elsewhere but the progressive social integration of the Jewish group, since its legal emancipation, steadily worked toward reducing "genuine" collisions between the groups. In fact, by the time of Hitler, only small residues of the "objective Jewish question" had remained.

The author's main concern, therefore, is the "subjective" sham antagonism created by the Nazis. Formerly the opinion prevailed among students of the Jewish question that the arguments used by anti-Semites were more or less identical with the causes of the hostility. In this belief, people thought they had adequately refuted anti-Semitism when they had proved that the arguments put forth by agitators were not borne out by facts. Dr. Reichmann, on the other hand, is not only concerned with what the anti-Semites *did* and *said*, but primarily with the factors in German life and thought which prepared the ground for the use of anti-Semitism as a political weapon. This approach makes Dr. Reichmann's book valuable not only for those who are concerned with the specific problem of anti-Semitism but to everyone who is troubled by the crisis of democratic values in our time. She considers the following major aspects as local German manifestations of an evil which is world-wide: the rapidity of socio-economic disorganization and class conflict with a corresponding decline in the public esteem for

democracy; the burdensome and disillusioning struggle for material existence in a competitive economy; and the disintegration of religious and moral values during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries which left the individual isolated, confused, and apathetic and removed the barriers imposed by civilization upon primitive urges.

The National Socialists utilized all these factors. Anti-Semitism served as a smoke screen behind which all sorts of antidemocratic measures could be perpetrated while at the same time giving the desperate inarticulate masses an outlet for their destructive passions. The vagueness of anti-Semitism "combined with its alleged 'scientific' character allowed people to associate all kinds of ideas with it. . . . Its aggressiveness, combined with its alleged service of a high ideal, enabled people to hate with a good conscience and still to feel morally superior."

It is only small consolation to know that Central European Jewry was not exterminated because of its integration into the Christian world but because of an evil which is world-wide in our time. Therefore, Dr. Reichmann may be accused by some of having shown too much understanding and sympathy for the position of the anti-Semite. To these critics it is important to point out that condemnation of destruction and hostility is not enough. Nazism has brought an underlying evil to the surface. We can no longer deny its existence nor its origins. Instead of ignoring the bad, as if it would automatically remove itself, we must learn to understand it. Mrs. Reichmann has brought us a big step forward in this direction.

New York, N. Y.

ELEONORE STERLING

THE RUSSIAN-AMERICAN COMPANY. By S. B. Okun. Edited, with Introduction, by B. D. Grekov. Translated by Carl Ginsburg. Preface by Robert J. Kerner. [Russian Translation Project Series of the American Council of Learned Societies, No. 9.] (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1951. Pp. viii, 311. \$4.50.)

THIS volume in the "Russian Translation Project Series" of the American Council of Learned Societies provides us with what we have long needed—a translation into English of Okun's history of the Russian American Company, which appeared in the Soviet Union in 1939. The Russian author had at his disposal—in addition to printed sources and secondary works available to earlier writers—archive material of tsarist times, mostly drawn from the records of the various ministries. There are some references from the archives of the company's head office but their paucity tends to confirm what has long been suspected, that these are but scanty remnants of the main collection rumored to have disappeared when the capital was moved from Petrograd to Moscow in 1918. Nor did Okun have access to the records of the company kept for half a century or more at Sitka, which were turned over to the United States by the treaty of cession in 1867 and which are now in the National Archives in Washington.

On the whole, the result is a satisfactory account of the organization of the company and of its life span, though solely from the official standpoint and as seen from the capital some eight thousand miles away. This tends to emphasize the company's role in the grand plans of imperial expansion to the neglect of the human side—the struggles and hardships and disappointments of the individuals involved. Baranov, the first factor, shrinks in stature in comparison with other figures. We hear perhaps, more of the attempt to occupy the Hawaiian Islands, of the efforts to secure a foothold on Haiti in the West Indies, to get access to China through Canton in place of Kiahkta, and to win California. We hear comparatively little of the deals with the Hudson's Bay Company to secure a supply of food from Puget Sound, of the company's trade in ice and coal with San Francisco, of the whaling industry during the last years of Russian occupation.

Mr. Okun is guilty of some rather serious slips. He omits reference to Veniaminov (later Bishop Innokentii), whose letters and writings are an important contribution to the history of the Aleutian Islands. Veniaminov is our best authority on the decimation of the Aleut population by the excesses of the earlier traders which set the precedent for the company's harsh treatment of the natives later on. Mr. Okun, not being familiar with the American Constitution, in his last chapter makes the assumption that the ratification of the treaty of cession by the Senate was the chief ordeal through which the latter had to pass, rather than the appropriation of the purchase price by the House—an obstacle surmounted, according to rumor, only by the liberal expenditure of money by the Russian ambassador, Stoeckl.

The jargon affected by Mr. Okun and his straining to bring in Marx, Engels, and Lenin conform to the prescribed sycophancy. A serious defect is the complete lack of awareness of geography or indeed of any local knowledge on the part of the author, and not supplied by the translator. For example on page 53 Yakutat Bay is referred to as the Gulf of Yakutsk. On page 57 the name is given correctly but we learn that it is on Bering Sea, a slip which a mere glance at a map of Alaska would have rendered impossible.

Other questionable passages seem to be due rather to errors in translation. "Columbia" is used throughout as a territorial designation when obviously what is meant is the Columbia River. (The omission of the definite article in Russian makes for this confusion.) One wonders why (p. 29) Andrean Tolstykh is rendered as "Adrian of the Tolstoy" (two lines later as "Tolstoy"), despite the fact that he gave his name to the "Andreanof Islands." Isanotski Strait appears on page 9 as Issinakhsik. On pages 219-20 in a discussion of the agreement reached with the Hudson's Bay Company (which is erroneously referred to as "the Hudson Bay Co.") for a lease of the *lisière*, the yearly rental is given as 2,000 sea otters though the Russian expressly uses the word "*vydry*" (river otters) instead of *morские бобры* (the usual term for sea otters). The rendering of the Russian "*promyshlennye*" or "*promyshlenniki*" by "*promyshlennosti*" (industries) is, in this connection, a meaningless term.

These and other numerous errors seriously mar the usefulness of the book and should certainly be corrected if a second edition comes out.

University of Oklahoma

STUART R. TOMPKINS

PIONEERS OF RUSSIAN SOCIAL THOUGHT: STUDIES OF NON-MARXIAN FORMATION IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY RUSSIA AND OF ITS PARTIAL REVIVAL IN THE SOVIET UNION. By *Richard Hare*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1951. Pp. vi, 307. \$4.50.)

IN the ceaseless effort to solve the Soviet enigma, Western historians have sought some light in a study of the Russian past. A continuity between the past and present has been stressed in intellectual thought, in social and political institutions and practices, and in the behavior pattern of the ruling polity. Though this approach can be carried too far, it has helped to make more understandable various developments in the Soviet scheme of things. Mr. Hare's book, while in no sense a deliberate effort in this direction, significantly contributes to our knowledge of the continuity between the Russian past and present.

Mr. Hare considers a number of Russian thinkers of the nineteenth century and relates them to the manner in which they have been appraised or reappraised in the Soviet Union. More than this, he studies them against the background of Russian intellectual history and political thought. The list includes early Westernizers, such as Peter Chaadaev, V. S. Pecherin, and Nicholas Ogarin; the so-called father of the Russian intelligentsia—Vissarion Belinsky; the original Slavophiles—the brothers Ivan and Peter Kireyevsky and A. S. Khomyakov; the political Slavophiles—Fyodor Tyutchev, the brothers Konstantin and Ivan Aksakov, A. Kosheliev, and Yuri Samarin; and finally the significant radical thinkers, N. G. Chernyshevsky and Alexander Herzen, and the conservative Konstantin Leontiev.

The book's concentration is on the Slavophil movement, and happily so, for this important development in Russian intellectual history is least understood—or perhaps it would be better to say most misunderstood—by Western students of Russia. Mr. Hare takes pains to correct certain errors concerning the Slavophiles which have been widely disseminated in Western textbooks, especially that the Slavophiles were reactionaries, that they created a major political movement with clear-cut political aims, that they were chauvinists who hated Europe and uniformly desired to isolate Russia from any extension of European influence.

This treatment of the Slavophil movement has particular bearing on certain developments in the Soviet Union, for not a little of the inspiration for "National Bolshevism" derives from the mental capital of Slavophilism. Naturally the critical realism and "democracy" of the Westernizers have received Soviet preference in expressing their debt to the Russian past, but especially since the end of the war Moscow has never been so national in very much the sense that the Slavophiles were nationalistic.

Mr. Hare's study of the Westernizers is more modest and less of a contribution. However, the extensive and carefully selected quotations from their works, and especially from those of the Slavophiles, whose writings are rarely translated and hence are very little known in the West, comprise one of the important features of this book for American students of Russian thought. On the whole, the book is a valuable brief introduction to early Russian social thought, and readers will look forward with keen anticipation to the sequel, in which Mr. Hare intends to carry his study up to the 1917 Revolution.

Columbia University

ERNEST J. SIMMONS

Far Eastern History

INDIA AND BRITISH IMPERIALISM. By *Gorham D. Sanderson*. (New York: Bookman Associates. 1951. Pp. 383. \$4.50.)

THE author, an American educated at Trinity College, Dublin, has essayed here to describe the anatomy of British imperialism as illustrated in India. In the main he has done so with modest success. In fact, this synthesis may provide a useful counterpoise to the many official accounts by those magnificently articulate Englishmen who made and carried out British policy. Dr. Sanderson finds the basic factors of British imperialism in the twelfth-century Norman lordship in Ireland, and proceeds to show how this pattern of military absolutism and economic exploitation was developed in India.

Having outlined a golden age of pre-British rule and dismissed the *Pax Britannica* as a myth, he relates the company's struggle in vain to protect its privilege in the oligarchic eighteenth-century Parliament. After a combination of English propertied groups succeeded in defeating the company bloc, Indian domestic industry was throttled by means of a prohibitive tariff. Then with the various revisions of the charter beginning in 1773, national exploitation gradually replaced private monopoly. Tricky financing of the railways built by the English ultimately heightened the tax burden of the Indian people and the manipulation of rates increased "the suction of extractive imperialism." Repeatedly famine and death swept across India caused by overtaxation of the land and a mercantilistic colonial economy.

A turning point came when Macaulay put the official cachet on "an impractical, alien educational system whose theories, curriculum, and objectives were for a free people governing themselves under free conditions of the mother country" (p. 241). Macaulay's ignorance of Indian culture prevented his knowing on what fertile ground he sowed, for, of course, the English-educated class organized the Indian National Congress, which became the nucleus of Mohandas K. Gandhi's mass revolt against British imperialism. Thus "India's struggle for liberty and

democracy," the author concludes, "is nothing more than the real heart of British civilization fighting against the reactionary elements in British society, which have dedicated themselves to the continuation of the old system of imperialism" (p. 346).

Specialists in the history of British expansion will be able to furnish their own perspective, but the general reader should be warned that a number of Dr. Sander-son's generalizations are questionable and some of his evidence is of dubious weight. Although the bibliography provided is fairly representative of various points of view, the author leans heavily on a few nationalist writers, and this tends to color the discussion with emotional overtones that mar the effectiveness of the argument. Despite these shortcomings, and inevitable minor errors, the book is highly readable, and we look forward to the forthcoming companion volume on the Irish independence movement.

Washington, D. C.

MARK NAIDIS

CHINESE COMMUNISM AND THE RISE OF MAO. By *Benjamin I. Schwartz*. [Russian Research Center Studies, Number 4.] (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1951. Pp. 258. \$4.00.)

NEW CHINA: THREE VIEWS. By *Otto B. van der Sprenkel, Robert Guillain, and Michael Lindsay*. With an Introduction by Kingsley Martin. (New York: John Day Company. 1951. Pp. xv, 241. \$3.00.)

IN Dr. Schwartz' book we now have a solid study of the early history of the Chinese Communist party down to about 1933. It is a pioneer work which uses skillfully the basic sources available in Chinese, with attention to supplementary materials in Japanese and Russian. Dr. Schwartz has chosen to concentrate on the development of doctrine, strategy, and tactics, and the internal political relations of the party's Chinese leadership with one another and with the Comintern. It is perhaps too early to attempt a broad study of the movement as a whole in the setting of modern Chinese history, but this work provides a firm foundation stone.

One theme stands out strongly: that in the period up to 1931 the strategy for developing and capturing the Chinese revolution was determined in and directed from Moscow; that the sequence of disastrous failures suffered by the Chinese party was due fundamentally to Moscow's inability to adjust Marxist-Leninist dogma to Chinese reality; and that after each strategic failure Moscow laid the public blame upon the very Chinese leaders who had attempted faithfully to carry out its directives: Ch'en Tu-hsiu, Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai, and Li Li-san. This statement oversimplifies the complicated account of events which Dr. Schwartz unfolds and the delicate task he has performed in disentangling and presenting the evidence.

As the author points out in his introduction, an immense effort is being made by orthodox Stalinist historiography to present the Chinese Communist success as a result of Stalin's own prescience and masterly planning. This myth has been

accepted and even insisted upon by many who regard themselves as the Kremlin's bitterest foes. (There is a contradictory myth vigorously fostered by current Chinese historiography which attributes the success to Mao's infallible wisdom under the guidance, of course, of Marxism-Leninism. If the two myths are ever squarely confronted, the results should be interesting.)

The latter part of this book deals with Mao's rise to power within the party and with the success of his formula which gave priority in China to agrarian rather than proletarian revolution. It shows that in spite of all attempts by Communists in Russia and China to conceal the facts, the Chinese Communist movement had no organic relation with the proletariat after 1931. It was a peasant movement guided by an elite group, of largely middle-class background, organized in a tightly centralized party along Leninist lines.

It is Dr. Schwartz's conclusion that "the political strategy of Mao Tse-tung was not planned in advance in Moscow, and even ran counter to the tenets of orthodoxy which were still considered sacrosanct and inviolate in Moscow at the time when this strategy first crystallized; that it was only the force of circumstances which finally led Moscow to provide a facade of rationalization for this new experience" (p. 5). In the apt phrase of Li Ang, who revealed in 1942 a great deal of the inner history of the Chinese party, "Moscow itself had to buy 'face' through Mao Tse-tung" (p. 188). The implications of this study for the truly complex question of present and future relations between Moscow and Peking are worth pondering even though the author refrains from speculating beyond his evidence.

Within the framework of his important line of investigation, Dr. Schwartz has explored a great many previously unused Chinese sources. He also missed some valuable items. Since the documentary material on communism in China is still disorganized, fragmentary, and frequently suspect, one wishes he had provided more critical comment upon the documents he discovered in various American libraries.

On one question—the Comintern's approval of the Northern Expedition which officially began early in July, 1926—Schwartz may have been led astray. He shows (p. 57) that it was launched against the objection of the secretary general of the party, Ch'en Tu-hsiu, but states that Borodin and the Comintern gave it a final blessing. Borodin, who was in Canton, may have agreed but the Comintern's approval needs substantiation. Among the documents seized in the raid on the office of the Soviet military attaché in Peking on April 6, 1927—of which Schwartz makes only partial use—there are several which point the other way, i.e., that the Chinese Communist leadership was uncertain of the correct position on this matter; that the Kremlin was uninformed and opposed to the expedition before it began; and that as late as August 4 (Changsha had been taken on July 13) the "Soviet Commission for Chinese Affairs" favored stopping further movement of troops out of Kwangtung.

Unfortunately space restrictions do not allow adequate discussion of the other book under review. It contains interesting bits of analysis by Lindsay and observation by Guillaín on Communist China in 1949. It may be useful to future historians as an exhibit of the ecstatic line of reporting that was prevalent in the early days of the Peoples Republic. It also presents in translation six important public documents of the period 1947-49, but they are readily available elsewhere.

Columbia University

C. MARTIN WILBUR

AMERICAN MILITARY GOVERNMENT IN KOREA. By *E. Grant Meade*. (New York: King's Crown Press. 1951. Pp. xii, 281. \$3.75.)

IN this study, the author, drawing upon his experience as a military government official, has attempted to evaluate the achievements of the American occupation by analyzing the administration of one province. He has also tried to prove that the trial-and-error experience of military officials in areas such as Korea has helped to make a more unified American foreign policy. His findings, however, do not quite bear out his conclusions. His own observations seem to show that no final estimate can be made of the achievements of military government without taking into account achievements at the national level under military governors other than the one under whom he served. Furthermore, his analysis of the major problems of occupation—inflation, tenancy, policing—tends to prove that in Korea civil affairs officers failed dismally in their efforts to develop good government on the American plan at the local level. The reasons for this failure, as Mr. Meade makes abundantly clear, were the increasing demands of the cold war. In spite of Mr. Meade's hopeful statement about the general adaptability of American foreign policy since World War II, his account leads the reader to conclude that in no area of the world has American foreign policy been more inflexible from start to finish, or less sensitive to local needs.

After groping with considerable uncertainty through several background chapters on Korean geography and history, the author presents in a workmanlike and orderly manner a factual account of the military government's administrative and political activities in one area, South Cholla Province, during one year, October, 1945, to October, 1946. This period he considers crucial because local self-government was then most effective.

The author's account of the changes within military government as it progressed toward effective centralization, of the struggle made by this government to gain control for the right in a province where a majority were middle-of-the-roads or leftists, as well as his summary of the views which Koreans held of the government, are valuable contributions to our knowledge of American military policy overseas. Though Mr. Meade's report on these important features is neither flattering nor encouraging, he concludes that in matters of administration, "Americans found themselves on reasonably stable ground," that they could do, and did

do, much good work in economic rehabilitation, flood control, the care of refugees, and other social welfare jobs.

According to Mr. Meade, military government in Korea did not begin in Korea until two and a half months after the Japanese surrender, six weeks after American troops had entered the country. When civil affairs officers arrived they found three governing groups in various stages of control: former Japanese officials, Korean *de facto* government officers of the People's Republic, and officers of the U. S. combat troops. The group representing the People's Republic was a coalition of more than forty factions reflecting all shades of political opinion. After this group had been relegated to the status of a political party, the Americans set up the administration on Japanese lines instead of Korean. Between April and September, 1946, the number of sections in the government had increased, despite efforts at consolidation, from 86 to 117, the net result being a centralized government much more complex than the Japanese. In the fall of 1946 Lt. Gen. John R. Hodge transferred administrative control to the Koreans and "military government concluded its first year of occupation by foisting upon Korea a government structure in which one of the most certain safeguards of democracy, local self-government, was completely lacking" (p. 81).

The chapter on Korea's political heritage is unconvincing. The statement that Confucian familism operated in such a way that "the higher the position the greater the amount of scholarship required to fill it" (p. 29) denotes a certain unfamiliarity with traditional Korean politics. That the Japanese "governor-general's power throughout the peninsula was absolute to a degree that Korean monarchs had never attained" (p. 30) is certainly debatable. Completely untenable is the assertion that Korea's "success in long maintaining herself politically intact, reflects credit on her capacity for war" (p. 31).

Although a study of this kind is difficult to make, dealing as it does with recent and often controversial issues, it is nevertheless a useful contribution to our understanding of a very complex situation.

Washington, D. C.

EVELYN B. McCUNE

American History

LIFE IN AMERICA. In two volumes. By *Marshall B. Davidson*. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company in Association with the Metropolitan Museum of Art. 1951. Pp. xiii, 573; 503. \$20.00.)

THESE are the picture years. The public already realizes the fact, and the historians must soon follow suit. Actually, although our gild has used graphic materials for illustrative purposes and in teaching since the publication of the *Pageant of America* two decades ago, only a handful of historians have realized their prime value as sources, which in many instances surpass the manuscript or the printed

page as authorities. When pictures are so used, however, they must be subjected to severe critical tests which are yet to be evolved. One must know, for example, the precise date of the picture, the date of the subject matter, whether an illustration or a painting was drawn from life or from memory, whether the artist was an accurate observer, whether the photographer made an honest or a trick exposure, and many other things, before he can rely upon a representation as an acceptable source. On the other hand, such examination is no more than what is daily required of the medievalist or student of ancient history. A fundamental desideratum in this connection must be the demand by the historian, the reviewer especially, that publishers of pictorial histories steadfastly adhere to respectable standards of reproduction and honesty in chronology. To date publishers are the greatest offenders, displaying little or no sense of responsibility or integrity in this genre. A third fundamental feature of the use of graphic data in historical books is the successful solution of the difficult problem of integrating illustrations and text to produce a unified whole. Most historians have customarily permitted their publishers to select illustrations for their books, and these have been chosen more with an eye on sales than upon amplification or clarification of the text. In short, graphic materials are looming so large that their use, both as illustrations and as historical sources, demands the evolution of new methods of presentation and new critical standards on the part of writers and publishers, for the error foisted on the reader by the picture can be far more lasting than that imparted by the printed page. We must have as sound, or even better, standards for pictures as for textual matter.

In *Life in America* Marshall Davidson, associate curator of the American Wing of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, and Houghton Mifflin Company have joined forces to produce two volumes that represent the most serious, and most successful, effort yet made in this country to weave prose and pictures into a historical narrative. Although designed for the public, this set will not only assist students in the classroom to visualize our past, it will prove of great value in stimulating the historical imagination of professional scholars. Including over 1,200 illustrations and a quarter of a million words in his thousand pages, Mr. Davidson has nobly undertaken to grapple with the problems outlined above. Despite the foreword by Francis H. Taylor and the blurb of the publisher, he has not produced a new kind of history; nor, I suspect, would this able and modest scholar himself so claim. One thinks of the Propylæan histories immediately. The narrative is crisp and at times racy with humor; it is always interesting and generally abreast of the latest scholarship; above all the treatment is skillfully organized and fresh in tone. In a very real sense, however, the text is an extension of the captions rather than a medium that is joined with another to produce a third.

These volumes do indeed break new ground in the use of pictures as history, but many more scholars as dedicated as Mr. Davidson must work on the problem before a satisfactory technique for integrating pictures and words is finally devised.

Even the best-informed historian cannot fail to be impressed with the richness and variety of the American pictorial heritage here revealed, or to learn many things from the unusually large number of previously unexploited materials included by Mr. Davidson. Moreover, these pictures have been selected with great intelligence and unflinching good taste.

Many of the illustrations in *Life in America* are not reliable as sources, however; and they not infrequently convey false impressions which will deceive an unsuspecting reading public. The interior of Carter's Grove, for example (I, 71), shows a beautiful vista through half of the mansion, but this is a modern photograph and there is no indication that the vista was created in recent years by building in between the flankers and the main building. There is thus little value in the picture as far as the student of the eighteenth century is concerned. The most careful dating of the drawing of the highly important Miller watercolors of York, Pennsylvania, is required; for there is reason to believe that many are retrospective rather than portions of what might be called a pictorial diary (II, 132). St. Luke's, Smithfield, Virginia, was very inaccurately restored according to architects although no mention of this is made; such data are as essential as correct quotations and facts to a text. If the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad was double-tracked as early as 1831 according to the cut on II, 245, this is a most interesting fact; or was it merely an aspiration? We are not told. Houghton Mifflin Company has notably improved its photographic and printing processes in the last three years, but two general criticisms can still be fairly made: certain pictures are so small as to be useless for anything more than a vague impression, as in the view of Pittsburgh (II, 119), which is also blurred badly; and many unnecessarily dark exposures have been used (II, 325), often in cases of modern photographs for which many copies are available (I, 54; II, 329, 339, Amish men).

Life in America is a pioneering work in a difficult kind of history, but one of increasing significance that demands careful attention from historians. Its virtues far outweigh its weaknesses, and it will prove of inestimable value to all readers. It is to be hoped that these volumes, among the most significant in the field of American history to appear for many a year, will be reduced in price in later editions so that they may be widely used in schools and colleges.

University of California, Berkeley

CARL BRIDENBAUGH

THE LITERATURE OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE: AN HISTORICAL AND CRITICAL SURVEY. Edited by *Arthur Hobson Quinn*, University of Pennsylvania. (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts. 1951. Pp. xix, 1172. \$6.50.)

THE title, *The Literature of the American People*, will inevitably lead students of history to assume that they have here an exceptionally useful reference work. Such an assumption is further strengthened by this explicit statement in the

preface: "The rapid growth of departments of American Civilization in our colleges and universities is an indication of the need for a history of American Literature which reflects the opinions and desires of the people who have read and inspired it as well as those who created it." Since it is manifestly impossible to accomplish all this in a single volume, even one of 1172 pages, three themes are emphasized: the relation of literature to political and social movements, the relation of literature to painting, sculpture, and architecture, and the growth of magazines and "their effect for good or ill upon literature."

Kenneth B. Murdock in Part I, "The Colonial and Revolutionary Period," successfully connects literature with contemporary affairs. This success is to be attributed not only to the obvious fact that seventeenth and eighteenth century writers were deeply concerned with religion and politics but to the fact that Mr. Murdock's approach is truly interdisciplinary. Part II, "The Establishment of National Literature," by Mr. Quinn, is devoted almost entirely to literary history, with occasional paragraphs on ideas and historical events of the period and an interpolated chapter summarizing what men of letters from Cooper to Thoreau said concerning politics and slavery. Clarence Gohdes in Part III, "The Later Nineteenth Century," correlates cultural and literary history by focusing attention on democracy, realism and naturalism, social problems, science, the popular magazine, popular humor, and the popular theater. Much of the material in Part IV, "The Twentieth Century," has social significance but George Whicher treats that material as a conservative literary critic rather than an impersonal cultural historian.

The relation of literature to the allied arts is handled in a few passing references and two chapters of notes on painters, sculptors, and architects, Currier and Ives, folk music, references to the arts by men of letters, and the use of themes from nineteenth-century literature by later composers. Apparently Mr. Quinn, like the late Irving Babbitt, still resists any confusion of the arts, since he remarks that Charles Ives's "Concord Sonata" "seems to have indicated the limits of such efforts, for a printed explanation was required!" The brief sections which deal with American magazines, including *PMLA* and the *American Historical Review*, leave "their effect for good or ill upon literature" obscure.

The editor's preface states that *The Literature of the American People* also appraises literary movements in relation to their transience, or permanence, examines our obligations to foreign literatures, lays fresh stress upon our influence on literature abroad, and for the first time gives American drama "its proper place in a history of literature." Other scholars will feel that more attention might profitably have been given to the first three of these undertakings and less to the fourth.

As a whole, *The Literature of the American People* "reflects the opinions and desires of the people who have read and inspired it" only in fragmentary fashion and often only by indirection. The volume, therefore, is not a definitive study in

cultural history; it is, rather, a useful exemplification of an attitude toward American literature. In earlier works, Vernon Parrington wrote as a Jeffersonian, Ludwig Lewisohn as a Freudian, and V. F. Colverton as a Marxian. The present work is in varying degrees patrician—least persistently in Part III and most incisively in Part IV. The fashion in which this approach to American literature has been humanized during the last half century becomes evident when one compares this enlightened patricianism with the illiberalism of the first notable spokesman for that school, Barrett Wendell in *A Literary History of America* (1900).

University of Minnesota

TREMAINE McDOWELL

THE AMERICAN AS REFORMER. By *Arthur M. Schlesinger*. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1950. Pp. xi, 127. \$2.25.)

WHY has the United States nearly always set the pace for the Old World in reform zeal? Why have American reformers generally avoided extreme measures and been content with piecemeal progress? Whence has American reform derived its abiding vitality? Have third-party movements been harmful or beneficial to reform? What are the chief barriers in the way of social reform today? At what point does the intervention of government, in its attempt to "promote the general welfare," begin to undermine individual initiative and independence?

These and many other stimulating questions were discussed by Professor Schlesinger at Pomona College in the spring of 1950, when he held the Haynes Foundation Lectureship. Presented now in book form, his discourse, happily phrased, is always thoughtful and persuasive. As President E. Wilson Lyon remarks in the foreword, the reader quickly realizes why these lectures made a profound impression on the audiences in Southern California. We, who did not hear them delivered, are fortunate to have them in more permanent form.

Professor Schlesinger believes that reform movements in the United States have drawn vitality from two potent sources—religion and natural-rights philosophy. The former, particularly in its evangelical manifestations, inspired many a humanitarian enterprise; while the latter, as set forth in the preamble of the Declaration of Independence, provided "an incomparable rallying cry for reformers." If both these basic sets of ideals have less influence in the twentieth than in the nineteenth century, neither has completely lost its hold on the minds of Americans. They still sustain the reform impulse today. Over the years the forces thus generated have been occasionally strengthened in serious national crises. The Revolutionary War brought humanitarian gains and democratic aspirations which could not long be denied; the Civil War hastened incalculably the greatest of all American reforms, the abolition of slavery; the Great Depression of 1929 accelerated economic reform in ways which still remain obscure.

Some of the most interesting observations in Professor Schlesinger's pages

deal with the interaction between politics and reform in the United States. He demonstrates how much we owe to our federal system as a "lubricant of social change," because it grants freedom to the several states "to deal with their own problems in their own way" and at the same time permits federal action "to universalize a social change already well tested locally." It is Schlesinger's opinion that zealous reformers have been mistaken in resorting to third-party movements to gain their ends politically. At times such attempts to overcome the difficulties of the two-party system have done positive harm to the particular reform the third party sought to advance. Hence, the highly organized and numerous reform lobbies attempting to sway the major parties, which now flourish in Washington and every state capital.

Nowhere does the author undertake to define explicitly the word "reform." In the last essay, however, in which he considers the "revolt against revolt," reform seems to be equated with social change. However that may be, Professor Schlesinger's analysis of the motives and methods of opposition to reform is an impressive contribution to our understanding of the battle now being waged over the *status quo*. He is devastating as he takes apart the present attempts to settle public problems by hurling opprobrious epithets; he is eloquent as he defends "our American heritage of freedom" against those who are so alarmed by the fear of communism that they seem to have lost faith in the capacity of "free institutions to command the people's continuing confidence and allegiance." There is no question that we face an enemy, not only in Asia and Europe but here in the United States, who is willing to use any fraud or violence to gain his ends. That is a reason for grave concern; it is not an excuse for "intellectual delirium tremens."

There is reassurance for the present and hope for the future in the knowledge that "our national life has been healthy and virile because of the opportunity to criticize, protest and espouse unpopular causes. The reformer has always had his day in court, and if his case was good enough, he has won the verdict."

Columbia University

JOHN A. KROUT

THE NAVIGATION ACTS AND THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION. By
Oliver M. Dickerson. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1951.
Pp. xv, 344. \$6.00.)

THIS is an important book. It takes the form not of a systematic study of the operation of the British navigation and trade system between the years 1763 and 1775 but rather of a lawyer's brief that lays down certain propositions that are thereupon supported with cogency. Thus the method of exposition is deductive and is therefore to be distinguished from the inductive approach such as was employed by Professor Lawrence A. Harper in his methodical, noncontroversial *The English Navigation Laws: A Seventeenth Century Experiment in Social*

Engineering that appeared in 1939. As to the latter, while there are few purple patches in the orderly marshaling of the materials, it has become an indispensable aid to the serious student of the Old British Empire. In the highly controversial *The Navigation Acts and the American Revolution* the reader finds not only life, movement, and excitement, as he is brought face to face with the actual people caught and struggling in the web of imperial restrictions, but also many moot points.

The chief propositions set forth by Professor Dickerson in the course of the volume are: (1) The navigation and trade system as evolved before 1763 did not injure the American colonials, but, to the contrary, made it possible for them to enjoy the very high degree of prosperity to which they had attained by that date. (2) As a consequence, there was in the continental colonies by 1763 "every physical evidence of wealth more abundant than in England. . . ." (3) The attempt to raise a revenue in the colonies after 1763 was made chiefly at the desire of George III and those corrupt elements that surrounded him in order to provide good livings for their needy followers. (4) The new restrictive and revenue-producing acts that as a consequence were thereupon passed—with the attendant evils that followed in their train, such as extortions, which were continued, despite the censuring of these practices by the law officers in Great Britain—were the true causes of the American Revolution. (5) Therefore, it is unjust and unhistorical to attribute the Revolution to any of the provisions of the seventeenth-century navigation and trade acts or to those added in the first half of the eighteenth century, all of which were accepted by colonials as both reasonable and necessary. The five propositions may be summarized by one: that there would have been no American Revolution had the navigation and trade system as it existed before 1763 been permitted to operate after that date in the manner in which it had heretofore functioned—free of all revenue-producing implications.

All students of the period would doubtless agree that when the government of Great Britain embarked on the twin policies of rigid enforcement of the navigation and trade laws and of seeking additional revenue in America by means of taxation, the consequences, under given circumstances, were fatal to the preservation of the unity of the old empire. However, they are unlikely to agree with Professor Dickerson that the change was brought about because a crowd of hungry British place seekers had to be taken care of, but rather because of something much more relevant to the welfare of the North American continent: the vital necessity of facing the problem of defending the vast acquisitions won there in the course of the war and, to this end, of providing the costs of this program, as stressed in the Shelburne, Amherst, and other collections of papers that Professor Dickerson does not seem to have used. That the British taxpayer was overtaxed and in no condition to bear alone the additional financial load is, moreover, indicated by the evidence that the author submits (pp. 54-55); that the colonials, especially in view of their wealth, also enjoyed a comparative freedom

from war debts—as well as from other public debts—he also makes clear (pp. 53, 55, 60–61), but he fails to bring out the fact that this happy situation was to a great extent the result of the appropriation by Parliament of large sums between 1757 and 1763 as reimbursement of the expenses of the colonies which had exerted themselves in the course of the war.

Again, in accounting for the bitter hostility of the American seafaring people to the British customs officials and naval officers with the institution of the new regulations and taxation measures after 1763, Professor Dickerson does not take into consideration the fact that this hatred was in the first instance created in the midst of the war with France when, on orders issued by Pitt, there began the seizure of American vessels involved in trade with the enemy—denounced by the Great Commoner as an “illegal and most pernicious trade,” which, however, according to the author, Americans felt they could carry on without disloyalty (p. 169). It is clear that the hatred thus created at certain seaports against these enforcement agents never died down when peace was restored; what is more, it was returned in full measure, there is no doubt.

Finally, as to the major thesis. While Professor Dickerson has developed most convincingly the proposition that the navigation and trade system, despite its restrictions, operated for a century to the benefit of the colonials, he has not removed the impression that there was after 1763 a substantial body of opinion hostile to it in America. There was, for example, the petition of the New York merchants in 1766—something that he ignores in his analysis—calling for the virtual scrapping of it in favor of free trade, to the great alarm of Pitt.

Before closing it may be well to point out some revisions that should be made in the text or footnotes. A tax of one penny a pound on tobacco by 21 George c. 2 raised the import duty from six and one third pence mentioned (p. 25) to seven and one third pence where it stood in 1763. In the discussion of the provisions of the Sugar Act of 1764 the statement regarding the American vice-admiralty courts is incorrect (p. 183). The vice-admiralty court for all America provided for in 1764 had no greater powers than the vice-admiralty courts created for America in 1696 and only had concurrent jurisdiction with them. These courts from the beginning had a much wider jurisdiction than did the High Court of Admiralty in England, which jurisdiction, moreover, was extended in 1722, in 1733, in 1764, and in 1765 to embrace many unlawful activities beyond the competence of the court in England. Again, Pitt was not the author of the Declaratory Act and disclaimed all responsibility for it (p. 195), nor was the well-known writer, Dean Tucker, a baronet (p. 276); finally, the statement that in 1769 the tea tax “was retained because it was a real source of revenue for support of the numerous placemen which the King’s Friends in England needed to keep themselves in office” (p. 299) is incorrect. As the Grafton and other papers make abundantly clear, it was retained not only because it did not burden British manufacturers but, fundamentally, because it was desired to vindicate the principles laid down

in the Declaratory Act; for it was felt that nothing less than the fate of the empire was in the balance and with it the principle of the sovereignty of Parliament.

The above criticisms are not intended to minimize the fact that the *Navigation Acts and the American Revolution* is certainly a book deserving the most thoughtful attention of every student of the Old British Empire. It brings into view a very large body of material, largely drawn from the Treasury papers, that is not readily available and also corrects many misconceptions of the functioning of the British imperial system that have been embodied not only in standard histories but even in specialized treatises.

The Queen's College, Oxford

LAWRENCE HENRY GIPSON

JEFFERSON AND HIS TIME. Volume II, JEFFERSON AND THE RIGHTS OF MAN. By *Dumas Malone*. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1951. Pp. xxix, 523. \$6.00.)

JEFFERSON'S "writings are no longer widely read; his name is more often on the lips than are his ideas fresh in the recollection of those who profess themselves his disciples. . . . His whole way of thinking is unlike our way to-day, and we might say that compared with such contemporaries as Bentham, Burke, Alexander Hamilton, and still more if he be compared with such much younger contemporaries as Goethe and Coleridge, Jefferson is almost archaic." Thus spoke Lord James Bryce in his Founder's Day address at the University of Virginia in 1908. At that time Jefferson's reputation was indeed at a low ebb, as it had been for many decades. It seemed that the many-sided genius who had played such an enormous part in founding the United States of America was little understood or appreciated by the majority of the American people, that his way of life and of thought had been steam-rollered and crushed by the system of his arch-rival, Hamilton.

Today we feel very differently on the subject. It would be hardly conceivable for any competent person outside the Iron Curtain to speak of him as "almost archaic." In the eyes of American historians and of the public in general he has come into his own as never before—at least if we may judge by the veritable flood of writings about him that has recently appeared and continues to appear.

The present volume is one more—and one of the very best—of that flood. It is the second of what was originally projected as a four-volume biography, but the author now states that he has had to raise his sights to include a fifth volume. It covers Jefferson's career from the summer of 1784, when he sailed from Boston for Europe, to the end of the year 1792, when he was still Secretary of State. In France, as one of the American commissioners (along with Adams and Franklin) to negotiate treaties of amity and commerce, he found himself in a poor bargaining position, but a few treaties were nevertheless signed. After about a year Jefferson succeeded the popular Franklin as minister to France and filled

that post with dignity and ability. It was the end of the Old Regime, and at the French court he came to know many of the "greats" of that day. With his wide range of interests, he was a constant observer and recorder of data on everything from architecture to olive trees and from the latest household gadgets to new methods of rice cultivation. He purchased large quantities of furniture and books (the latter the nucleus of the Library of Congress), and had some of the foremost artists of the day do statues and paintings of himself and his friends. During his last months in France he was a fascinated spectator of the beginning of the Revolution and optimistically looked on it as the coming of a new and happier era for the French people. His "Sentimental Adventure" with Maria Cosway is treated sympathetically and that lady is portrayed in a more attractive light than has been customary.

A lover of home and family, Jefferson was happy to return to his beloved Monticello, but he landed in Norfolk only to learn that Washington had appointed him first Secretary of State under the Constitution. Reluctantly he accepted and after a time made his way to New York, where he played a major role in setting the new government on its feet. The total annual budget of the Department of State, including the Secretary's salary, was only about \$8,000. The chief problems revolved around our relations with Spain, Great Britain, and France. The Nootka Sound controversy offered an opportunity to press American claims to navigation of the Mississippi and presaged Jefferson's later attitude and interest that resulted in the Louisiana Purchase. Relations with Britain remained strained and British hauteur and rudeness did not help matters. With France relations were more friendly, but Jefferson played favorites with no foreign nation, always placing first the interests of his own country. Soon the controversy with Hamilton became acute. The latter interfered with the conduct of foreign affairs and was markedly pro-British. Jefferson disapproved of the Hamiltonian system and made no secret of the fact. Finally the President had to intervene, but with only partial success. At the end of the period covered by this volume the relationship between the two men was very tense—but the worst was yet to come.

While the author is consistently friendly and partial to Jefferson, he nevertheless maintains the standard of scholarship set in the first volume, and it may be expected that the complete series will rank among the best of all biographies of distinguished Americans. A select critical bibliography, two "long notes" on special topics, and a useful index enhance the value of the work.

Raleigh, North Carolina

CHRISTOPHER CRITTENDEN

ZACHARY TAYLOR: SOLDIER IN THE WHITE HOUSE. By *Holman Hamilton*. (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company. 1951. Pp. 496. \$6.00.)

A LITTLE over a century ago Zachary Taylor appeared briefly in the military and political spotlight. More than the usual number of campaign biographies

and collections of letters were published as victories at Monterey and Buena Vista converted an obscure frontier chieftain into presidential timber. A generation passed before he received posthumous recognition in Oliver O. Howard's *General Taylor* (1892), and still another before he achieved scholarly treatment in Brainerd Dyer's *Zachary Taylor* (1946). Meanwhile, Holman Hamilton had published *Zachary Taylor, Soldier of the Republic* (1941), and now, after a ten-year interval, *Soldier in the White House* completes a thoroughly competent two-volume biography. He has searched meticulously for evidence on minutiae as well as memorabilia, and modestly acknowledges his indebtedness to more than three hundred persons who contributed to his second volume. Despite these obligations, no one would question the author's responsibility for the biography's outstanding merits.

As an example of proficiency, Hamilton has determined definitely the authorship of the Allison letters heretofore a matter of conjecture. Logan Hunton, James Love, and Balie Peyton prepared a preliminary draft of the first letter; they placed it before Taylor in Baton Rouge, who expressed his own views and "agreed to sign a letter incorporating 'what he had said & no more.'" Hunton then composed "the most important document of the preconvention campaign," and Taylor copied and signed it. The second Allison letter was written by Alexander Bullitt, "perhaps at Taylor's dictation." This shift in responsibility for the Allison letters from Kentucky, New York, and the national capital to Louisiana is accompanied by a revision in Thurlow Weed's contribution to Taylor's nomination. Hamilton concludes that "he appears not to have abandoned hope of Clayton's or Seward's chances to the very end," and that he "had less to do with the outcome than Crittenden" and a half dozen others. The author does not minimize the importance of New York in deciding the election, but he points also to Pennsylvania's significance. Taylor's plurality in Philadelphia was ten thousand votes: "It was the Quaker City that gave Taylor the margin that made him President."

The revisionist nature of Hamilton's biography is apparent in his treatment of the sectional issue and the Compromise of 1850. Taylor is depicted as "a forceful President" in formulating and promoting his plan for the admission of California and New Mexico. Democrats and Whigs, the author asserts, "paid attention aplenty to the Unionist convictions of Zachary Taylor." Clay's influence in furthering the compromise, Hamilton believes, has been exaggerated: "Democratic regulars would . . . have supported some such compromise," and the Kentuckian "brought no Senate strength" except perhaps the votes of eight Whigs. The biographer declares that "the long range of history presents at least as many arguments favoring Taylor's concept of statesmanship as that to which his opponents adhered."

After weighing imponderables as well as ponderables, Hamilton assigns Taylor a "higher than 'average'" rank among the presidents. Historians may question

this evaluation and at the same time recognize that the soldier-president who emerges from the biographer's pages has greater stature than history has accorded him. Only occasionally does the author abandon objectivity to align himself on Taylor's side of controversial issues and labor the correctness of his subject's position. The speculative observation that civil war might have been avoided if Taylor's plan of 1850 had been approved does not strengthen the convincing portrayal of the President's justifiable course. But Taylor's qualities now stand in bold relief, and the complex mid-century crisis appears in sharper focus. These are Hamilton's significant contributions, and they are sufficient to label his biography meritorious.

Tulane University

WENDELL HOLMES STEPHENSON

RANDOLPH OF ROANOKE: A STUDY IN CONSERVATIVE THOUGHT.

By *Russell Kirk*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1951. Pp. vii, 187. \$3.00.)

THIS is not a biography of the eccentric statesman of Roanoke but an analysis of John Randolph's ideas and philosophy, a discussion of their influence on his contemporaries, and, incidentally, their applicability to present-day problems. The author examines Randolph's views on such concepts as the basis of authority, the division of power, slavery, agrarianism, and change or reform. He comes to the conclusion that Randolph was not the product of his times and environment but rather of his own nature, eccentricity, and genius. Randolph's reading, schooling, and experience merely confirmed his own inclinations.

Burke was the chief source of Randolph's political philosophy. From him Randolph derived his major ideas of indivisible sovereignty, impatience of legal rights and restraints, his advocacy of expediency tempered by prescription and tradition, and his reverence for experience. Jefferson was Randolph's second teacher, but Randolph broke with Jefferson because he believed Jefferson deserted the Republican standards of political purity, simplicity in government, and strict construction of the Constitution. And Randolph, says the author, was the first leader in America to develop opposition to the doctrine of equality as expressed in the Declaration of Independence. Randolph was a champion of liberty but not of equality. And his "was the liberty prescribed by tradition and delimited by expediency, not the absolute freedom of the philosophes."

Randolph's chief significance as a thinker and statesman lies in his championship of the status quo, of agrarian interests as against industrialism, of strict construction, of state and minority rights, and of the old order. He did not defend slavery per se but bitterly opposed, what he called, interference of northern abolitionists and of the federal government in the domestic institutions of the South. His opposition to reform was in vain but as the preceptor of Hayne, Tucker, Calhoun, *et al.*, he became the chief architect of the Southern Confederacy of 1861.

The author is in error when he attributes the Missouri Compromise to Henry Clay and when he declares that Calhoun voted for the Compromise. Thomas of Illinois was the author of the Compromise, and since Calhoun was Secretary of War from 1817 to 1825 he could not have voted for the Compromise in Congress.

The author writes in complete sympathy with Randolph's views. He thinks that American society lost much in the failure to accept Randolph's position. He questions the present-day concept of government and says that Randolph's conservative philosophy would be of value today when the United States has assumed the role of the chief champion of conservatism. Most of his readers would agree with his position that Randolph's views of "peace and prudence in foreign relations, and freedom from economic oppression by special interests are ideals . . . still worth striving for." This book is an able championship of conservative philosophy.

University of North Carolina

FLETCHER M. GREEN

JOHN C. CALHOUN, SECTIONALIST, 1840-1850. By *Charles M. Wiltse*. (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company. 1951. Pp. 592. \$6.00.)

THIS is the last volume of Mr. Wiltse's three-volume biography. The first brought Calhoun's life to 1828, as the "Nationalist," the second described him as the "Nullifier," and now we have the concluding decade of his notable career and the author's final judgment.

Mr. Wiltse has chosen the leisurely "life and times" pattern of biography and has given a very complete exposition of the political history of the United States from 1811 until Calhoun's death. So full is the historical analysis that Calhoun is not infrequently lost sight of pages at a time. The author has likewise selected the formula of the evolving statesman as the theme of his biographical treatment. He has written a thoroughly documented work in a temper which is reasonably objective though obviously sympathetic.

The thesis of the author is that Calhoun as nationalist, nullifier, and sectionalist was always a lover of the Union, always working to preserve it. He failed, however, to understand the strength of that complex force often called the Industrial Revolution and mistakenly believed that preservation of the Union depended upon the continuance of southern society based upon a slave economy. From the time he realized the danger threatening the South he endeavored in season and out to organize his section into a solid political unit. This unit he believed must exert pressure to secure, while it could, a guaranty of its minority rights by means of a scheme of sectional autonomy. This he was at great pains to spell out in a formulation as elaborate as it was impractical.

Mr. Wiltse gives a very interesting and complete analysis. This last decade of Calhoun's life is the decade of Oregon, of Texas, of the Mexican War, and

of the Compromise of 1850. The author continues to make a thorough and critical use of the sources and the latest findings of scholarship in his very neat research and writing. Also as usual he has a penetrating understanding of the period. He does not gloss over Calhoun's weaknesses, nor avoid facing his errors, though perhaps he is too hard on his enemies, particularly Polk and Benton.

This work merits only high praise both as history and biography. But without wishing to detract notably from this judgment, there is one plea in modification to be filed. The author in choosing the formula of the evolution of the responsible statesman and the political philosopher as his pattern has written almost in terms which Calhoun himself provided. But in a democracy a statesman must also be a politician.

It may be argued that Calhoun was so great a philosopher and statesman because he was so frustrated a politician, and that he must have failed so in politics for the same reasons that he failed as a husband, a father, a financier, a member of a political team, and a presidential aspirant. The problem of these failures does not engage Mr. Wiltse's attention, yet it seems obvious that it was these repeated disasters together with increasing bodily weakness which drove him ever more insistently to take refuge in the recesses of his great mind and caused him to live more and more in his imagination. In this he was something like Lincoln. But his was not an imagination as was Lincoln's which opened the door to reality any more than were the imaginations of thousands of southern planters. As a result he had a great share in conjuring up the fears which were so large a part of the cause of the disaster that came in 1860-61. His great mind could not find any practical way to bring about the adjustments which the increase in mechanization and communications was making inevitable. So ruthlessly did ill-fortune pursue him, that Calhoun's life presents one of the truly great tragedies in American history.

Mr. Wiltse omits none of the elements of this tragedy. The reader will find them all scattered through the pages, but they are never brought to focus nor given the significance that they deserve. The result in this reviewer's judgment, is that although the author has produced a most valuable work, he would have more nearly approached a great biography had he concentrated his obvious talent more directly on the problem of how so great a man could be so great a failure.

University of Pennsylvania

ROY F. NICHOLS

THE POLITICAL THEORY OF JOHN C. CALHOUN. By *August O. Spain*.
(New York: Bookman Associates. 1951. Pp. 306. \$3.50.)

In this well-documented study Professor Spain holds that Calhoun led Western thought away from the false pattern of natural rights, the social compact doctrine, and libertarianism to a sounder system of socially derived rights, organic statehood, and distributive justice. This reviewer disagrees. Slowly and patiently

the West developed the belief that humans shared a common body of rights. In his second essay John Locke had shown that to preserve these rights it was imperative that control of the state, which alone possessed the power to act in an absolute and unlimited manner, be transferred from the one to the many.

It will be remembered that when American liberty was threatened in its dispute with Britain, Jefferson justified self-determination by means of the Lockian doctrine. Thus Jefferson contrived both to preserve the philosophy of natural rights and to advance the dogma of majority rule. Happily, America was led at this time by the pen of a Jefferson rather than by that of a Burke or a Calhoun. In the constitution-making period Madison, as Mr. Spain is aware, questioned the good judgment of factions motivated by self-interest. Although he ascribed no especial moral virtue to a number more than half the electorate in size, Madison cast no reflection upon natural rights or the democratic process. Indeed he prophesied a leading role for government as the adjuster of special interests. In a large republic Madison averred that self-interest would cancel out if provided with representative institutions, capable of coming to agreement through discussion.

In order to demonstrate that it was Calhoun who led the movement away from natural rights, Mr. Spain reiterates that John Taylor of Caroline clung tenaciously to the natural rights and social compact doctrine. Calhoun, however, was still an outspoken nationalist when Taylor first perceived that danger to the South. It is to Taylor's credit that he did not allow this insight to reduce his faith in the democratic process. In the Jeffersonian tradition Taylor scarcely anticipated that the majority might prey upon helpless minorities. Special interests, Taylor cautioned, would seek to delude the electorate into acting contrary to their own welfare. It was Taylor and not Calhoun, as Mr. Spain suggests, who began to build a constitutional refuge against sectional majorities. Taylor's program, moreover, was more than legalistic. It attended to the needs of practical politics and it realized the importance of economic prosperity to agriculture.

Calhoun lacked the Jeffersonian touch of kinship with the common man. Under Calhoun's leadership, therefore, the unity of agriculture was allowed to crumble and was permitted to fall to a position secondary to the maintenance of the southern way of life. Political leadership yielded to a sterile constitutionalism. Finally Calhoun abandoned natural rights and the social compact doctrine. In the opinion of this reviewer this step was a major blunder. It cost Calhoun not only the sympathy of the American West but also the world support enjoyed by the Jeffersonians. A better choice would have been to maintain with Jefferson that the freedom of one people must not be destroyed by the acts of another. In this direction, at least, the South might have retreated if necessary toward a democratic kind of southern nationalism. Having abandoned natural rights, Calhoun and his successors lost both the West and the world.

Natural rights were not a fleeting doctrine, as Mr. Spain would have us believe. Calhoun's own downfall stemmed from his relativism. In exchanging public commendation for natural rights, Calhoun grasped a two-edged sword which must destroy his cause, whether he chose concurrent majority or outright secession.

Washington, D. C.

BERNARD DRELL

THE ANTISLAVERY ORIGINS OF THE FOURTEENTH AMENDMENT. By *Jacobus tenBroek*. (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1951. Pp. vi, 232. \$3.00.)

IN this little volume, Dr. tenBroek has presented and digested a great deal of relatively unused evidence bearing on the development of American constitutional theory and law. Pamphlets and other documentary products of the early abolitionist movement are analyzed to show the growth of the theory and plan of action of those who led the way toward freedom and equal rights for the Negro.

The usefulness of the work is augmented by a usable index, by a list of source materials used, and by a table of court cases. By careful analysis of the evolution of the Fourteenth Amendment the author points to the large influence of natural rights theory and a concept of centralized national powers under the Constitution. Dr. tenBroek recognizes that consistent and informed logic is not always present. He traces the growth of these ideas (Part I), their popularization (Part II), and their final realization in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Amendments (Part III and IV). The author's concern is only with the first and fifth sections of the Fourteenth Amendment. A minor criticism might be that although this could be justified easily enough in the light of the lasting significance of these sections, no attempt is made to do so.

A major point emphasized in the well-documented presentation is the abolitionists' view that a positive obligation rather than a simple restriction was involved in the prohibition of government action in the Bill of Rights. This compelled legislation to secure full and equal substantive as well as procedural rights. Abolitionist thought also included a broad view of the comity clause and of national citizenship. The Fourteenth Amendment was merely a repetition and clarification of those things adopted by the passage of the Thirteenth Amendment, and regarded as part of our proper constitutional interpretation even before that.

Although undoubtedly these notions were the property of an extremely vocal group who helped to develop the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Amendments, it is easy to exaggerate their importance. If there is a noteworthy weakness in this study, it would appear to be in the consideration of the immediate background of the Fourteenth Amendment, especially in the evaluation of forces then at work. The critical reader will notice the lack of reference to unpublished correspond-

ence and to newspaper reports of speeches made by congressmen before their constituents. Such materials would show other motivations of a more practical political nature than that revealed. Although they would not necessarily repudiate the central findings of Dr. tenBroek, they would probably place his discussion in better perspective and make his conclusions less sharply drawn.

In a work of this kind, involving as it does a close analysis and logical development of point after point toward a conclusion, there is bound to be a lack of total agreement on the part of all readers. Nevertheless, this little book is surely a contribution of value and it has been written in a competent and scholarly manner which indicates the breadth of the author's background.

Mississippi State College for Women

JOSEPH B. JAMES

DRED SCOTT'S CASE. By *Vincent C. Hopkins*. (New York: Fordham University Press; distrib. by Declan X. McMullen Company. 1951. Pp. ix, 204. \$4.00.)

THIS book represents a thorough combing of presumably all available records concerning the famous Dred Scott Case. It brings the story together within the compass of a single volume, thereby rendering a service to all who would locate a full statement of the history of the case without resort to volumes concerned in part with other topics. It weighs the evidence carefully and its judgments are restrained and disciplined.

Such are the merits of the book. It does not mark discovery of any large amount of evidence not previously available to the reader. As the author tells us, it still leaves us largely ignorant of Dred Scott, whose freedom was involved along with that of his family—leaves us ignorant even of his acquisition of the historically known euphonious name, which at some time seems to have replaced the more common name of "Sam." A prime difficulty of authorship is noted in the first paragraph of the first chapter: "To tell the story of a slave is, of necessity, to tell the story, largely, of his masters. The latter usually left some records: they married, paid taxes, served in the armed forces, drew up last wills and testaments. Of the former, as a class, we have only chance references in the papers of their masters" (p. 1). So it is that Dred Scott remains largely a shadow in the history of the famous case which bears his name.

As for the case itself, which by many is believed to have precipitated the Civil War, so numerous are the unknown factors, so unanswerable are the "might have beens," that men will continue to differ as to whether the Supreme Court made a tragic if not dastardly mistake in using the case to pass upon the constitutionality of the power of Congress to prohibit slavery in the territories when it might have decided the case without passing on that point—on a point which was vital to the country if not to Dred Scott. Noting the fact that all but one of the justices thought the point belonged to the case the author says, persuasively: "If they had

not spoken, they would have been attacked as delinquent. If there had been no decision, men would probably ask, in the years to come, why the last peaceful means of settling the issue that precipitated the Civil War had not been tried" (p. vi). The decision became a football of abolitionist and Republican propaganda—a fact which the author does not fully discuss. He is no doubt right that the question as to judicial neglect of duty would have been asked had the war come without the decision. It probably would have come—but assuming that, we need to know when and under what circumstances, if we are to measure the judicial impact; and we are still left with the question whether the judicial process, for reasons explainable by its essential nature, ought to reserve decision to points essential to decision of a case at hand and ought never to project itself into controversies dividing society as a whole even more deeply than they divide the parties before the court. The book makes no addition to the existing body of thought on this subject.

Johns Hopkins University

CARL BRENT SWISHER

THE GENERAL WHO MARCHED TO HELL: WILLIAM TECUMSEH SHERMAN AND HIS MARCH TO FAME AND INFAMY. By *Earl Schenck Miers*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1951. Pp. xxiii, 349, xvii. \$4.50.)

WILLIAM Tecumseh Sherman's shadow dominates this cogently written estimate of the most hated, debated campaign of the American Civil War. The author sought "to reconstruct attitudes that must have existed in the minds of those charged with the direction of events" in the conflict of North and South. Mr. Miers has brought new light and understanding to this difficult task.

Sherman himself is the chief character; not even Grant matched him in fierceness—or infamy. The author depicts "Cump"—to use Sherman's West Point nickname—as one who rarely put his best foot forward, even in President Lincoln's presence. On the contrary, he was hesitant, confused, "stubbornly inarticulate." Often his temper would flare "like a lucifer match."

What manner of man was this vengeful genius of march, battle, and pursuit? As a "shavetail," graduating from West Point at sixteen, he hated his red hair, yet when he tried to dye it, the outcome was a hideous green! Ordered to Fort Moultrie in 1830, he was bored with life as an Army officer but loved the society of Charleston. He studied law, but after his first case exploded with a mortifying defeat, gave it up. Forty years later, when the American Civil War began, Sherman sated his hatred of the Confederate officers who recently had resigned from the United States Army.

In the beginning of that epochal conflict, Sherman proved as tactically timid in the field as Grant had been in the West. In 1864, however, Sherman exulted when President Lincoln reluctantly authorized the "March to the Sea," through

Georgia to Savannah. "War is war," his initial phrase, he changed to "War is Hell!"

If ever an age of hate was ordered by military authority, it was when the rejuvenated, well-fed, conquering columns of Sherman's Army chased the Confederates into South Carolina. General Grant, a profane man himself, had demurred when Sherman's plan to sweep through the Carolinas was first adopted. On December 14, 1865, almost within sight of Savannah, Georgia, Major Connolly, an aide to Sherman, superintended the crossing of the Savannah River. South Carolina was plunged into the purgatory of defeat, conflagration, and utter despair. The march through Georgia was, in comparison, a mere maneuver.

As Sherman arranged the marches after crossing north of the Savannah he decreed: "There's damn little for you infantrymen to destroy after I have passed through this Hell-hole of Secession." At Branchville, South Carolina, General Sherman deliberately unleashed "his licentious troops to ravage and violate." The author, whose research was amazingly deep and solid, portrays the terrors of the ravages and violations of the troops, sutlers, "dog-robbers," "bummers" and other camp followers.

South Carolinians hated Sherman not so much for his military triumphs, as for the heinous plundering and his truculent refusal to permit Federal soldiers to guard the women and children. Whatever his military skill, Sherman's shame continues to burn.

This is a most competent piece of research, characterization, and a bill of indictment of a great general who, as the author well says in his title, "marched to Hell."

Washington, D. C.

GEORGE FORT MILTON

YEARS OF MADNESS: A REAPPRAISAL OF THE CIVIL WAR. By William E. Woodward. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1951. Pp. viii, 311. \$4.00.)

The general reader will find this little volume a swiftly moving, readable account of the Civil War years, but the student of American history, familiar with the historical literature of the last twenty-five years, will find no appraisal essentially new. Woodward's thesis that these were years of madness filled with decisions and actions that were "absolutely foolish," and that the war "could have been avoided without loss to any American citizen" follows in general Professor J. G. Randall's interpretation of "the blundering generation," Professor A. O. Craven's thesis of "the repressible conflict," and George Fort Milton's presentation of "the needless war." He has no difficulty demonstrating that blunders were made and that passion and hate all too frequently triumphed over cold clear logic, but he fails to show how blunders could have been avoided or how passions could have been curbed. Woodward's thesis also holds that there were numerous occa-

sions after the war was underway "when it might have been ended with great satisfaction to both sides," but that both sides neglected these or rejected them with scorn. So swiftly does his pen move, however, that these occasions are barely mentioned and the utter impossibility of peace when one side will accept nothing short of independence and the other nothing less than the restoration of the Union is completely overlooked.

The main cause of the war Woodward discovers in the failure of the two sections to resolve their differences on the question of slavery expansion in the territories. The major responsibility for this failure he places upon the South, which was insisting upon a principle that could never be realized, for geographic and climatic conditions made the further expansion of slavery out of the question. The basic cause of the South's defeat he finds in Jefferson Davis' insistence upon remaining on the defensive and defending the Confederacy at all points. He recognizes the significance of such other factors as the South's inferior economic resources and its state rights philosophy, but none of these was so important as Davis' cautious policy.

Woodward has compressed into a brief volume much of the history of these complicated years. In the first quarter of the book he evaluates the causes of the war and in so doing dips far back into colonial foundations for the beginnings of sectional differences and swiftly describes the development of North and South through the years to 1860. He recognizes significant differences but holds that the sections had more in common and that war was madness. Except for two brief chapters on Reconstruction, the remainder of the book is devoted to the years of actual conflict with attention to political, economic, diplomatic, and military aspects. In so brief a treatment the author must of necessity generalize much and touch but lightly many points. He skips freely through the years and over the battlefields with an assurance few other students of this period would have. Occasionally errors of fact creep in while at many points brevity defeats exactness and clarity.

Readers familiar with Woodward's earlier writings will not be surprised to find this, his last work, completed shortly before his death, interesting, provocative, and critical. With twentieth-century hindsight he is quick to point out the errors of all leaders—North and South, civil and military. All too frequently he overlooks the problems these men faced and the accomplishments they achieved.

University of California, Los Angeles

BRainerd DYER

THE TRANSPORTATION REVOLUTION, 1815-1860. By *George Rogers Taylor*. [Economic History of the United States, Volume IV.] (New York: Rinehart and Company. 1951. Pp. xvii, 490. \$4.50.)

THIS stimulating volume, of far broader import than its title suggests, is nothing less than a thoroughgoing description and critical reappraisal of the forces

which fashioned the commercial and industrial development of the United States from the close of the War of 1812 to the eve of the Civil War. Using, in addition to standard sources, a vast amount of recent monographic material, and bringing a fresh approach both to specific data and the broader topics themselves, Professor Taylor has marshaled both evidence and logic to demand revision of many a long-accepted conclusion. As a result, he has produced a book that is not only informative and superbly integrated but which stands as the most challenging and provocative work to appear in this field in many a year.

The underlying premise, to which all portions of the book are related, is that it was primarily the "revolution" in transportation that converted the decentralized agricultural and mercantile republic of 1815 into the reasonably close-knit national business community of 1860. The first 150 pages, logically enough, are devoted to a convincing demonstration of that proposition. In the course of it, and within the limits imposed by space, Professor Taylor gives the most lucid, up-to-date account available of the successive development of roads and bridges, canals, lake and river steamboats, railroads, the merchant marine, the telegraph, and the cable. Omitted only (and possibly by design in view of Professor Gates's forthcoming companion volume) is any but the most casual reference to the growing overland trade routes of the trans-Missouri West. He concludes his demonstration and drives home his key point by spotlighting the revolutionary changes in the costs and speed of both overland and ocean transportation and communication that were achieved during the thirty-five critical years under consideration.

The next fifty-odd pages, devoted to domestic and foreign trade, are equally informative. But their chief value arises from the new emphasis the author insists upon assigning to certain factors hitherto largely overlooked. In respect to domestic trade, he maintains, it was the bitter competition that each new form of transportation had to wage against previously established devices that characterized the period and profoundly affected the rate and nature of American industrial development. Consequently he centers his discussion around such topics as turnpike *vs.* water and rail transport, competing water routes, and railways *vs.* waterways; against that background his analysis of the patterns and volume of trade gain new and fuller meaning. In respect to foreign trade Professor Taylor refuses to be bound by the venerated but unreliable statistical summaries which, he asserts, must be broken down in order, for example, to separate exports from re-exports, explore the origin and destination of trade, examine shifts in goods exchanged, and assess accurately the items determining the balance sheet of international indebtedness. His analysis that follows is as lucid as the subject is complex. In the course of it, among other things, he focuses needed attention upon the effect of changing price levels and raises serious doubt as to the presumed extent of foreign investment during the period.

The latter half of *The Transportation Revolution* considers the development, in turn, of manufacturing, laboring conditions and the labor movement, financial

institutions, prices and economic fluctuations, and the role of both state and federal government. Throughout these chapters runs the unifying theme of rapidly increasing economic nationalism brought about, primarily, by the revolution in transportation. Yet Professor Taylor never falls into the trap of exclusive determinism; his theme, sometimes near the forefront, sometimes in the background, serves chiefly as a standard of integration and relevance. Within such a scheme of organization, each topic is fully and meticulously treated in its own right. As elsewhere, his revision of emphasis and refusal to accept traditional statistics is challenging. His underscoring of the extent to which the states participated in business affairs is, for example, long overdue. So is his defense of the commercial banking situation between 1834 and 1864.

Throughout the book, the author constantly demonstrates his ability to make clear the interdependence of apparently disparate factors and to select and expound illustrative material in surprising detail without obscuring the main thread of either his narrative or argument. His style, though precise, is above all clear and pleasing to read. Professor Taylor covers a vast amount of ground in these pages, yet does it without imparting the least sense of pressure. He even finds time to comment on the various sides of such controversial issues as the Second Bank of the United States, and to point out, at frequent intervals, where further research is needed. The forty-page critical bibliography is a mine of information made doubly useful by the frank but judicious comments of the author. Illustrations, tables, and appendixes are ample and pertinent, and the index leaves nothing to be desired.

To say merely that this is a good book is a gross understatement. However familiar much of the subject matter inevitably is, Professor Taylor has approached it with a refreshingly new viewpoint, and drawn from it interpretations that lead to a far better comprehension than heretofore possible of the forces at work during 1815-60. In so doing he has forced a reappraisal of the relevance of that period to the whole course of our economic development.

Northwestern University

RICHARD C. OVERTON

THE UPROOTED: THE EPIC STORY OF THE GREAT MIGRATIONS THAT MADE THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. By *Oscar Handlin*. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1951. Pp. 310. \$4.00.)

A STORY of vast proportions is unfolded before us in this book. Professor Handlin sketches the disintegration of the time-honored Old World village society which drove thousands upon thousands to take refuge in emigration. He describes the miseries of the crossing, the cold welcome and disillusionment that were in store for the immigrants as most of them were "trapped," so to speak, in the city slums, never reaching the farm land of which they had dreamed. The reaction of the immigrants to each new experience is pictured with the emotional

warmth and psychological insight of one who has been close to the newcomers. In the midst of innumerable individual tragedies, the movement as a whole was saved from becoming tragic by the tenacity and, at the same time, flexibility with which the immigrant groups were able to attain a certain harmony, unconscious perhaps, between the efforts to maintain their cultural identity and the struggle to find their place in the land of their adoption. Emphasis is placed upon their reaction to the varying attitudes of the self-styled "real Americans": indifference, exploitation, the ideal of the "melting pot," Know-Nothingism, the smug hundred-percentism which reached a climax in World War I, and the policy of exclusion that followed it.

It is hardly correct to call this "the first study to examine the meaning of immigration . . . from the point of view of the people who were involved in it," but, as far as I know, there is no similar study of such wide scope. Nevertheless, Professor Handlin has not fulfilled his promise. Instead of showing the effects of immigration on the 35,000,000 people who came to our shores in the nineteenth century, his book is actually a study of those immigrants only who came from the village background of central and southern Europe and were stranded in our eastern cities, notably New York. It is questionable how far the sweeping generalities of the book have a universal application, even to this group. There are, for example, authentic accounts showing that the crossing was not always an unmitigated horror and that the milk of human kindness was not entirely lacking in the reception accorded the new arrivals.

The serious weakness of the book, however, lies in the feeble attempts to include other immigrant groups which, though numerically smaller, are important and have a history all their own. To illustrate: in discussing the European background, the author uses misleading examples (pp. 21 and 36) from Norway, a country which did not conform to the pattern of his description; and in the chapter entitled "The Ghettos," only a hasty detour is made from the slums of New York to the sod huts of the prairie. There is very little to indicate the diversity in the life of the immigrants: to show, for instance, that the farmers of the Midwest, who brought with them political training and took an interest in national affairs from the first, did not share the experience of the slum population enmeshed in ward politics. The author apparently knows only those immigrants who never got far from the Battery. It is to be doubted whether all of these lived frustrated lives.

St. Olaf College

KAREN LARSEN

THE FRENCH EDUCATION OF HENRY ADAMS. By *Max I. Baym*. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1951. Pp. xiv, 358. \$5.00.)

THIS book is a notable contribution to the increasing literature about Henry Adams. It is "part of a larger work involving Adams's approach to philosophy and science, as well as historiography" (p. x), and its specific purpose is to

ascertain and measure "the extent of Adams's indebtedness to French thought" (p. vii).

Dr. Baym's method has been to examine the books and pamphlets owned by Henry Adams, now in the collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Western Reserve University, and elsewhere, paying particular attention to underscorings and marginal comments. Many of the underscored passages and marginalia are reproduced, Appendix III containing all those in the Jules Simon edition of Descartes. Other works, which Adams is known to have read, or at least to have seen, because he has referred to them, or because, for example, the charge books of the Harvard College Library show that he borrowed them, have also been examined, and the author is well known to have a long and intimate acquaintance with all of Adams' published writings and letters as well as with a considerable amount of manuscript material.

In chapter iv Dr. Baym studies the influence of three French historians and finds that in Michelet Adams found imagination, in Renan a mixture of science and metaphysics reduced to art, and in Taine the power to generalize on a grand scale. Of philosophers Descartes and Pascal receive most attention (chap. vi), for Adams, in his reading of these two, was "tossed between the schools that argued from 'unity to multiplicity or from multiplicity to unity'" and between which he tried to effect a linking (pp. 183-84). Chapter v, the longest of the book, is devoted to "Belles lettres," and it is in this field that Dr. Baym has made his most original contribution and in which, probably, he found his task most difficult, for the extent of Adams' reading in all genres, from the eleventh century to his own times, was prodigious.

This long and intensive study of Adams' mind "in the things it fed on" has led the author to the conclusion that, through wide reading in French philosophy, science, historical works, and belles-lettres, Adams achieved an "intimate contact with the creative spirit of France," to which may be traced, in good part, "his epigrammatic incisiveness, his flashes of irony and fits of satire, his quest of unity and his exposure of chaos; his wistful moments in the midst of philosophic reflection; his poetic insight into the realm of science; and finally, his failure image of himself which goes hand in hand with his exoticism" (p. 231).

Dr. Baym offers his own solution of the Henry Adams mystery—the concept of himself as a failure—as follows:

Seemingly he recapitulated here in America the whole romantic tradition of Europe. This tradition included aesthetic pessimism, in whose framework he built up a personality image which he came to enjoy artistically. The image was that of the failure, the heroic failure. He came to enjoy the spectacle doubly: on the stage as an actor; from the wings as an onlooker who revels in the gaping of the audiences in the galleries and in the pit [p. 224].

This reviewer, whose recollections of Henry Adams in Paris are still vivid, believes that Dr. Baym has constructed an important part of the foundation-work on which any complete study of Adams' intellectual genius must be based.

In the larger work which he contemplates the author will doubtless bring the "French education" in suitable perspective with other factors and influences, of which there were many, but the importance of the former cannot be questioned. Paris, "for the world contains no other spot . . . where education can be pursued from every side" (*Education*, p. 403, Modern Library ed.), became Henry Adams' second home. And yet, paradoxically, in his French home, surrounded by the art and literature and scholarship of France, he had few French friends. There is no evidence of personal acquaintance with scholars in the very fields of thought with which he was most concerned—with Bédier, Bémont, Langlois, Henri Beer, or with his near neighbor, Henri Bergson, or with many others with whom conversation and discussions would have been mutually profitable and probably exciting. He knew them only by their works.

Washington, D.C.

WALDO GIFFORD LELAND

THE MOLDING OF AMERICAN BANKING: MEN AND IDEAS. Part II, 1840-1910. By *Fritz Redlich*. [History of American Business Leaders, Volume II, Part 2.] (New York: Hafner Publishing Company. 1951. Pp. 517. \$6.00.)

THE lack of a comprehensive history of American banking is one of the serious deficiencies of American history. This vacuum Mr. Redlich has sought to fill with his two-volume work. The first volume covered the period up to 1840 (see *AHR*, LIII [July, 1948], 843). This second and concluding volume continues the story up to 1910. It is comprised of a series of essays on various aspects of American banking, arranged partly in chronological order but largely according to topic. The author states that he inserted a "particular topic whenever the presentation had come to the period in which the topic gained a special importance." Indeed, the lengthier chapters, such as "Private Banking," "Cooperation among American Banks," and "Investment Banking," begin during the period covered by the first volume. Appendixes, footnote references, bibliography, and indexes comprise almost half the book.

The volume contains considerable information gathered from numerous monographs, government documents, and the like, and even some from unpublished material. Certainly from a bibliographical standpoint, it should prove useful.

The very complexity of the subject is bound to cause some ambiguities and confusion. A case in point is the author's discussion of the North American Trust and Banking Company, a New York concern which was formed in 1838 and failed in 1841. Mr. Redlich states that the bank borrowed \$300,000 from the London merchant banking firm of Thomas Wilson & Co. (p. 343). A careful reading of the court records, however (see *Shaw v. Leavitt*, 3 Sandf. Ch 178, at 179 [New York, 1845]), reveals that the creditor-debtor relationship was, if

anything, just the reverse. It was the English firm that, finding itself in difficulty, borrowed securities from the American bank. Nor is, as the author thinks, the bank's capital of \$2,000,000 large for the time, since mostly it was in mortgage bonds on the real estate of the stockholders.

Mr. Redlich is particularly concerned with determining the factors making for "creative entrepreneurship" in banking. Such an undertaking, however, requires much more specialized intensive investigation than can be covered in such broad surveys as the present. In the absence of such an investigation, one slips into inadequate judgments. Here, again, is an example: Jay Cooke, who developed popular subscriptions for government loans, is characterized as a "creative entrepreneur" because, as a "newcomer . . . in . . . investment banking . . . he would not lose prestige through failure." He "had not as yet accumulated large wealth which would be endangered by errors of judgment" (p. 357). Yet J. P. Morgan's "creative achievements" in finance are attributed to his "experience, connections, character, and wealth" (p. 383).

It may be, as Mr. Redlich avers, that Nicholas Biddle has not yet been fully appreciated as a "creative entrepreneur," but Biddle's role will not be enhanced by denunciations of his shrewd critic, Albert Gallatin, as "dogmatic and a moralist." Gallatin can hardly be dismissed as the president of a small bank in New York (p. 263). Such easy judgments detract from a useful addition to the none too plentiful literature on the history of American banking.

Columbia University

JOSEPH DORFMAN

AMERICAN CONSERVATISM IN THE AGE OF ENTERPRISE: A STUDY OF WILLIAM GRAHAM SUMNER, STEPHEN J. FIELD, AND ANDREW CARNEGIE. By *Robert Green McCloskey*. [Harvard Political Studies.] (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1951. Pp. xiii, 193. \$3.25.)

THE author of this well-written, interesting, and even inspiring book has set himself the task of investigating the evolution of "conservative" political thought in the period from the close of the Civil War through the first decade of the twentieth century. "More specifically it is focused on the rationale that was created . . . to justify the exemption of business enterprise from unwanted government interference." The term "conservative" is not defined, but it is used in line with present American practice. The main purpose of the study is to examine how the conservative triumph was facilitated by a degeneration of the democratic tradition formulated by Jefferson and Jackson. Essentially the book falls into the field of intellectual history just as much as into that of political science.

The author's approach meets with much sympathy on the part of the reviewer. The development is focused on three men: the philosopher William Graham Sumner, the jurist Stephen J. Field, and the business leader Andrew

Carnegie. This method implies that a nondeterministic philosophy of history underlies the presentation. This fact is brought out clearly when in each case the author describes the career and experiences of the person under investigation, and on that basis explains, at least in part, his contribution to the development of thought. The immanent logic of that development both subjectively (i.e., within the man's own frame of reference) and objectively is brought out with great lucidity. As far as chapters one through five are concerned the reviewer is glad to recognize the author's achievement.

In the sixth chapter of his book Professor McCloskey deals with Andrew Carnegie's thinking, and here the reviewer fears that he must register entire disagreement. A methodological question is involved, all the more important because several economists and economic historians are at present investigating the businessman's mind. The question is easily formulated: can the researcher working on businessmen's minds legitimately base his investigations on their published writings? This question must be answered in the negative unless the student concerned can prove that the businessman in question really wrote what was published under his name. Or to put it differently, when a wealthy and powerful American business leader "writes" a book or a pamphlet, the assumption is that he hired a ghost writer.

In the case of Carnegie we know (at least for the period in which *Triumphant Democracy* was written) who the ghost writer was: James Howard Bridge. Bridge (1856-1939), born in Manchester (England), had been Herbert Spencer's secretary from 1879 to 1884. In the latter year he came to the United States where he became Carnegie's "literary assistant," resigning from that position in 1889. How much he contributed to the *Forum* essays of 1886 and to *Triumphant Democracy* and, in turn, how great was Carnegie's share therein is not known to the reviewer, nor does he know who Carnegie's later "literary assistants" were. But it is clear that whoever uses Carnegie's books in an analysis must spend considerable research on questions like these, and only after such preliminary problems are settled can he analyze the writings. Their real importance does not lie where Professor McCloskey seeks it. Actually they are of the greatest interest for the intellectual historian who investigates the process by which philosophical ideas percolate to the masses; in this case the line runs from Spencer to Bridge, then to Bridge plus Carnegie, then to the public.

Bridge himself was no unimportant man, and he may have had a more than fifty per cent share in the book and a considerable influence on Carnegie's thinking, the latter thereby absorbing Spencerism. Bridge was shallow and had probably swallowed Spencer's philosophy hook, line, and sinker: although he was close to industrial leaders, such as Carnegie and J. C. Frick, the building of large-scale enterprises, entirely in line with Spencer's determinism, remained for him the result of "industrial evolution." Later, for reasons unknown, he fell out with Carnegie, whom he severely criticized in his *Inside History* and whom, in a 1904 speech, he praised with so many left-handed compliments that it

amounted to an attack. Bridge was at that time close to Frick, then Carnegie's bitter enemy, and still later became an employee of the former, who in the meantime had made use of Bridge's pen. These points have been stressed to show how problematic the background is, a fact which cannot be ignored. Incidentally, it also determines the value as a source of Bridge's *Inside History*, which Professor McCloskey uses uncritically. (Rumor has it that Carnegie spent much money in buying up the copies of the latter publication, as they came on the market.)

To sum up, it is not in order to use a businessman's "writings" for an analysis of any kind, unless one has an intimate knowledge of how these writings originated. One cannot use Ford's *My Life and Work* or Rockefeller's *Random Reminiscences of Men and Events* for a study of the minds of these men. Access to private correspondence, business records, diaries, drafts of speeches, and the like is indispensable for an analysis of a businessman's thinking.

Another very fundamental question is here involved. Our knowledge has become fragmentized to such a degree that every specialist is in danger of going astray. This danger can be avoided only by close co-operation or at least close contacts between researchers in related and overlapping fields. In this particular case such co-operation seems to have been lacking.

Belmont, Massachusetts

FRITZ REDLICH

THE MEMOIRS OF HERBERT HOOVER: YEARS OF ADVENTURE, 1874-1920. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1951. Pp. xi, 496. \$4.00.)

HERBERT HOOVER AND THE RUSSIAN PRISONERS OF WORLD WAR I: A STUDY IN DIPLOMACY AND RELIEF, 1918-1919. By *Edward F. Willis*. (Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1951. Pp. viii, 67. \$1.50.)

HISTORIES and memoirs of Hoover and the Hoover administration have been few and for the most part unrewarding. This first volume of Hoover's autobiography thus has scarcity value, even though it includes some passages previously published (as in Hoover's *A Boyhood in Iowa* [1931]); it also stands comparison with what has been written by and about other presidents. While Josephus Daniels complained of Hoover and D. F. Houston that he "never knew two men with so much information who could . . . so perfectly make the most interesting subject as dry as dust," here Hoover writes interestingly and persuasively, especially when he writes of his youth and of causes close to his heart. Many will regret that he does not tell more of his engineering career and life from 1895 to 1914 than he does (pp. 25-134).

Much of the value of a memoir depends on the circumstances of its writing. Mr. Hoover says that he wrote the first three parts of this volume in 1915-16 and in 1920-24, adding that he has avoided revision, since "the value of such memoirs is to reflect views one held at the time" (pp. v-vi). Yet occasionally

the views that he held seem remarkably close to views that he has held more recently, and occasionally he alludes to more recent problems and events—the restoration of his birthplace in the 1930's (p. 4), social security (p. 6), the armies of the thirties (p. 137), proposals for relief to Belgium in 1940-41 (pp. 233-34), and war debt repudiation (p. 427). It is frankly enough the former President who speaks in a footnote of the seizure of lead mines by the "Communist Government of Burma" (p. 102 n.), or of Czechoslovakia as a "dagger pointed at the German flank," and, alleging Czech abuse of minorities, remarks that "when the opportunity came for Germany to remove the dagger . . . the Slovaks were glad of a chance for delivery from the Czech domination" (p. 380 n.). But is it the Hoover of 1919-24 who says that the French view "was that we should reduce the potency of the German state by truncating it through annexing Germans to Poland and Czechoslovakia and by keeping Austria separated from Germany" (p. 349)? The last part of the book, Mr. Hoover tells us (p. 432 n.), was published in summarized form in the *Saturday Evening Post* in November, 1941, and appears now without revision. The *Post* says (November 1, 1941, p. 9) that "Mr. Hoover wrote his personal memoirs of World War I" in 1934-35, and that "only minor verbal corrections and rearrangements have been made . . . so their point of view is unaltered by present events." Yet they include quotations from Lloyd George's *Memoirs of the Peace Conference* (1939), and though the *Memoirs* now published seem more authentically in Mr. Hoover's literary style, the version in the *Post* includes passages and entire documents that do not appear in the *Memoirs*. Someone should have made these matters clear.

Edward F. Willis' careful and useful study of the negotiations concerning the Russian prisoners in Germany seems slightly misnamed, since there is so little of Hoover in a book that is said to illustrate, "against a background of military and diplomatic opposition and ineptitude, the remarkable achievement and greatness of the man who played the part of the Good Samaritan to a continent" (p. viii). Hoover in his *Memoirs* passes over the problem quickly (pp. 326-27): "I mention this subject only because it appears interminably in the documents of the times."

The *Memoirs*, as the studies of Hoover and the Hoover administration that are beginning to appear from the Hoover War Library, whet the appetite for more. There is a first-class opportunity for a biography—preferably in more than one volume.

University of Oregon

EARL POMEROY

REGIONALISM IN AMERICA. Edited by *Merrill Jensen*. With a Foreword by Felix Frankfurter. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1951. Pp. xvi, 425. \$6.50.)

CRITICS of American life who find and fear a monolithic culture in the United States will discover in this collection of essays eloquent testimony of

diversity and heterogeneity, for regionalism is an effective counterpoise to uniformity and standardization. Though originally read at the symposium on regionalism at the University of Wisconsin in 1949 and unequal in content and quality, these papers constitute a major contribution to the understanding and use of the regional concept. Historians, even more than their colleagues in sister disciplines, will find this volume of particular value, for many of its essays specifically examine the contributions of regionalism to their craft.

More than one fourth of the book, in fact, is devoted to papers which trace the origin of the regional concept and analyze its historical application. From an impressive variety of facts, Professor Fulmer Mood demonstrates that regionalism is neither new in theory nor an innovation in practice, but is deeply rooted in British-American thinking as early as the mid-eighteenth century. The ever-widening use of regionalism by government, business, religious, educational, professional, and fraternal institutions emerges from Professor Carstensen's analysis of the years since 1900. Both essays pay tribute to the role of Frederick Jackson Turner in giving vitality to the concept, for each presents fresh evidence from his private correspondence revealing once again the versatility and range of the Wisconsin historian's thought.

Regionalism is a concept with many facets. Essays on American literature, art, architecture, and language reveal the variety of definitions, the interdisciplinary aspects of regionalism, while the papers on the TVA, the Great Lakes cutover, and Great Plains-Missouri Valley regions argue for the validity of regional planning. From these essays it is clear that, maturely conceived, regionalism is not sectional chauvinism but emphasizes the regional balance and synthesis of our national life.

Historians will find particularly important the three essays which illustrate the application of regionalism to historical writing. Above all else, these papers demonstrate that regionalism is so flexible a point of view that it can be shaped to the intent of the author, however subjective his data. This quality is especially apparent in Professor Francis B. Simkins' study of the South. At times brilliant and always provocative, his analysis nevertheless raises serious questions for the careful student of regionalism. His complete subjectivity ("Southernism is a reality too elusive to be explained in objective terms"), lack of precise definition, absence of factual analyses and failure to achieve interregional integration seriously impair the essay's value. Since these limitations prevent regionalism from becoming anything more than a new sectionalism or a naïve provincialism, they constitute a serious deficiency. The author's reiterated complaints of colonial exploitation argue for a Balkanization of the American economy and smack of an inherent particularism, while the plea that the South be left alone to foster its own institutions and wrestle with its own problems sounds curiously anachronistic in a world of UNESCO and *Pravda*.

Professor John W. Caughey's essay on the Spanish Southwest is at once more modest and more firmly grounded in verifiable data. Anthropological, historical,

sociological, technological, physiographic, and economic facts are woven into a meaningful regional pattern which has objective bases, yet loses nothing by way of literary excellence in the narration.

"Area-kinship" is defined by Lancaster Pollard as an important criterion in judging the Pacific Northwest as a separate region. This fruitful concept, which may be new to historians but will sound familiar to sociologists, emphasizes the sense of oneness with fellow inhabitants of the same region. In this newest of American regions, this "area-kinship" has been substantially reinforced in recent years by improved communication facilities, especially highway transportation and the telephone. This reviewer regrets, however, that the author, in this historical study, makes no effort to demonstrate the effectiveness of regionalism in transcending national boundaries. Certainly, the history of this region is incomplete, even distorted, if the area which is now British Columbia is omitted. This nationalistic myopia suggests that the book might better have been entitled, "Regionalism in the United States."

Limitations on the uses of regionalism are real and deserve more attention than this volume indicates. Professor Louis Wirth sounds a note of alarm that regionalism has become a cult, a one-factor theory overemphasizing environmentalism and possessing too vague a definition to be acceptable as a scientific basis for the collection and interpretation of social data. These dangers are certainly present for the unwary social scientist but, to this reviewer at least, they are not inherent in the concept itself. More serious is the charge that regionalists too often assume a relationship between natural habitat and cultural characteristics which may be absent or in a constant state of change through the tendency of mature cultures to emancipate themselves from the soil or the pervasive influences of modern communications and transportation.

Professor Howard Odum responds to these criticisms in his evaluation of the promise of regionalism. The careful use of regionalism, he urges, calls for a synthesis of differentiation and integration in a multiple-purpose, areal-cultural unit. Again, the regionalist reminds his critics that his methodology is never regionalism *or*, but regionalism *and*. Where this universality is absent, it is the failure of the practitioner, not the technique.

Iowa State College

PAUL F. SHARP

THE TEACHING OF HISTORY IN THE UNITED STATES. By *William H. Cartwright* and *Arthur C. Bining*. [Memorias sobre la Enseñanza de la Historia, II.] (Mexico, D.F.: Instituto Panamericano de Geografía e Historia, Comisión de Historia. 1950. Pp. viii, 191. \$20.00 [m. mex.].)

The Teaching of History in the United States, which embodies two reports originally given at a meeting in Mexico City, is one of a series of volumes currently being published under the sponsorship of the Commission on History of

the Pan-American Institute of Geography and History. The purpose of the series is to acquaint historians throughout the Western Hemisphere with the work of their teaching colleagues in the several American nations.

Both of the reports are clearly and logically organized, and both are designed to give a sweeping, over-all picture of the status of history teaching in the United States. This panoramic view, which reveals only the dominant features of the landscape, will have but a limited appeal to readers in United States schools and universities, although it will help to restore perspective to those who are concerned with problems of curriculum construction. But historians in Canada and, more particularly, south of the Rio Grande will find much to interest them in this volume, and if they wish to explore the subject further they can profitably do so in the selected readings listed by each of the authors.

The reports are bulging at the seams. Professor Cartwright's discussion of "The Teaching of History in the Schools" includes three chapters on the history programs at the elementary, junior high, and senior high school levels, and four additional chapters on "The History Teacher," "The History Reading Program," "The Community and Audio-Visual Materials," and "Teaching and Learning Procedures." Professor Bining's comments on "The Teaching of History in the Colleges and Universities" encompass an even larger area, including separate chapters on "Educational Philosophies and Ideas," "Aims and Objectives," "The Survey Course and Integrated Courses," "Upper Class Courses in History," "The Major Field and Divisional Majors," "Guidance and Counseling," "Methods of Teaching," "Audio-Visual and Other Teaching Aids," "Required Reading and Written Work," "Measurement and Evaluation," "The Teacher of History," and "Graduate Work."

Cartwright's is the more satisfactory of the two reports. He had a wealth of material from which to draw his conclusions, and the report is balanced, meaty, well documented, providing, on the whole, an accurate appraisal of what is happening in the social studies classrooms of our public schools.

Bining's picture of the history program in the colleges and universities is less sharply focused, and therefore less satisfying. Perhaps, in working what is virtually virgin territory, he drew too heavily from college catalogues, which, inevitably, reflect aspiration rather than practice. Certainly he tried to compress too much information into the space allotted to him.

With so much material crammed into a small, 191-page book, it is not surprising that now and then the seams give way, spilling out unsupported generalizations. It is a tribute to the authors that the seams hold as well as they do. Considering their assignment and the audience for which they prepared their reports, Cartwright and Bining did a respectable job. But this reviewer would question the editorial decision that called for so brief a description of even one phase of the educational program in the forty-eight states, the roughly 100,000 school districts, and the approximately 1,800 institutions of higher learning in

the United States. The planning commission evidently had in mind the simpler conditions in the centralized educational organizations of the Latin-American countries rather than the complex decentralized educational system in the United States.

Washington, D. C.

LEWIS PAUL TODD

BRITISH POLICY AND THE INDEPENDENCE OF LATIN AMERICA, 1804-1828. By *Wilhelm W. Kaufmann*. [Yale Historical Publications, No. LII.] (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1951. Pp. viii, 238. \$3.75.)

IN a very real sense, as the author admits, this study covers familiar ground. It can hardly be expected that it will provide anything very revolutionary in the way of new facts for a period which has been well worked by some very distinguished scholars. Yet a survey of British policy toward Latin America, to match the studies of Robertson and Whitaker on American and French policy, is a reasonable enterprise, and it has been carried through with much capacity by Mr. Kaufmann. His work is clear and well-organized, and it is extremely well-written.

The most original part of this book is that which deals with the formative years. We see British foreign policy toward Latin America in the Napoleonic era in a new perspective in these pages. We gain a clearer impression of the importance to Britain of the trade with the Spanish colonies. We are made aware of the fact that in the fall of 1806, with the capture of Buenos Aires, British policy veered for a little toward an ambitious policy on the other side of the Atlantic and away from opposition to Napoleonic domination on the Continent. The change was short-lived, and ended with the defeat of General Whitlocke, but it was interesting, none the less.

It seems to the reviewer that the author missed a possibly profitable opportunity in not relating more closely to Britain's Latin-American policy the Jeffersonian embargo of 1807-1809. Certainly there was a connection, and certainly that connection has not been adequately explored.

On the period of Castlereagh's ascendancy Mr. Kaufmann contributes little that is new. But he relates the Latin-American policy of the great minister to his broad objectives in effective fashion, and his summary of Castlereagh's European policy is admirably done.

As to Canning, the treatment is equally satisfactory. In fact, the evaluation of this striking and brilliant figure is in some respects better than that of Temperley himself. It is possible to sympathize very heartily with the comments which the author makes in his bibliographical note, in which he describes Canning as "the father of Palmerston's noisy excesses and a grandparent of splendid isolationism." Such a view may be a little extreme, but it is a highly desirable corrective to the point of view expressed in Temperley's pages. But Canning's famous

boast, "I called the New World into existence to redress the balance of the Old," while good enough as oratory, seems to exaggerate the importance of his achievement in the recognition of the Spanish colonies. One may wonder, indeed, whether balance of power politics, or sheer commercial interest, was at the bottom of British policy toward Latin America.

On the bibliographical side, it is perhaps to be regretted that the author did not pay a little more attention to other than British and American sources. It is, of course, true that he is dealing with British policy, not with the policy of other states. But it is still true that the best diplomatic history is multi-archival in character, and that there is also something to be gained by the use of published sources. Mr. Kaufmann would have done well to consult A. A. Polovtsov's *Correspondance diplomatique des ambassadeurs et ministères de Russie en France et de France en Russie* for the period 1814-18 and René de Chateaubriand's *Le Congrès de Vérone* and the *Mémoires et correspondance* of Comte Jean de Villèle, for example, for the critical years 1822-23. Yet the general outline of his subject is not only sound but a useful supplement to the work that has preceded.

University of Rochester

DEXTER PERKINS

CAUDILLO: A PORTRAIT OF ANTONIO GUZMÁN BLANCO. By George S. Wise. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1951. Pp. xii, 190. \$3.00.)

THE caudillo in Latin America is a political opportunist. In the years following independence caudillos appeared in one Latin-American country after another. Frequently there were several caudillos in the various countries at the same time.

The hero, or villain, of this book, depending upon the point of view, was a Venezuelan. This nation has produced a large number of political leaders who might well be labeled "caudillos." Among them are Páez, Monages, Falcón, Crespo, Castro, and Gómez. Guzmán Blanco was not the best or the worst example of *caudillismo* in Venezuela. He was a great president, who seized control of the government and retained it for some twenty years. Guzmán Blanco had a number of the typical characteristics of the caudillo phenomenon. The author points out that he was primarily an "academic civilian" who, to further personal plans, became a militarist. He was a man of culture, with many liberal ideas, and he had the good of his country at heart. His hardness was undoubtedly calculated and his cruelty was ostentatious. He was greedy, but he also was a good administrator. He had untold enemies and many friends, both of whom either damned or praised him to the limit of their vocabularies. Probably no one will ever succeed in fully analyzing the mind of Guzmán Blanco.

Dr. Wise has here attempted an objective evaluation of the man and the period in which he performed. He has tried to see the man as he was and to paint an understanding portrait for contemporary readers.

Dr. Wise develops his story through seven chapters. He begins with races and classes in colonial Venezuela, and speaks of the institutional structure of the colony. Next, he discusses the antecedents of Guzmán Blanco, and deals to some extent with what he calls "ideological irresponsibility." He also deals with Guzmán Blanco's use of force and the financial chicanery in which the dictator was engaged. Chapter x is entitled "Aspects of a Caudillo Regime: Personalism." Here, in some respects, is the explanation of the whys and wherefores of dictators in general, and especially Latin-American dictators. The volume concludes with a five-page bibliography consisting chiefly of so-called general works, and an index of six pages which leaves much to be desired. There is an almost useless map of New Granada, Venezuela, and Guiana. The frontispiece contains a portrait of the dictator.

Dr. Wise's work constitutes an important addition to the growing number of volumes dealing with individual Latin Americans who have for one reason or another achieved a niche in the Hall of Fame.

University of Florida

A. CURTIS WILGUS

THE PERÓN ERA. By Robert J. Alexander. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1951. Pp. x, 239. \$3.50.)

PROFESSOR Alexander of Rutgers University with this remarkably lucid and compact little volume partially fills a most serious void in the fields of contemporary Latin-American and world affairs. In seventeen short chapters and a post-script *The Perón Era* attempts to analyze the military regime which has controlled Argentina since 1930 and more particularly to trace the path to dictatorship taken by Juan Domingo and Evita. The author in most instances speaks with a seriousness of purpose and decisiveness that reminds one of the Peróns themselves. Dr. Alexander probably dared not do otherwise lest he become confounded in the maze of contradictions which characterizes the Peróns.

The role of the military vis-à-vis labor in the Peróns' rise to and continuance in power is an interesting one as outlined here, more so because the author, perhaps rightly in view of the tremendous change that Argentina has experienced during the last decade, never quite establishes the importance of one group over the other. He best summarizes his thoughts when he observes: "It seems that until the support of Perón among the working classes is seriously weakened, the Army will not attempt a revolt. It will not risk a clash with hundreds of thousands of determined workers, a clash which it could undoubtedly win, but which would be detrimental to its interests for years to come, perhaps for generations" (p. 124).

Professor Alexander is an authority on Latin-American labor, and the welcome intimacy he displays when treating this subject is lacking in other parts of the book, particularly when he deals with the church and university education.

The impression that the author leaves that the university students in Argentina stand for democracy could be challenged. The methods they have used traditionally in attempts to attain their goals and their, at times, ultra-nationalism do not bode well for the democratic process. They may be anti-Perón, but that does not in itself prove them democratic.

It is difficult to judge the author's "economics" of the Perón era, I think that Professor Alexander in his efforts to keep his discussion of economics on a semi-popular level oversimplifies a vastly complex system to the point where some of its more novel and intriguing aspects cannot be adequately appreciated. Also I believe that in such an abbreviated presentation the relatively uninformed will be unable to distinguish clearly between economic policy and political policy. The reader more seriously interested in Argentine economics might refer to the very able Ph.D. dissertation done by Robert Rennie at Harvard University.

The chapter "Peronismo for Export" deserves special mention because it is particularly well done and leaves no doubt as to Argentina's ascendancy in the Western Hemisphere, or of her "*lider's*" ability to exploit his every advantage. The marvelous restraint exhibited by the author when he writes of dead-pan Evita is to be admired although it gives one the feeling of being cheated.

Dr. Alexander pulls out most of the usual stops and no new ones when he launches into United States-Argentine relations. Our conduct toward Perón has varied from "violent antagonism to slavish ingratiating" (p. 198). "Just what were the motives for this complete change of heart [the \$125 million loan] toward Perón probably only the highest officials in the State Department know—and perhaps they are not quite sure" (p. 212). While Dr. Alexander apparently holds the State Department responsible for United States policy or lack of it in Argentina he, unlike some of the department's critics, acknowledges that irresponsible United States businessmen, defense-minded United States military personnel, and local politicians who become foreign policy experts once they reach the Halls of Congress have perhaps at times forced the State Department into rather untenable positions.

This is a valuable volume, based upon documentary sources and numerous personal interviews. It was needed. It probably lacks sufficient feeling for the people with whom it deals, and exceptions could be taken to a number of the interpretations. But it succeeds in making its point that two cunning and ambitious demagogues have created in Argentina a totalitarian state which would if unopposed rapidly infect a major part of our hemisphere.

Stanford University

JOHN J. JOHNSON

* * * *Other Recent Publications* * * *

General History

THE RISE AND FALL OF CIVILIZATION: AN INQUIRY INTO THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND CIVILIZATION. By *Shepard B. Clough*. (New York, McGraw-Hill, 1951, pp. xiii, 291, \$4.50.) Recent years have seen much discussion of the rise and fall of civilizations, partly no doubt because of writers such as Spengler and Toynbee, and partly perhaps because of the distressing events of the last thirty or forty years. In the little book before us, Professor Clough puts the problem in economic terms. He defines "civilization" as distinguished achievement in the arts and sciences, coupled with the attainment of security, and he maintains that it comes only at times of economic prosperity or shortly thereafter when men are still living on their accumulated savings. To prove this thesis he sketches an economic history of the Western world, mentioning from time to time the writers, artists, and scientists who illuminated prosperous periods. Rather more than half the book is devoted to the civilizations of antiquity. As the author is not at home in this field, he falls into many errors, large or small, but in the second half of the book he writes with a firmer hand. He has no trouble in showing that economic prosperity and high civilization often go together, but he fails to explain the connection between them. Is it because it is always possible to find plenty of contemporary Isaiahs and Platos, Dantes and Miltons, Galileos and Darwins, if only we are able and willing to pay for them? Or is it because peoples which have the energy, intellect, and skill to produce great works of art and literature will probably also be able to create successful economic systems, even if they have as little to start with in the way of natural resources as did the ancient Greeks? But why did the first two centuries of the Roman Empire, when economic prosperity and the general standard of living reached their highest point before modern times, produce so little in the way of "civilization"? And how could a desperately poor country like Palestine produce one of the world's greatest literatures as well as religious ideas that now form the basis of the world's three most important religions? While Clough traces the rise of economic systems in considerable detail, he has little to say about their decline. Sometimes he seems to attribute decline to too many nonproductive expenditures, for tombs, temples, and other aspects of what he calls "civilization," but more often he blames war. Perhaps the author would have been able to explain these matters more satisfactorily, had he been permitted to write a larger book.

J. W. SWAIN, *University of Illinois*

ESSAYS IN MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY. Written in Memory of the Late Professor William Thomas Morgan by His Former Students at Indiana University. Edited by *John J. Murray*. [Indiana University Publications, Social Science Series No. 10.] (Bloomington, Indiana University, 1951, pp. 150, cloth \$3.50, paper \$2.25.) The late Professor Morgan might well be gratified with this volume, edited by his *Mantelkind* at Indiana, Professor Murray. Extensive publication is listed in Appendix I, career and character affectionately sketched in the introduction. Seven serious, specialized essays, evidence of ability to pass on to students skills as well as interests, make up the bulk of the volume. Professor Morgan's own love for the period of twenty-five years after the Glorious Revolution is revealed by the titles of the first five: Doris Reed's "The Tackers in the Election of 1705"; Catherine Langford's "The

General Election of 1713"; R. H. Irrmann's "*Gallia Frustra* . . . 1696," which shows that the fleet was the sure shield against invasion as J. J. Murray's "Anglo-French Naval Skirmishing off Newfoundland, 1697" shows it, under Norris and his successors, as the sword of empire. Ruth Bourne, "Antigua, 1710," tells how Governor Daniel Parke was brought to death by a combination of amoral empire-builders, local circumstances, and deficient colonial administration at home. J. E. Swain, "Talleyrand and the Independence of Belgium," and D. W. Trafford, "The Ruhr and French Security as Reflected in the British and French Presses, 1923," prove that Professor Morgan, while transmitting his interest in a special aspect of history to his students, did not inhibit their interest in other topics or fail to impart the techniques appropriate to them. Each essay makes contributions of factual matter, of interpretation and of bibliography useful to the specialist in the period to which it belongs, a utility which makes the absence of an index the more regrettable. Would Professor Morgan's red pencil have passed all spellings and locutions? "Wedgewood" and "Biddeford," "squelched" and "boosted," to mention some? Who dares demand perfection in historical work which demands so many confluent perfections?

WARNER F. WOODRING, *Ohio State University*

DOCUMENTS ON INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, 1939-1946. Volume I: March-September 1939. Selected and Edited by Members of the Survey Department, Royal Institute of International Affairs, under the Direction of *Arnold J. Toynbee*. [Issued under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs.] (New York, Oxford University Press, 1951, pp. xxxii, 576, \$9.00.) The great and ever-increasing number of published official documents issued by national governments and international organizations creates a serious problem for most instructors in history and international relations in educational institutions which are limited in their library funds. These instructors—and many others—will rejoice to know that the publication of *Documents on International Affairs*, issued during the interwar years under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs, has been resumed. The latter and *Survey of International Affairs*, issued under the same auspices, were both interrupted by the outbreak of the Second World War. Both series will be resumed at the point at which the treaties of peace were signed with the minor defeated powers of Europe in 1947, and the first of the new annual volumes will be *Survey of International Affairs, 1947-8* and *Documents on International Affairs, 1947-8*. During the period between the wars these volumes were produced independently of one another; with the resumption of the series, an attempt is to be made to co-ordinate them more closely. The contents of the new *Documents* series will therefore be selected primarily with an eye to supplementing and illustrating the companion volumes in the *Survey* series. To bridge the gap between 1938 and 1947 special series of both *Surveys* and *Documents* are to be issued, and the volume under review is the first in this special *Documents* series. Most of the items included are relevant to the first volume of the *Survey* for 1939-46, which will deal with the six months preceding the outbreak of the war in September, 1939. Part I, "Secret Axis Diplomacy and Planning of Aggression by Germany: 24 October 1936 to 17 December 1938," however, obviously antedates the companion volume of the *Survey*. The documents included in this section are drawn from G. Ciano's *L'Europe verso la catastrofe* (1948), *Documents on German Foreign Policy, 1918-1945, from the Archives of the German Foreign Ministry*, Vols. I and II (1949), *Documents secrets du Ministère des Affaires étrangères d'Allemagne*, Vols. I-III (1946-47), *Trial of the Major War Criminals before the International Military Tribunal, Nuremberg, 1945-1946* (42 vols., 1947-49), and *Nazi Conspiracy and Aggression* (8 vols., 1946-47), all of which became available

only after the end of the war. The other nine parts of the volume include innumerable excerpts from the official documents of Germany, Italy, Russia, Poland, France, Great Britain, the United States, and the League of Nations, from a few German, Russian, French, British, and American newspapers, and from the writings, speeches, or letters of about a dozen men who played prominent roles in the period. The editors have done an excellent job of selecting pertinent documents to reveal to the reader the sources upon which the written history of the period rests. But their decision not to include any documents published in the British Foreign Office series covering the period from March, 1938, to the outbreak of the war will be regretted by many instructors in this country. The great pressure on space is readily understandable but the assumption that the Foreign Office series will be accessible is probably over-optimistic in so far as hundreds of small college libraries in the United States are concerned.

F. LEE BENNS, *Indiana University*

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Ancient History

T. Robert S. Broughton¹

EGYPT AND THE ROMAN EMPIRE. By *Allan Chester Johnson*. [Jerome Lectures, Second Series.] (Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 1951, pp. vii, 183, \$3.50.) One of our few outstanding authorities on Egypt in the Roman and Byzantine periods here presents his Jerome Lectures as monographic essays. These essays deal with fiduciary currency and its regulation, inflation, land tenure, serfdom, taxation, and the administration of Byzantine Egypt. At the end of the volume, the author gives a series of notes and citations for each chapter and an adequate index. Professor Johnson is more careful than most of us are in pointing out the lack of documentation on a particular point and although he states some hypotheses ably and critically, he is extremely frank and honest about the gaps in our knowledge. To this reviewer, the following points were especially well-handled and meticulously documented: (1) the systematic use of fiduciary currency in Egypt and the improbability, that, prior to the late third century, inflation was more than a gradual "creeping" process; (2) the Egyptian farmer, in the time of Diocletian, was probably better off so far as taxes were concerned, than he had ever been before; (3) the successful attempts of the emperors to prevent the development of large estates and of serfdom in Egypt; (4) the decline of Alexandria as a center of trade in articles coming from the East. A great deal of work has been published on the economic history of this period in both the Western and Eastern empires, but one has difficulty in remembering a work that shows the clarity of thought and presentation and the mastery of the documents that may be found here. It is widely held that a reviewer, to justify his existence, must find something wrong with the work under review. The only critical remark here is a very mild one: use of the phrase "corn fleet" on page 22 will not mislead students of this period but it is essentially a foreign phrase since, in this meaning, it does not exist in the American vocabulary.

THOMAS A. BRADY, *University of Missouri*

MARCUS AURELIUS: HIS LIFE AND HIS WORLD. By *A. S. L. Farquharson*, Fellow of University College, Oxford. Edited by *D. A. Rees*, Lecturer in Philosophy, University College of North Wales, Bangor. (Oxford, Basil Blackwell; New York, William Salloch, 1951, pp. vi, 154, \$2.00.) The title of this book is a misnomer. Of the eight chapters the first ("The Age of the Antonines") is a brief general essay, the fourth ("The Rule of T. Antoninus Pius, and Marriage of his Daughter Annia Faustina, A.D. 145-61") deals with Antoninus Pius, the sixth and seventh treat "Literature of the Age," and the last comprises a sympathetic study of "The Religion of

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

Stoicism," illustrated, to be sure, from the writings of Marcus Aurelius. The appendix, "The Christian Churches under Marcus," has little organic connection with the main narrative. Four pages of "Additional Notes" by Rees (chiefly documentation) and a simple index complete the volume. Thus it would scarcely be right to consider Marcus Aurelius the central figure. Yet this is not a criticism, for the book as presented is not the book that Farquharson would have published. He died in 1942, whereas the two-volume edition of the *Meditations*, upon which his reputation will rest, was not conveyed through the press until 1944. Shortly afterwards the manuscript of the present book was discovered by his widow, whose will provided for its publication. I can do no better than quote from the preface (by Rees): "though the critical scruples of the author would not have offered it to the world in the exact form in which it was left, here was something which showed plainly the distinction of his mind and of his scholarship, and whose total loss would be a matter for real regret." The chapters on the military and administrative aspects of the principate of Marcus have been withheld. The essays are appreciative, written by a man upon whom the Antonines made a lasting impression and who reveals in his own character something of the Stoic at his best. Farquharson rates Pius on a level with Aurelius; nor is his admiration for Lucian moderate. There is nothing controversial and the result is a pleasant little volume by an attractive writer about attractive people. Rees is a competent editor. There is a chronological ambiguity at the foot of page 2, a loose reference to the Flavians on page 13, and some other self-evident inconsistencies. Rees is correct: the loss of this book would have been regrettable.

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Medieval History

Bernard J. Holm¹

THE EPISCOPAL COLLEAGUES OF ARCHBISHOP THOMAS BECKET. Being the Ford Lectures Delivered in the University of Oxford in Hilary Term, 1949. By David Knowles, Professor of Medieval History in the University of Cambridge. (New York, Cambridge University Press, 1951, pp. viii, 190, \$2.75.) Convinced that concentration upon the figure of the archbishop alone has distorted our view of the famous controversy between Henry II and Thomas Becket, Professor Knowles has made a careful study of the part played by the bishops who were occupying English

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

sees between 1163 and 1170. He gives an able characterization of the distinguished colleagues of Becket, especially the enigmatic Gilbert Foliot, and finds that their opinions and actions were decisive at the Councils of Clarendon and Northampton in 1164 and also in the autumn of 1169. Professor Knowles is not concerned with interpretations of the clauses in the Constitutions of Clarendon touching the criminal clerk or with the effect of the murder of Becket upon advowsons or appeals to Rome. He does not attempt to discuss the political and social issues involved in the conflict. His object is to analyze the policies and principles of the participants. Here he does well to emphasize the dilemma of a high churchman like Foliot in trying to reconcile feudal obligations with loyalty to his metropolitan and to the pope. More critical editions of the *Materials*, some of which are now in progress, study of episcopal *acta* and other records, and better knowledge of the history of canon law and of Anglo-Norman canonists like Gerard Pucelle may alter details. They are not likely to disprove Professor Knowles's conclusion that the failure of Henry II to establish a "regional church" under royal control was due in large part to the principles of canon law in which the English bishop had been trained in the schools. The little book is written with distinction and is closely packed with critical problems of scholarship. The footnotes and the rather miscellaneous appendixes are of more value to the student than to the general reader.

NORMA ADAMS, *Mount Holyoke College*

PARACELSUS: MAGIC INTO SCIENCE. By Henry M. Pachter. [Life of Science Library.] (New York, Henry Schuman, 1951, pp. xiv, 360, \$4.00.) To write a biography of Paracelsus, one of the most interesting and controversial figures of the Renaissance, is assuredly a difficult problem. Many authors have tried their hand at it. In the last twenty years eight or ten biographies have appeared, and not one of them has been entirely satisfactory, entirely impartial. That by Strunz (1937) is a very good presentation from the Catholic point of view. Sudhoff's (1936), which is now practically a classic, reveals the fascination which Paracelsus had always exercised on the great German historian, who studied him deeply and held the most enthusiastic opinions about him. Nationalistic tendencies in Germany made a hero of our talented physician and put him on a lofty pedestal: he was called repeatedly the Luther of medicine. It is indeed difficult to judge fairly so complex a man, a man full of contradictions in his life and in his writings, a physician with marked rationalistic tendencies and at the same time an alchemist, an astrologer, a proponent of magical doctrines. Dr. Pachter, a German physician now living in America, has studied his protagonist with great interest, with careful consideration of the sources, and also with a deep desire to penetrate the secrets of his strange and fascinating personality. But the biography seems to me rather a picturesque and sparkling exposition of facts already generally known than a critical examination of the work of Paracelsus, and an exposition which occasionally exaggerates in its treatment of background and persons. Some historical facts are inexact, e.g., the statement (p. 40) that in the sixteenth century autopsies were forbidden by the church but were not altogether unknown; in reality also at Ferrara, where Paracelsus studied, dissections were done fairly often. Pico della Mirandola is called (p. 33) a Florentine cabalist, and of Vesalius it is said (p. 35) that he visited the master anatomists at Padua (who at that time were not there). It is stated that the circulation of the blood could only be discovered after the invention of pumps (p. 39), that Galileo and Harvey were alumni of the empirical school at Padua (p. 42), and there are other inexactitudes. The book is divided into a series of chapters which treat of the various epochs of the life of Paracelsus and describe his adventures; they describe his work as physician, perhaps with exaggerated praise, as magician and alchemist, his triumphal successes,

their decline, and his death. As a whole this is a well-written book, pleasing in format, furnished with splendid illustrations, provided with accurate notes—an enjoyable book—but as far as the historical problem is concerned, I cannot say that it has been solved or that this book brings us close to a possible solution. Paracelsus appears in its pages as we already know him—teacher, drinker, a man ready to fight with anybody and everybody, friend of workmen and of the poor, a physician zealous in practising his profession yet possessed of an exaggerated opinion of his own powers—but nowhere do we find a solution of the problem.

ARTURO CASTIGLIONI, *Yale University*

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Modern European History

THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH

Leland H. Carlson¹

RO: BA: THE LYFE OF SYR THOMAS MORE, SOMETYMES LORD CHANCELLOR OF ENGLAND. Edited from MS. Lambeth 179, with Collations from Seven Manuscripts by *Elsie Vaughan Hitchcock* and the Right Reverend Mgr. P. E. Hallett. Additional Notes and Appendices by A. W. Reed. [Early English Text Society. Original Series, No. 222.] (New York, Oxford University Press, 1950, pp. xxv, 340, 1-8, \$6.50.) The fortunes of this edition of what R. W. Chambers terms "in some ways . . . the best *Life of More*" have been varied. Dr. Hitchcock, the collator of the manuscripts and preparer of the published text, died in 1942. Her successor, Mgr. Hallett, after contributing introduction, notes, glossary, and index, died in 1948. Dr. Reed added supplementary notes as well as a brief account of Sir Robert Basset of Umberleigh, a candidate for the authorship of this life. The edition is in the Chambers tradition of Morean scholarship—textual and historical accuracy coupled with hero worship and apologetics. Ro. Ba., who describes himself in 1599 as "a young beginner," claims little originality and confesses his dependence upon Harpsfield and Stapleton. He adds six well-told anecdotes and a few edifying details. At times he is a bit free or inaccurate in quoting More and his biographers. His style displays Elizabethan fullness, but a mastery of narrative and a command of diction, especially of the piquant phrase, make for fairly easy reading. The personal judgments of the "young beginner" are not many but can prove interesting. He treats, for example, the father of his queen cautiously, speaking only of his "inconstant & mutable disposition" and his "light nature." As for Ralph Robynson's Englished *Utopia*, the quatercentennial of which occurred last year, Ro. Ba. views it as translated "absurdlie and lamellie." Ro. Ba.'s purpose is frankly hagiographic: "to write the historie of a Con-

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

fessour, Doctour and Martyr." Consequently the reader feels discomposed at times by the curious combination of the very human More sketched by Roper and the saintly More pedestaled by Stapleton—with a result slightly approximating the modern hagiographic ideal which views a saint as a genuinely human personality living a human life, apparently ordinary but really heroic, in a definite historical period. The publication of Ro. Ba.'s biography, therefore, now provides material for an enlightening study in the growth of a life. Roper's personal memoirs of More, plain and objective, written under Queen Mary, furnish notes for his choice of More's "official" biographer, Nicholas Harpsfield. The latter in 1557 employs new anecdotes and sources to portray More as a humanistic genius and uncanonized saint. Stapleton, adding the anecdotes and documents of the Catholic exiles and writing a devotional life in Latin (1588), ranks Sir Thomas with St. Thomas the Apostle and St. Thomas of Canterbury. After Ro. Ba.'s life (1599), Cresacre More, the great-grandson, closes the subject under Charles I with a biography marked by an increase in miraculous and apocryphal elements. Strangely enough, however, the historical and human features of More are never completely blurred in these later lives, most probably on account of Roper's steady realistic approach and the numerous autobiographical details in More's voluminous writings.

EDWARD SURTZ, S.J., *Loyola University, Chicago*

THE PUBLIC SPEAKING OF QUEEN ELIZABETH: SELECTIONS FROM HER OFFICIAL ADDRESSES. By *George P. Rice, Jr.*, Professor of Speech in Butler University. (New York, Columbia University Press, 1951, pp. x, 142, \$2.50.) As the subtitle of this small book implies, Professor Rice has set himself a modest task: the compilation of a source book for students. Though he is presumably right in describing it as "the most complete and varied collection of speeches by Elizabeth available within the covers of a single volume"—there is, I think, no other—and though in his preface he refers to "examples of her public utterance" existing in manuscript, we are not dealing with a selection made out of expert knowledge of the subject or based in any way upon original research. As his three introductory chapters show, Dr. Rice has been handicapped by not being a historian and by trusting unreliable guides. He has some strange statements about Parliament: that it met in the evenings as well as mornings (sometimes sitting "until midnight"); that "perhaps a thousand persons" were present at the opening and closing ceremonies; and so on. The many incidental remarks by the queen, quoted in the second chapter, which might suggest wide reading, seem to be taken from Frederick Chamberlin's *Sayings of Queen Elizabeth*, a hotchpotch of fact and fiction. On page 44 Dr. Rice says that "no drafts of speeches in Elizabeth's own hand are known to the writer." This no doubt is a statement of fact; but if he had followed the lead of Conyers Read's *Bibliography* (a guide he recommends) he would not have made it. But we must turn to the speeches themselves. Dr. Rice prints twenty-one; and they will certainly serve their purpose of introducing readers to a national leader possessing the same magic as Winston Churchill. Accepting the fact that Dr. Rice was limited to those already in print and that the *English Historical Review* has been overlooked, the selection of the text is not always happy. For example, the first speech from the Parliament of 1586—there are strange errors in the introductory note—is from Camden: that is, a translation from the Latin, which itself was a translation from the original English. The real text is in Holinshed's *Chronicles*, a source used elsewhere by Dr. Rice. The second speech is from Cobbett's *State Trials*, though a superior text is in Holinshed. An error causes the relegation of the queen's speech on marriage in 1558 (*recte* 1559) to his second category of speeches, and an essay in criticism leads to the

addition of Camden's shorter version of the speech as an "obviously superior version," when in fact it is inferior and might have been better omitted. The speech "Of Marriage & Succession, 1563" is a shorter version from D'Ewes of the full speech given by the same author under 1566, an error to which attention was called long ago. Then the last and very fine paper—not a speech—on "The State of the Nation, 1569" is from a draft prepared and amended by Cecil, though a later text, corrected by the queen herself, exists and is in print. One may question the justification for including this item in a collection of Queen Elizabeth's speeches; but no justification exists for including the opening speech at the Parliament of 1562 (*recte* 1563), composed and spoken by Sir Nicholas Bacon. The idea behind the book was a good one, and it is a pity one has to be critical of the execution.

J. E. NEALE, *University College, London*

THE YALE EDITION OF HORACE WALPOLE'S CORRESPONDENCE. Edited by *W. S. Lewis, et al.* Volumes XV and XVI. (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1951, pp. liv, 395; xxvi, 439, \$10.00 each.) Interest in the past was the main and often the sole reason for the Walpole letters most recently published by the Yale University Press. This bond gives unity to Walpole's correspondence with eighteen different collectors, antiquarians, or historians. As a whole the letters lack the charm and human appeal of earlier volumes. Yet those who read the letters to know more of Walpole or of his times will not be altogether disappointed. Sixty-two hitherto unpublished letters of which forty-four were written by Walpole himself lend special significance to this collection. Respect for Walpole, much ridiculed and much maligned, tends to grow as one turns these pages. The letters cover sixty years of his life, including his early enthusiasms and his later disillusionments. They reveal his desire to encourage what seemed to him honest work and to discourage what was not sound or true. In Volume XVI is his controversial correspondence with Thomas Chatterton, whom he acknowledged as a genius if an impostor. In the appendix are extracts from his collection of critical articles dealing with Chatterton and his own accompanying comments. For a study of the historiography of the eighteenth century these particular volumes contain many useful and interesting bits of information. They show that Walpole and his correspondents were concerned with techniques of criticism and with standards of historical writing. Walpole approved a certain French publication, for example, because it had "that first merit of history, the unquestionable authenticity of materials" and was written with "frank impartiality" (XV, 136-37). Yet at another time he wrote: "I hate the cold impartiality recommended to historians" (XVI, 273). He had scant respect, furthermore, for those whom he considered mere "antiquaries—Lord help them" (XV, 252). The variety of sources from which these letters were taken makes a summary discussion of sources impossible and has resulted in a new feature. Preceding each letter is a history of the manuscript as far as it is known with references to sales catalogues and to earlier printings, if such there were. In this respect as in others the editors have maintained their usual high standard. Indeed, they are fast building for themselves a pedestal of near impeccability.

DORA MAE CLARK, *Wilson College*

DIZZY: THE LIFE AND PERSONALITY OF BENJAMIN DISRAELI, EARL OF BEACONSFIELD. By *Hesketh Pearson*. (New York, Harper and Brothers, 1951, pp. ix, 310, \$4.00.) Since Hesketh Pearson abandoned the theater for the writing of biography he has ranged widely in search of subjects—from Shakespeare to Shaw and from Tom Paine to John Nicholson. In his life of Disraeli he has brought a pleasant and witty style, great narrative ability, and wide knowledge of nineteenth-

century England to bear upon an intrinsically interesting and dramatic figure. The result is a volume which last autumn held a place among the nonfiction best sellers. Pearson complains that Disraeli's life of Lord George Bentinck was not primarily a biography but a history. Such a charge can never be leveled against Pearson's work. Disraeli is always at the center of the picture. A reasonable balance is maintained among the personal, the literary, and the political aspects of Disraeli's career. Pearson, however, has too little sympathy for and too little understanding of "the dreary empty game of politics" and too much regret over "the rise to political power of the middle classes, the industrialisation of the country at the expense of its agriculture, the denationalising of England by Liberalism, and the ultimate decline of the British Empire along with the specifically British character" to do full justice to the politics of the age or to the economic and social forces operating in Victorian England. He emphasizes always the importance of the individual. To him Gladstone is quite as much "the Arch-villain" as, in the stress of political battle, he seemed to Disraeli. *Dizzy* is intended for the enlightenment and enjoyment of the general reader. Depending heavily upon Monypenny and Buckle and the published letters, it adds nothing that is new to the facts of Disraeli's life. In interpretation its sharp antithesis between the active, subjective temperament (Disraeli) and the reflective, objective temperament is open to question. Yet the work has its value. Brief, well-written biographies are none too plentiful. Pearson's life of Disraeli will find its place beside that by André Maurois.

PAUL L. HANNA, *University of Florida*

THE BRITISH WEST INDIES. By *W. L. Burn*, Professor of Modern History, King's College, University of Durham. [Hutchinson's University Library, British Empire History.] (New York, Longmans, Green, 1951, pp. 196, trade \$2.00, text \$1.60.) This book suffers from a split personality. The dust jacket announces that its object is "to show how the West Indies were affected by the changing colonial policy and social concepts of Britain." From that viewpoint, it has value if hardly definitive value. Its bibliography is avowedly only a guide for further reading, but internal evidence reveals a good acquaintance with the fundamental English-language secondary works, and no major criticism need be made of the thoughtful and realistic interpretations. The organization, however, although confused, is that of a history. The brief first chapter comments upon the present scene. The next five somewhat overlap, and omit important aspects, sometimes domestic and sometimes international, while discussing occurrences of some three hundred and fifty years. The end of chapter six, and all of chapter seven, offer facts ranging from the third quarter of the nineteenth century to as late as July, 1951, but are oriented as a critical discussion of contemporary policy and problems. An appendix discusses the Falklands. From a rigid historical viewpoint, the book adds nothing to knowledge, and has some errors. Probably by a typographical error, Choiseul's dismissal is dated 1780 (p. 84), in a sentence that may therefore puzzle the reader. Persons acquainted with more than the British side of the story will gulp or splutter over some of the claims or implications about Belize, British Honduras, Central America, and the Mosquito Coast (see index, and p. 45). The legal status of Jamaica after the conquest could be more clearly stated (p. 36). (The test case was *Blankard v. Galdy, King's Bench* [1693], 2 Salk 411.) Brazil was an important rival in cotton production earlier than was the southern United States (p. 105) and readers will not understand the importance of the buccaneers (pp. 42-46) or of the modern Mr. Bustamante (pp. 171, 178) from the way they are mentioned. The University of the West Indies, and other recent educational projects, deserve notice. The index is inadequate. Intelligent lay readers can benefit from this work. But there are other and at least equally good discussions of contemporary problems,

and the book is far from satisfying the need for a complete, well-rounded, single-volume history of Great Britain's colonies in the American tropics.

ROLAND DENNIS HUSSEY, *University of California, Los Angeles*

SOUTH AFRICAN ARCHIVAL RECORDS. Published under the supervision of the Archives Commission by the Publication Section of the Archives of the Union of South Africa, by order of the Minister of Education, Arts, and Science. *TRANSVAAL*, No. 3. (Cape Town, Cape Times for Government Printer, 1951, pp. xxxii, 634.) This volume of archival records contains much material for the history of the formative years of the South African Republic. Minutes of the Volksraad throw light on the efforts of the immigrant farmers to establish an ordered society in the wilderness. The constitutions of January 5, 1857, and February 13, 1858, bear evidence to their serious purpose. Both are very lengthy documents, as is the earlier "Grondwet" of the *Hollandsche Afrikaansche Republiek* also printed in this volume. The very limited resources of the new state stand clearly revealed in its budgets. Its social problems are reflected in negotiations with British authorities at the Cape concerning slavery, the slave trade, and the sale of liquor to the natives. Church and religion received much attention in the frontier communities and the numerous references to "Krygsraad en Krygsfisiere" testify to the dangers faced by the dour Afrikaners and to their fierce determination to establish a state of their own. In common with its predecessors, the volume under review is well produced and well indexed.

PAUL KNAPLUND, *University of Wisconsin*

WITH MILNER IN SOUTH AFRICA. By *Lionel Curtis*. (Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1951, pp. xiv, 354, 15s.) Despite the eminence of its author, publication of this book at the present time seems a little difficult for the uninitiated to understand. Still active as a publicist in and for the Commonwealth, Mr. Lionel Curtis was educated for empire at Haileybury and New College, Oxford. Then, when studying law in London, he joined the Inns of Court volunteers; and, in January, 1900, he and two Oxford colleagues (the three musketeers) began serving as dispatch riders in the South African War. The author's experiences on the veld, described in diary letters to his mother, make up the bulk of the book; but, after fifty years, they can scarcely have more than casual interest to any except the personal friends of the young man who wrote them. Philip Kerr, like Curtis, was one of several whose careers started in Milner's Kindergarten, which did notable work in reconstruction after the South African War ended in 1902. On this, however, and on the initiation of the movement for Union, the book throws little light. It has some comment on administrative and political matters; but, although provided with a key to initials and nicknames used, there is no index. In short, it seems generally unrewarding.

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FRANCE

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DOCUMENTS DIPLOMATIQUES FRANÇAIS (1871-1914). 1^{re} Série (1871-1900), tome XII (8 MAI 1895-14 OCTOBRE 1896). [Ministère des Affaires étrangères, Commission de publication des documents relatifs aux origines de la guerre de 1914.] (Paris, Imprimerie nationale, 1951, pp. xl, 814.) These unusually interesting dispatches during the eighteen months from the treaty of Shimonoseki to the tsar's visit to France in 1896 deal primarily with the skill and success with which four successive French foreign ministers and Prince Lobanov preserved the loyal functioning of the Franco-Russian Alliance. The existence of the alliance was officially admitted for the first time on June 10, 1895, by Hanotaux in the Chamber of Deputies while defending French support of Russia's loan to China, French partial participation in the ceremonial opening of the Kiel canal, and a new French loan to Russia. The most serious danger to peace arose from the massacre of Armenians, Abdul Hamid's duplicity and impotence, and talk of the partitioning of his empire. The documents reveal, for the first time so far as the reviewer is aware, a Russian plan, in case England forced the Dardanelles, to land troops at the Bosphorus in December, 1895, similar to the well-known plan of just a year later. France cautioned Russia against being the first to take military action, because it might lead to serious complications in Europe; French public opinion would not approve French participation in a European war unless the Franco-Russian alliance was revised to cover a settlement of the Alsace-Lorraine question. This question also stood in the way of French acceptance of Germany's proposal for co-operation against Britain in the Transvaal. Next in importance to the Franco-Russian alliance were the long negotiations with Britain. De Courcel, the French ambassador in London, gives a very vivid, shrewd, and interesting picture of Lord Salisbury—his bluntness, cynical humor, personal friendliness, wide-ranging but noncommittal suggestions, and occasional grimaces. Eventually the two men reached a new agreement on the Mekong boundary of Siam and some other questions, but France was able to make no headway in her aim to hasten the British evacuation of Egypt, to prevent the use of Egyptian reserve funds from being used for the conquest of the Sudan, or to activate the convention for the neutralization of the Suez canal. But might not the Marchand mission, the very secret preparations of which are here fully described and not disclosed even to the Russian ally, prove a useful lever in these matters?

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THE LOW COUNTRIES

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NORTHERN EUROPE

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KUNGLIG UTRIKESPOLITIK: STUDIER OCH ESSAYER FRÅN OSKAR II'S TID.

By Folke Lindberg. (Stockholm, Albert Bonniers Förlag, 1950, pp. 259, kr. 12,50.) In this volume Professor Lindberg has brought together several essays which previously have appeared in historical journals and other publications. The studies deal with problems in Norwegian-Swedish relations 1870-1905, the personal foreign policy of King Oscar II, and the attitude of Britain and Germany, principally the latter, toward the Scandinavian problems. From a careful examination of a wealth of source material, Swedish, Norwegian, German, and British, the author has been able to reveal the strong interest which Emperor William II took in the disputes between Norway and Sweden during the latter years of their union, how he personally backed up King Oscar II, and the emperor's ruminations about a possible division of Norway. The crises of 1895 and 1905 are discussed at some length and the role played by Britain in the liquidation of the Scandinavian union is given a good deal of attention. Professor Lindberg shows that the problems of Norway and Sweden were watched closely and received more attention from Britain and Germany than students of modern European history have hitherto realized.

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GERMANY, AUSTRIA, AND SWITZERLAND

Ernst Posner¹

BENEDIKTINISCHES MÖNCHTUM IN ÖSTERREICH: EINE FESTSCHRIFT DER ÖSTERREICHISCHEN BENEDIKTINERKLÖSTER AUS ANLASS DES 1400-JÄHRIGEN TODESTAGES DES HEILIGEN BENEDIKT. Herausgegeben von Dr. P. Hildebert Tausch, O.S.B., Stift Admont, Wien. (Vienna, Herder, 1949,

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

pp. xii, 352.) Anyone, whether a specialist in history or not, who wishes to understand the contribution of the Benedictines to European civilization in general and to Austrian culture in particular will find much to interest him in this excellent book. The editor, who wrote nine of the essays himself, collated the other fifteen, which were contributed by scholars from the famous Benedictine monasteries of Melk, Michaelbeuern, Göttweig, Seckau, Admont, Seitenstetten, Kremsmünster, Schottenstift (Vienna), and Nonnberg. Readers will be grateful for the excellent map and for the list of all present-day Austrian cloisters of Black Monks, with the date of the establishment of each monastery and some indication of its auxiliary activities. The volume has four sections dealing, respectively, with history, range of activities, co-workers, and the condition and purpose of Benedictinism in Austria. While each of the six essays on history are first-rate, Americans will, I think, find especially illuminating the first three. Here, painted in broad strokes, he will find treated the rise of the Black Monks, their early development in Austria, and a remarkable summary of the salient points of the long centuries of their history. Here, too, the student will discover temperate discussions of questions on which specialists differ, e.g., the significance of the Irish element in the early Middle Ages (Zibermayr, Heuwieser), the effects of the Protestant Reform and the policies of the emperor Joseph II. Here is demonstrated the wonderful staying power of the Benedictine spirit even in the earlier centuries in the face of Hungarian raids, ambitious and secular-minded feudal lords whether lay, clerical, or royal. To enable them better to carry on their primary duty, the *opus dei* or life of prayer as individuals and as communities, the Benedictines were active as pioneers. They cleared forests, established agriculture, and gave an example of disciplined living. They "built churches, decorated them with frescoes, supplied them with costly ornaments and art works." Everywhere they complemented the work of the overburdened parish priests by instructing the ignorant, correcting the wayward, comforting the suffering, and, in general, by presenting to all an example of the perfect community. The important Hirsau (Cluny), Melk, and Baroque monastic reforms are convincingly presented as revivals of interest in the Rule of St. Benedict. Indeed, the recurring revivals of monasticism, including that of the present day, appear as applications of the wonderfully wise and flexible instrument of the saint correctly called "Pater Europae." Two interesting illustrations taken from the rest of the book must suffice here as indicative of the different uses to which the famous Rule has been put. The first is presented by P. Norbert M. Schachinger (Kremsmünster), himself a former parish priest, on present-day Benedictine participation in the demanding work of the care of souls. The second is by P. Hermann Geist (Schottenstift, Vienna) on the role of the Benedictines in a large city. In these two essays the reader will understand how utterly false is the allegation that the Benedictines fled the world and lived as hermits. And in these and other sections of the book, the reader will discover how much of what was best in a mighty past has been preserved by each Benedictine cloister, and he will join the undersigned in congratulating the authors on having published a volume that is at once an example to the scholar, a pleasure to the amateur, and an inspiration to all who seek to understand the persistence of the appeal of the monastic life. GEORGE BINGHAM FOWLER, *University of Pittsburgh*

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ITALY

FILIPPO BUONARROTI: CONTRIBUTI ALLA STORIA DELLA SUA VITA E DEL SUO PENSIERO. By *Armando Saitta*. Volume I. [Storia ed Economia: Studi, Testi, Documenti, Quaderni, 2.] (Rome, Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1950, pp. xi, 293.) This volume exemplifies the fine historical work produced by several Italian Socialist historians since World War II. Saitta upholds the best Continental historical tradition, not only in his smooth prose but in his thorough study of manuscript materials. He utilized little-explored archives in Italy, and also in France, Switzerland, and Belgium. The newer material is of value for an understanding of the Italian Risorgimento rather than for the role of Buonarroti in the Babouvist movement. While the volumes of Bernstein and Dommanget centered attention on the French part of Buonarroti's career, this volume devotes well over half to his role in Italy, with chapter III presenting significant new information on secret societies from the latter part of the Napoleonic rule until 1830. This volume, which will be followed by a volume of sources, is a collection of studies rather than a chronological biography. Chapter I outlines Buonarroti's early revolutionary activity in Italy in the 1790's, and chapter II his activities in Belgium in the 1820's, where numerous European revolutionaries met and launched writings. Saitta places the publication of Buonarroti's well-known *Histoire de conjuration des Egaux* in 1824 in this period rather than during the Napoleonic period formerly ascribed. Chapter III describes Buonarroti's founding of the secret society, the Settaria, and assigns an importance to his ideas and organizing ability not hitherto recognized. Saitta would have Buonarroti faithful throughout his life to his philosophy of liberty, which to an Italian meant Italian unity under Italian rule, and equality, derived from the French Revolution and Babouvism. Buonarroti was the transmitter of the influence of the French Revolution to Italian revolutionaries. According to Saitta, advocacy of agrarian egalitarianism and communism of property, derived from Babouvism, was the cause of Buonarroti's eventual split from Mazzini, although they also differed in that Buonarroti was constantly active in a movement of international revolution, whereas Mazzini acted in terms of Italian unity. Saitta paints Buonarroti not only as an idealist but also as an organizer—a man of action. One wonders what his influence might have been on events of 1848, had he lived beyond 1837. Although his ideas were carried on, his followers were less able, and social revolution was lost sight of in the movement for political

unity. The final chapter analyzes in considerable detail some of the writings of Buonarroti. Of special significance is the text of a speech by Buonarroti on 20 prairial, an II (May 1, 1794), for the Fete of the Supreme Being at Oneille, hitherto unpublished and an important witness of the influence of Robespierre on his early revolutionary thinking. Saitta's analysis of Buonarroti's "Observations sur Robespierre," refutes some of the interpretation of Mathiez and more recently of Galante Garrone. This work embodies Buonarroti's appraisal of the French Revolution, with emphasis upon "virtue" added to his ideals of liberty and equality. A paragraph on page 276 sums up his point of view. Appended to this chapter is a useful note on the sources. This volume, both because of its scholarly basis and its scope, is of interest to a wider public than the title conveys. It throws light on the influence of French Revolutionary ideas, rejected in France itself with the suppression of Babouvism, on the peoples of surrounding countries, and upon the Italian movement toward unification. In addition, the volume may be said to provide an introduction, with much new material, to the Revolutions of 1848.

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RUSSIA AND SLAVIC EUROPE

*Sergius Yakobson*¹

GUIDE TO RESEARCH IN RUSSIAN HISTORY. By *Charles Morley*, Ohio State University. (Syracuse, N. Y., Syracuse University Press, 1951, pp. xiii, 227, \$2.50.) To those not familiar with the Russian materials available in American libraries the amount and variety of resources covered by Dr. Morley's excellent volume, intended as a handbook for Russian history seminars, will be a surprise. He has systematically analyzed his subject matter, first discussing the nature of the major collections in the United States and then presenting the various categories of works useful for the student of Russian history. Each chapter, such as "Basic Historical Aids," "Encyclopedias, Atlases, and Dictionaries," and "Biographical Data," begins with advice to the student on the use of the material presented. Chapter v, on "Russian Bibliography," is exceptionally rich, containing 298 titles, minutely subdivided according to topic. Other chapters cover Russian historical sources, periodicals and newspapers, and Russian historiography. For the most part the author has indicated in which libraries the individual items are located. There are useful appendixes containing the chief Dewey Decimal and the Library of Congress classification symbols for Russian materials; transliteration tables; information on the Russian calendar; and reference works on Soviet abbreviations. As most of the titles listed are in Russian, this *Guide* will be of service primarily to students of Russian history and librarians who deal with Russian books, although it may be useful to historians not directly interested in the Russian field. Inasmuch as it is extremely well organized and contains much information not easily obtainable elsewhere, it should be immensely helpful to all persons interested in Russian research.

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LES FLEUVES ET L'EVOLUTION DES PEUPLES: EUROPE ORIENTALE, BALTIQUE-MER NOIRE. By *Pierre George, et al.* [Centre International de Synthèse, Institut international d'archéocivilisation.] (Paris, Presses universitaires de France, 1950, pp. 104, 300 fr.) This small volume is composed of seven papers originally presented in 1948 at the second symposium in the series on "Rivers and the Evo-

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

lution of Peoples" (the first was on the Rhine-Danube) sponsored by the Centre International de Synthèse with the view of examining "the influence of the great trans-continental waterways on the formation and evolution of the nations of Europe." This volume does not cover the whole region extending from the Baltic to the Black Sea as one would gather from its title but is actually limited to the basins of the Oder and the Vistula, or rather, to be more exact, to the former. The symposium is actually narrowed to the examination of the geopolitical importance of the Oder; the economic significance of that waterway as well as that of the Vistula is completely neglected. After two papers on the geographic conditions of the basins of these two rivers written by Pierre George (Paris) and August Zierhoffer (Poznań) there follow three papers which have little if anything to do with the subject matter of the symposium although otherwise they are very interesting. Particularly illuminating is the paper by an outstanding Slavic philologist Tadeusz Lehr-Spławiński (Cracow) on the origins of the primitive Slavs and the location of their homeland. Lehr-Spławiński arrives at the conclusion that the basins of the Oder and Vistula had formed the nucleus of that homeland. Michał Szczaniecki (Poznań), in the first part of his paper, gives a survey of Polish protohistory and, in the second, discusses the influence of the Frankish monarchy on the ancient Polish institutions, while Maria Wojciechowska (Poznań) draws attention to "some particular traits of the development of Polish civilization." The two concluding papers by Zygmunt Wojciechowski (Poznań) are the only ones that bear directly on the topic of the volume. The author reviews the role of the Oder in the history of eastern Central Europe. The basins of the Oder and Vistula form a well-knit geographic region: the "*terres maternelles*" of Poland. The establishment of the Teutonic Order in Prussia and Eastern Pomerania and the loss of the Oder in the course of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries constituted a catastrophe for Poland from the geopolitical standpoint. Poland was encircled. She faced the greatest danger in the period 1373-1415, when the Luxemburgs were the masters both of Silesia and Brandenburg and thus controlled nearly the whole course of the Oder. The fate of Poland was sealed in 1740 when Frederick the Great wrested Silesia from the Habsburgs, acquiring the entire course of the Oder, which became the axis of his state. The reviewer finds it impossible to subscribe to this view of history. After all Poland reached the summit of her power in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries with her western boundary exactly the same as at the time of the first partition in 1772. It is not to her unfavorable frontiers but rather to her internal weakness and anarchy that one should look for the causes of her downfall. When all is said, unfavorable boundaries are also the result of weakness or the lack of sustained effort to improve them. The author does not suggest that the possession of Silesia and other "*terres maternelles*" would influence in any way the course of Poland's internal development. It is difficult to see how a weak Poland, even if the whole basin of the Oder belonged to her, could have avoided falling under the control of her powerful neighbors if these were set on such a course.

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ZIEMIE POLSKIE W STAROŻYTNOŚCI: LUDY I KULTURY NAJDAWNIEJSZE

[Les origines de l'ancienne Pologne: les peuples et les civilisations de l'antiquité. French summary, pp. 738-804]. By *Kazimierz Tymieniecki*. (Poznań: Société des amis des sciences et des lettres de Poznań, 1951, pp. xxiv, 834, maps.) Professor Tymieniecki had three objectives in writing this book: to consider the migrations and evolution of all those tribes and peoples which in prehistoric times crossed the lands of historic Poland leaving their traces behind when they moved on; to outline the past history of the Slavs in general; and to define the roots of Polish history. All

these objectives required intensive study in many fields, plus independent and original thinking. Polish historiography and historical research have been handicapped for centuries despite an early start in the Middle Ages. Facts are hard to come by, source material is scanty, and much has had to be accepted hypothetically. Thus any historian, particularly one of the period concerned in this book, faces a difficult task. Most researchers in this period are more or less contemporaries of the author—for example, Br. Bilinski, J. Czekanowski, L. Kozłowski, T. Sulimirski, T. Lehr-Spławiński, K. Majewski, and particularly J. Kostrzewski, all of whom have done very valuable spade work. Tymieniecki has enlarged his findings by drawing from ancient sources such as Herodotus, Ptolemy, Caesar, Dio Cassius, Pliny, Tacitus, Strabo, Jordanis, etc. He has made good use of some of the non-Polish sources of modern times. He has consulted and analyzed relevant scholarship in the fields of geography, anthropology, ethnography, archaeology, and linguistics. This preparation has occupied him for a quarter of a century. Judging from the present volume, the first of four, his finished work will be very valuable not only for the student of the Polish and Slavic past but also for those concerned with the dawn of history and the transition from the prehistoric age to historic times. As such the book may become a standard work for the scholar anywhere. A French résumé will make the book accessible to scholars not familiar with the Polish language. Appended indexes of authors and subjects are very helpful, though the subject index suffers from poor proofreading. Unfortunately, there is no bibliographical index, which would have been a valuable guide for the student. Otherwise the book is highly to be recommended and those who use it will look forward to the publication of the other three volumes.

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JAN MASARYK: A PERSONAL MEMOIR. By R. H. Bruce Lockhart. (New York, Philosophical Library, 1951, pp. 80, \$5.75.) An American edition of the biographical sketch of Jan Masaryk is to be welcomed for several reasons. In the veins of the deceased Czechoslovak statesman flowed American blood and this country was, indeed, his second home. The report of his death on March 10, 1948, aroused the American public and brought close to their mind the tragic collapse of the Czechoslovak democracy. The author of the memoir was a trusted friend of Jan Masaryk. The portrait he has drawn was done by a skillful hand. There is no passage in the book which could be dismissed as legendary or apocryphal. The hero is neither presented as an embodiment of civic virtues nor extolled as omniscient or infallible. More significant than the discharge of public functions were Masaryk's personal qualities, his artistic temperament, his cheerful disposition, dislike of a rigid social code, and above all, his innate aversion to violence and tyranny. The story of Masaryk's life as presented by his Scottish friend confirms, in general, the glimpses of the statesman's personality caught by his less intimate collaborators. The burden of such offices as the ambassadorial post in London during the mounting international crisis, and even more, the portfolio of foreign affairs, was too heavy for a man of Masaryk's delicate fiber. The author of the memoir refers to a quotation from Lao-Tse which he once found in Masaryk's study. The gist of the Chinese philosopher's writing was an urgent advice to the holders of public posts to resign in proper time. But Bruce Lockhart does not comment on the fact that Masaryk, ignoring the philosopher's precept, decided to remain at the helm when factors much stronger than his gentle hand had brusquely changed the course of Czechoslovak foreign policy. Nor was he able to rend the veil in which Masaryk's death was shrouded. There is a passage in the book (p. 77) which suggests that a more distant authority than the Czechoslovak Communist headquarters may be responsible for the death warrant. Whatever the

circumstances were, with Jan Masaryk passed away an outstanding personality whose very name stood as a living symbol of the former liberties of Czechoslovakia.

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Near Eastern History

Sidney Glazer

ARAB SEAFARING IN THE INDIAN OCEAN IN ANCIENT AND EARLY MEDIEVAL TIMES. By *George Fadlo Hourani*. [Princeton Oriental Studies, Volume XIII.] (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1951, pp. xi, viii, 131, \$3.00.) The entrance into South and East Asiatic waters of the western European fleets, notably Portugal's, toward the end of the fifteenth century virtually terminated the development of Arab navigation. Dr. Hourani has sketched in this book the history of Arab traffic in the Indian Ocean from prehistoric times until its peak around the

tenth century A.D. He lists references from almost every available source—Babylonian, Egyptian, Arabic, Greek, Latin, Persian, Chinese, not to mention the works of modern students. The result is a useful piece of scholarship, but owing to the great amount of detail compressed within the regrettably small compass of the volume it will prove less interesting to the nonspecialists and general readers than one might expect from the inherent fascination of the subject. This is a pity, for Dr. Hourani possesses not only research talent but also an excellent literary style, as he demonstrates in the more leisurely last section of the book which, despite the technicality of the content—hulls, sails, navigation, etc.—is extremely readable. S. G.

THE UNITED STATES AND TURKEY AND IRAN. By *Lewis V. Thomas* and *Richard N. Frye*. [American Foreign Policy Library.] (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1951, pp. xii, 291, \$4.25.) Government officials and all other Americans interested in Turkey and Iran, but whose information in the main is drawn from the press, will find this current synthesis worth reading. It is the product of two scholars who are specialists in medieval history. Recent travel and study in the two countries aroused and developed their interest in the contemporary period. *The United States and Turkey and Iran* is actually two essays that are very easy to read because they are written in a colloquial, almost personal style and are not burdened with too many dates and statistics. Their authors are primarily concerned with explaining why Turkey and Iran must be strongly supported by the United States. They attempt to justify their position both because of and in spite of the weaknesses vis-à-vis the USSR, although the reasons differ in the case of each country. Mr. Thomas is a frank but clear-headed partisan of Turkey. He mentions Turkey's historic and present faults along with her virtues, although not in equal proportion, and in almost every instance seeks to justify the former, if not on the basis of a higher morality, then on that of practical national interests. As a result, an apologetic tone permeates the writing which, along with many sweeping, dogmatic value-judgments designed to make Turkey completely palatable to American tastes, weakens rather than strengthens his case. Instead of inspiring us with confidence, the book leaves us somewhat uneasy. Also, to say that Turkey's policy is to survive and prosper and that everything is laudable that contributes to these goals is not to make a distinctive statement. For example, justification of the repressive treatment accorded certain minorities on the grounds that it led to a homogeneous population without which there would not exist today a Turkish Republic requires more proof than is here offered. Heterogeneity of population is often a factor of strength, as is demonstrated by the history of various Western countries, particularly the United States, where religious and ethnic minorities have contributed markedly to the national defense and enriched the culture. The picture of modern Iran, as sketched by Mr. Frye, is not as clear as that of Turkey because its recent history and psychology are more complicated and much less known. After reading *The United States and Turkey and Iran* one is likely to agree with the present American policy of all-out support of Turkey coupled with an attitude toward Iran of reserve and perhaps fearful waiting, dangerous and unsatisfactory though it may be. Until the leadership, or a segment of it, manifests an unmistakable willingness to help itself, if only by making minor sacrifices, there is little that can be usefully done. Special, unconditional grants, as the Iranian premier was recently quoted as inviting, are not likely to improve the situation. S. G.

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Far Eastern History

E. H. Pritchard¹

CHINESE-RUSSIAN RELATIONS. By Michel N. Pavlovsky. (New York, Philosophical Library, 1949, pp. viii, 194, \$3.75.) In this useful little book several characteristics are combined. The author represents the old, pre-Soviet school of Russian historians, and he follows their tradition in placing documents above theory (p. 27). For the translation of Chinese texts, he had the collaboration of a Chinese scholar. Finally, he had the advantage of working at Aurora University, a Jesuit institution in Shanghai, where he had access to the records of the period when Jesuit missionaries accompanied Manchu envoys negotiating with the Russians, and though nominally mere interpreters "performed functions related to true diplomacy rather than pure linguistics." One of the most entertaining passages in the book is the description of the cordial relations between the Jesuits, interpreting for the Manchu emperor, and Spathari, a Greek born in Moldavia and educated in Constantinople, representing the Russian tsar. Such personal relationships go far toward explaining the fact that in the early Manchu-Russian treaties the Latin texts are clearer than the Manchu, Russian, Chinese, and Mongol texts. Pavlovsky throws considerable light on the wars in Mongolia that led to Manchu suzerainty and stabilization of the frontier with Siberia; on the two centuries of almost static relations between China and Russia from 1727 to 1911; and on the renewal of activity after the Chinese and Mongol revolutions of 1911. Although the new developments led to a Russian protectorate over Outer Mongolia this change was not due, in Pavlovsky's opinion, to Russian expansionism but rather to Chinese colonization in Mongolia. At this point a discussion of the part played by railways would have been useful—forced on the Chinese by foreign demands, they nevertheless enormously extended both the strategic and the

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

economic reach of China into Mongolia. In a book of less than 200 pages Pavlovsky cites far more from documents—Mongol as well as Chinese and Russian—than can be found in most discussions of Mongol-Chinese-Russian relations, and this is his most important contribution to the linking up of the study of history as seen from the West, from the Far East, and from Russia. It is unfortunate that there are a number of misprints and minor inaccuracies, and that the transliterations are poor. The general reader cannot be expected to understand that the term for "Chinese" which appears on page 83 in the two forms *hamin* and *ghamen* is the result of bad Russian transcriptions of the Mongol pronunciation of the Chinese Ko Ming—i.e., the Komingtang or Revolutionary party, one of the early avatars of the Kuomintang or Nationalist party. This scramble is copied from Ken Shen Weigh's inadequate *Russo-Chinese Diplomacy* (Shanghai, 1928).

OWEN LATTIMORE, *Johns Hopkins University*

INDIA IN THE NEW ERA: A STUDY OF THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE INDIAN UNION AND PAKISTAN, NEW NATIONS IN A CHANGING ASIA. By T. *Walter Wallbank*, University of Southern California. (New York, Scott, Foresman, 1951, pp. 204, \$2.40.) This book, which shared the Watumull Prize in 1951 with Louis Fischer's life of Gandhi, will long hold the field as one of the best guides for all who wish to be well briefed with the background information needed for an understanding of what is now happening on the Indian subcontinent. Though it appears to be written primarily with the needs of college students in mind, it is more than a textbook and will deservedly attract a far wider public. The work reflects very extensive reading among secondary materials and government documents dealing with modern Indian history. The author compresses and analyzes this material with unusual skill in forceful and clear narrative style so welcome to students approaching a subject for the first time. Since his own chief interests are political and constitutional, his treatment of the evolution of nationalism and the transition from dependence to independence is better than his discussion of Indian economic history. It seems to this reviewer, whose interests are likewise primarily modern, that Mr. Wallbank's forty-page summary of the many centuries before Vasco da Gama set sail for the East would have benefited much from revision after further conference with scholars deeply versed in Sanskrit, Persian, and all other relevant aspects of Indic and Islamic studies. Though Mr. Wallbank, with his Western background, has striven mightily to be impartial, Indian readers may feel that he has not always succeeded in preserving objectivity. His constant reference to "Native States," his characterization of Hinduism as "voluptuous polytheism" with a "variegated array of deities" (p. 25), and his implication (p. 155) that the two million recruits for the Indian Army in World War II were genuine volunteers uninfluenced by economic necessity are unfortunate in that they may detract from the solid merits of a book which should be widely read in India and Pakistan as well as in America and Europe. Very few errors of chronology or fact have been noted. One of the most striking is the reference to the Marathas and the Nizam as neutral in the Mysore War of 1790-92 which was certainly not the case (p. 46). The new and unusual format deserves attention. This reviewer liked the practice of putting the footnotes in the wide margins instead of at the bottom of the page. He was not so happy about some of the black and white maps and sketches in these margins, or about some of the metaphors in the italics at the head of each chapter. He really wonders whether student interest is, or should be, stimulated by such phrases as, "If the First World War gave India the beginning course on the banquet-table of self-determination, the second global conflict added all other items on the political menu including the dessert of absolute national autonomy"

(p. 144). Nevertheless, the publishers deserve praise for the format and the photographs. Perhaps the answer to the rising costs of books which teachers would like to see more widely owned by students lies in further experiment with paper-bound quartos or octavos of a similar sort. HOLDEN FURBER, *University of Pennsylvania*

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United States History

Wood Gray¹

GENERAL

HEAVENS ON EARTH: UTOPIAN COMMUNITIES IN AMERICA, 1680-1880. By Mark Holloway. (New York, Library Publishers, 1951, pp. 240, \$4.75.) This is a short

¹ Responsible only for the lists of articles and documents.

and conveniently arranged summary of utopian experiments in the United States, based primarily on the earlier studies by John Humphrey Noyes, Charles Nordhoff, and William Alfred Hinds. The author first provides a brief setting in the psychological, religious, and literary backgrounds. He then recounts the story of the Labadists, Ephrata, the Shakers, the Rappites, New Harmony, Fourierism, Oneida, Icaria, Amana, and other familiar communitarian ventures. Although useful, the book can hardly be said to fill any very urgent need. In particular, Professor Alice Felt Tyler's *Freedom's Ferment*, published in 1944, makes all this information readily available and in a considerably richer context. Mr. Holloway is presumably English, and this may partially account for his apparent lack of knowledge of Mrs. Tyler's work.

W. G.

LETTERS FROM AMERICA, 1773 TO 1780: BEING THE LETTERS OF A SCOTS OFFICER, SIR JAMES MURRAY, TO HIS HOME DURING THE WAR OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE. Edited by *Eric Robson*, Lecturer in History in the University of Manchester. (Manchester, England, Manchester University Press, 1951, pp. xxvi, 90, 12s. 6d.) James Murray was a keen, witty, and somewhat saturnine observer of men and events; his letters are indispensable to those interested in the War of American Independence. His first letter from America dealing with the British attack on Charleston in 1776 is one of the most illuminating accounts of that—for the British—ill-fated expedition. Critical of British generals and admirals, he gave the Americans their due: "The artillery of the Yankies," he wrote, "was admirably well served, their works admirably constructed, and we had not a single deserter for three weeks." He was a good campaigner: after living on a diet of salt pork for nearly four months, he writes: "The only thing which I found a little disagreeable was lying five nights in the midst of a putrid marsh up to the ankles in filth and water." Serving with Sir William Howe at Long Island, he gave his Scottish correspondents an excellent account of that battle; but soon thereafter he lost interest in the war. It became a bore and a waste of effort—"a barbarous business and in a barbarous country." "The novelty is worn off," he said, "and I see no advantages to be reaped from it." Although he deplored the mismanagement which seemed to be costing Great Britain a large part of its empire, he no longer criticized his superior officers: "The only blessing which indulgent heaven has granted as a recompense for all the hardships of a military life," he remarked, "is a total exemption from the necessity of thinking, and he must be a fool indeed that wilfully devests himself of such a privilege." The Americans, whom he had praised at Charleston, now became in his eyes "the poorest mean spirited scoundrels that ever surely pretended to the dignity of Rebellion." He complained of their "dirty fighting"; and while he admitted that chasing rebels was "at least equal to a fox chase," he found that there was too little of this particular sport as the war progressed. "Thoroughly disgusted" at the way things were going, he left the continent for the West Indies in 1778, one of the few British officers who rejoiced at being sent to those fever-ridden islands. Mr. Robson's meticulous editing leaves nothing to be desired; he has taken vast pains to run down obscure references, even delving into manuscript material for that purpose. Altogether, this book will well reward an hour or two devoted to it.

JOHN C. MILLER, *Stanford University*

A DOCUMENTARY HISTORY OF THE NEGRO PEOPLE IN THE UNITED STATES. Edited by *Herbert Aptheker*. Preface by W. E. B. DuBois. (New York, Citadel Press, 1951, pp. xvi, 942, \$7.50.) The object of this work is "to present the essence of the first three hundred years of the history of the American Negro peo-

ple . . . through the words of Negro men, women and children themselves." The editor asserts that "a Jim Crow society breeds and needs a Jim Crow historiography," and, contrary to the traditional view, declares that the severely oppressed "Negro people . . . have been militant, active, creative, productive." "Their history demonstrates . . . [the persistence of their] will to freedom, their urge toward equality, justice and dignity . . ." (p. xiii). In support of this thesis, the editor presents more than 450 documents, for the period from 1661 to 1910, under the captions: "Through the Revolutionary Era," "The Early National Period," "The Abolitionist Era," "The Civil War," "The Reconstruction Years," "Early Post-Reconstruction Era," "The Appearance of Imperialism," and "The Twentieth Century." The documents of each period illustrate the subjects of greatest interest to the Negro, with reference to his problems, his hopes, and his efforts, as he lived his life under conditions of slavery, serfdom, or quasi-freedom. Some of the documents of the abolitionist era deal, for example, with such questions as the role of the Negro newspaper, the militant pamphlet, the Negro in the abolition movement, the founding of a Negro library, facts concerning free Negroes, resisting Jim Crow, denunciations of colonization, a public discussion of insurrection, the annual national Negro Convention, and appeals for equal suffrage. Several documents of the Civil War period reveal the struggles for the right to fight and for the ballot, the school, and the land. Those of the twentieth century relate to "The Developing Negro Liberation Movement, 1901-1910." Possessing positive value, these documents, some hitherto unpublished and representing views of Negroes of various degrees of formal education and shades of opinion, should serve as a corrective of much misinformation which has passed as historical fact. The documents in this volume, drawn from such sources as books, pamphlets, periodicals, newspapers, official documents, letters, and other manuscripts, have been selected admirably. The introduction, in which the editor defines the scope of the book, and his explanatory comments and notes made in connection with the documents greatly enhance the value of the work. Subject to the well-known limitations of a source-book, the volume seems, in view of its purpose and fulfillment, to admit of little, if any, special criticism. The student and many of the general public should find it exceptionally useful. It is a highly valuable contribution to the literature of its field.

A. A. TAYLOR, *Fisk University*

MR. JUSTICE SUTHERLAND: A MAN AGAINST THE STATE. By Joel Francis Paschal. (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1951, pp. xii, 267, \$4.00.) "While he was on the Court [1922 to 1938] no other justice spoke for the majority in so many great cases. . . . If the Constitution is what the judges say it is, Sutherland was its chief author during his incumbency . . . he stands as one of the major landmarks in American constitutional law, the landmark from which the new departure was taken in 1937." These claims asserted by Dr. Paschal in his introduction are effectively established in his learned but highly readable and interesting account of a justice whom most present-day Americans remember only as one of the four ultraconservatives among the "Nine Old Men" of the 1930's. Dr. Paschal deals with his subject sympathetically, yet with objective recognition of the social and economic implications of the problems challenging Sutherland's attention as member of Utah's first state legislature (1896 to 1900), lone congressman from Utah (1901 to 1905), United States senator (1905 to 1917) and justice of the Supreme Court. Sutherland emerges as a strong personality and an able leader, with a gift of expression which, though not particularly individual, was persuasive. An ardent Spencerian, he nevertheless, especially during the years in the Senate, lapsed occasionally in the application of his fervid faith in laissez faire. The greater part of the study is naturally devoted to Sutherland's Court years. Their importance is clearly demonstrated, with due atten-

tion to Sutherland's service, on the positive side, in emphasizing the foreign relations power, as well as to his role as an exponent of the limitations of government. Dr. Paschal contends that Sutherland had a philosophy of government and that in decision after decision he was instrumental in the acceptance of this philosophy by the Court. Of this there can be no doubt. The philosophy, however, was clearly a borrowed philosophy, to which Sutherland himself contributed little. In fact, though a crusader for individuality, he himself had little of it; he was a theorist who knew only one theory. This suggests the only marked limitation in Dr. Paschal's account: while he does an excellent job of showing how Sutherland applied his philosophy, he does not elucidate how the philosophy was acquired. His explanation of this omission—that he has written not so much a biography as an essay in government—can hardly suffice as an excuse for not telling more of the human relations of a man whose career so profoundly affected human relations. It is not enough to ascribe Sutherland's philosophy to the influence of two or three early teachers. (Incidentally, to call Thomas M. Cooley, who is given first place among them, "a Spencerian disciple of the highest standing," seems a bit of an exaggeration of Cooley's precociousness, great as that was: Cooley's most influential book appeared only three years after the first American printing of Spencer's *Social Statics*.) If information on Sutherland's personal side is as lacking as the story presented would seem to imply, this in itself is revealing evidence. Aside from the single limitation noted, Dr. Paschal's work is excellent. May other outstanding judicial figures be as fortunate in the intelligence and skill of their biographers!

L. G. VANDER VELDE, *University of Michigan*

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT'S OWN STORY: TOLD IN HIS OWN WORDS FROM HIS PRIVATE AND PUBLIC PAPERS. Selected by *Donald Day*. (Boston, Little, Brown, 1951, pp. 461, \$4.00.) This compilation of "what FDR wrote and said" is not likely to be a useful or rewarding source for any serious student of the life and times of Franklin D. Roosevelt. With occasional connecting links provided by the compiler, the book is composed of brief, diary-like selections all written by F. D. R. and drawn predominantly from three main sources: the letter and speech files of the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library at Hyde Park, the thirteen volumes of *Public Papers and Addresses* edited by Samuel I. Rosenman, and the 1905-1928 volume of *FDR—His Personal Letters* edited by Elliott Roosevelt. The strictly chronological arrangement defeats the purpose of letting F. D. R. "give his own growth and development, to unfold his own social, economic and political credo." For the result is a pattern of unrelated selections on a variety of matters for which, given the brevity of the items, no index can adequately compensate. Too, due to a bare minimum of editorial comment, it is not clear in what context a number of statements were made and for what kind of audience they were intended. The autobiographical treatment is also limited by the fact that F. D. R. very rarely committed to paper anything of consequence about himself as a person (a fact which is not sufficiently recognized or admitted by students of F.D.R.), so that it is not always apparent why some of the items have been included. To this reviewer the previously unpublished correspondence from the letter file at Hyde Park constitutes the most revealing selections in the book. Of particular interest is the chapter covering the years 1924 to 1928 and a number of items which reveal F.D.R.'s concern for the future of the Democratic party during this low period of its history. Even at this time he emerges as a strong, highly influential party leader, and ever-present is a profound optimism that not too much time will elapse before the Democrats return to power. Curiously, however, he seems to have counted largely on Republican blunders to occur before "the inevitable pendulum takes the inevitable swing back to an inevitable Democracy."

JAMES N. ROSENATJ, *New Jersey College for Women*

AMERICAN DEMOCRACY AND MILITARY POWER: A STUDY OF CIVIL CONTROL OF THE MILITARY POWER IN THE UNITED STATES. By *Louis Smith*. [Studies in Public Administration.] (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1951, pp. xv, 370, \$5.00.) Like many Americans today the author of this book believes that the security of our country and the continuing existence of its ideals depends primarily upon military power. Like many Americans he realizes that such power may make our country secure but in the process destroy the traditional tenets of American democracy. Inasmuch as the book is one of the University of Chicago's "Studies in Public Administration," major emphasis is placed on the constitutional and administrative aspects of the question. In the author's words, the central task of the study "is the presentation of the constitutional system of civil control, with some appraisal of its adequacy in terms of the security problem of the twentieth century." Dean Smith divides his book into nineteen chapters, first putting the problem of civil control of military power into its historical and theoretical setting, then tracing the origin and growth of the American tradition of civil dominance. The bulk of the book is devoted to an analysis and appraisal of the constitutional and administrative devices through which the President, the secretaries of the military departments, the two houses of Congress, congressional committees, and the judicial branch operate and have operated to insure that civil dominance shall be maintained. The eighteenth chapter shows that the states no longer have any part in the restraint of military power. The final chapter sums up the problem of democratic control of military power at mid-century as the author sees it. He finds that our constitutional and administrative devices have functioned adequately in the past to safeguard civil dominance but have been aided by the fact that, until the present, the United States has never found it necessary to maintain a large permanent military establishment. The ultimate insurance for civil dominance rests with public opinion, he believes, and thinks that another protracted war may cause the citizens to demand the institution of an authoritarian rule based on military power in order to escape the seeming bickerings and compromises of democratic processes. There is much information in this book but the presentation is marred by the excessive number of block quotes in small type. There are 242 of these block quotations in 327 pages of text (the other 43 pages contain notes and an index) and many of them cover at least half a page. Another fault lies in the title. There is much more to American democracy than constitutional and administrative devices, and one has a right, in view of the title, to expect a book different from the one which Dean Smith has written. He has brought together quotations from some basic materials relating to only one facet of the problem of reconciling American democracy with large military organizations. Nevertheless, much research and writing needs to be done before a book can be written which justifies the definitive title *American Democracy and Military Power*.

RICHARD C. BROWN, *U. S. Armed Forces Institute, Madison, Wisconsin*

THE STRUGGLE FOR SURVIVAL: A CHRONICLE OF ECONOMIC MOBILIZATION IN WORLD WAR II. By *Eliot Janeway*. [Chronicles of America Series, Volume 53.] (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1951, pp. v, 382, \$5.00.) America's economic mobilization between 1939 and 1945 constituted a veritable miracle, as Eliot Janeway believes, which raised the standard of living of the nation, gave labor—both urban and rural—a new sense of dignity and importance, and tremendously improved the position of the Negro, while simultaneously permitting the United States to vanquish the Axis and assume a position of leadership in the postwar struggle against Soviet totalitarianism. And the principal credit for this miracle, the author argues, belongs to President Roosevelt. As best Janeway can describe it, the key to

Roosevelt's method in accomplishing this miracle was his decision not to rely upon any comprehensive plan of governmental leadership in the economic mobilization but rather to gamble upon the "momentum" of the economy itself to respond to the need for more production, as the course of the war made this need apparent. Hence Roosevelt confined his efforts to dramatizing the problem and preventing his subordinates, charged with the administration of economic matters, from causing irreparable political damage to the cause of national unity. This thesis, which the author presents at the outset of his study, makes the remainder of his book anticlimactic. For he proceeds to devote his narrative almost exclusively to a chronicle of the successive agencies in Washington which were concerned with the economic management of the home front—and the guerrilla war among the heads of these agencies. Far from examining the economic experience of the nation as it responded to the demands of the war, or gauging the relative contribution of American production to the eventual victory, he barely mentions the world outside Washington. His is therefore a study of bureaucratic politics, not of economic history nor of the war. As such, its value is principally that of a memoir by a man who had much close personal knowledge of the events he recounts. The study has a further interest as a document for what it reveals, sometimes inadvertently, of the evolution in the outlook of some of the New Dealers, who in 1939 hoped to salvage their domestic program of social reform by giving it the guise of national defense and who ultimately came to think of themselves as leaders in a worldwide crusade, whose principal allies were big business and the military.

PAUL FARMER, *University of Wisconsin*

SHIPS FOR VICTORY: A HISTORY OF SHIPBUILDING UNDER THE U. S. MARITIME COMMISSION IN WORLD WAR II. By *Frederic C. Lane*. With collaboration of *Blanche D. Coll*, *Gerald J. Fischer*, and *David B. Tyler*. (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1951, pp. xx, 881, \$12.50.) It is sad to reflect that lack of congressional appropriations has terminated the ambitious series, "Historical Reports on War Administration," undertaken by presidential directive in World War II. The volume under review was planned and begun as a part of that series but was completed at the expense of private institutions and, one suspects, at the personal sacrifice of its principal author. It is an excellent study, solid and scholarly; and, so thoroughly is it packed with lessons in shipbuilding during an emergency, it once again underscores the contention that such investigations are as essential to national security as tanks and bullets. All aspects of the Maritime Commission are treated in great detail. Beginning with a comprehensive analysis of the Maritime Commission legislation of 1936, the various waves of expansion are described, followed by lucid discussions of such problems as contracts, management, manpower, job training, labor relations, types and designs, decentralization of building facilities and of supervision, shipyard expansion, multiple production, health, morale, allocations of materials, cracking of welded ships, co-ordination with the Navy, and renegotiation of contracts. The reading is usually heavy going, but this is probably inherent in the technical nature of much of the subject matter. On occasions, such as the discussion of steel allocations for 1943 and the cancellation of Andrew J. Higgins' contract, the narrative is highly exciting. Most admirable is the author's refusal to speculate on the lessons inherent in his treatment for current or future crises. The facts are there, objectively recorded, and these current or future shipbuilding administrators will find of utmost value only if they attempt to view the facts in the light of circumstances existing at the time. "The lessons that should be drawn from the experience of 1940-1945," concludes Mr. Lane, "will depend on the situation to which they are to be applied." On the whole, the Maritime Commission, and especially Vice Admirals Emory S. Land and Howard L.

Vickery, fare exceedingly well. Theirs was a heavy burden, which they, already experienced in the task, bore with courage, imagination, and improvisation. But the author, as was guaranteed in his contract, does not hesitate to criticize when it seems justified. Most open to attack was the waste of some manpower and materials through the hoarding of labor in certain yards and failure properly to keep all movement of materials fully recorded and geared to actual production rates. While admitting that the problem was formidable, the author states that "inventory control and accounting were weak points in the Commission's functioning." Yet the strong point certainly was "that it produced ships and produced them fast": 5,601 vessels displacing more than 54,000,000 deadweight tons with which to help win the Battle of the Atlantic and bridge two oceans for the transfer of America's sinews of war.

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NEW ENGLAND AND MIDDLE COLONIES AND STATES

THOMAS POWNALL, BRITISH DEFENDER OF AMERICAN LIBERTY: A STUDY OF ANGLO-AMERICAN RELATIONS IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY. By *John A. Schutz*, California Institute of Technology. [Old Northwest Historical Series, Volume V.] (Glendale, Calif., Arthur H. Clark, 1951, pp. 340, \$10.00.) The book's opening sentence both sets the theme and provides an excellent illustration of the author's style: "The entrance of Thomas Pownall (1722-1805) upon the American colonial scene was a dramatic one, and keynoted the brilliant career of an obscure, young Englishman, who, in the turbulent pre-revolutionary years, was catapulted with meteoric success to a position of peculiar prestige and prominence in British political circles." Basing his story upon manuscript materials available in this country but not upon those in the Public Record Office, Mr. Schutz describes the American career of perhaps the most interesting and talented of the pre-Revolutionary royal governors. It is a far more informative account of this phase of Pownall's career than appears in the only other book about him, Charles Pownall's family biography of 1908. Issue can be taken with some of Mr. Schutz's judgments, as, for instance, with his flat declaration on page 179 that there were no party politics in Massachusetts in the 1750's or early 60's. Governor Thomas Hutchinson, whom he decries, says that there were, as does the evidence in the Loudoun papers and elsewhere. More important, perhaps, and more regrettable, is Mr. Schutz's failure to rise to the unusual opportunity presented to him by his subject. Pownall was one of those rare people who are both political theorist and politician. At the age of thirty he published a treatise in which he expressed preference for a kind of benevolent despotism which should be based on the golden chain of nature which linked all men together. He then went to the colonies, conducted a survey of them, drew up a plan of government for a new colony on the shores of Lake Erie, worked out a scheme for Indian management, became "secretary extraordinary" to a British commander-in-chief, and then governor of Massachusetts Bay—all within the space of five years. When he returned to England, he wrote wise recommendations for the handling of the delicate situation which had developed through English management of the colonies. In his old age he wrote other treatises on the changes which the creation of an independent America had made in the European and the world balance of power. Here is a subject to whet a historian's appetite. How far did this theorist put his ideas into practice? And what effect did his practical experience in running a government have upon his subsequent theorizing? Mr. Schutz does not give the answer.

STANLEY PARGELLIS, *Newberry Library*

THE PURITAN FRONTIER: TOWN-PLANTING IN NEW ENGLAND: COLONIAL DEVELOPMENT, 1630-1660. By *William Haller, Jr.*, Assistant Professor of Economics, University of Massachusetts. [Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, No. 568.] (New York, Columbia University Press, 1951, pp. 119, \$2.00.) As might be expected in a book dealing with a field long since carefully explored,

The Puritan Frontier opens up no new material, for the study is based upon town and general court records of the thirty years 1630-1660, and local histories, with, apparently, large dependence upon the latter. The selection of particular towns discussed is heavily weighted in favor of Massachusetts, perhaps a reasonable choice in view of the relative number of Bay colony inhabitants and settlements of the era, yet still a disappointingly rapid dismissal of plantations in the other four colonies where some interesting variations from the Massachusetts pattern occurred. Oddly enough for the work of an economist, this small volume treats only lightly of the economic factors bearing upon the founding of new towns and land allotments. Though Dr. Haller speaks of the inconvenience to settlers whose arable and meadow lands were far removed from their house plots and describes the consequent tendency to split off the outlying lands to make new towns, he passes over quickly the effects of sheer land hunger felt by men who, either by ill luck or by reason of being late-comers to a town, found themselves allotted the least fertile holdings. Nor, in this reviewer's opinion, does he give sufficient weight to the importance attached to providing for craftsmen when town lots were being distributed. Three brief sentences cover this theme. The examples of land offered free as inducement to smiths, millers, and weavers to settle in a new town are surely proportionately as numerous before, as after, 1660. Nevertheless, despite his reliance on well-thumbed sources and despite repetition in many passages of facts and views known to every student of American colonial history, Dr. Haller has succeeded in so regrouping familiar data as to make some contribution to understanding colonial expansion. His thesis, albeit narrow, is clearly developed, and his style is pleasantly unpretentious. While the experienced scholar will find here little to command attention, the person less well versed in early New England history can read this study with profit.

CONSTANCE McL. GREEN, *Washington, D. C.*

THE HAWTHORNES: THE STORY OF SEVEN GENERATIONS OF AN AMERICAN FAMILY. By *Vernon Loggins*. (New York, Columbia University Press, 1951, pp. 365, \$5.00.) This book tells the tale of seven generations of the Hawthorne family, following it through three hundred years, from the grim Puritan, Major William Hawthorne, down to the days of Rose (Mother Alphonsa) and her delinquent brother, Julian. We have here, for the first time, an adequate account of the dreadful Puritan judge and his no less dreadful son. The story is told well, and honestly, and seems likely to stand the test of time. It begins in Berkshire, England, and comes to an end in California, and is, on the whole, sad. An examination of what Mr. Loggins modestly calls his "Bibliographical Note" shows that he has read and consulted everything of value and importance relating to the somewhat mysterious author of *The Scarlet Letter* and his miserable forebears and his unhappy descendants. The greatest member of the seven generations came to the conclusion that life is made up of marble and mud, and readers of this book can do no more than give their consent to his gloomy conclusion. The chapters on the Salem witchcraft mania of 1692 and the notorious murder of Captain Joseph White in 1830 are of special importance. As late as twenty years ago the managing editor of the *New England Quarterly* raised a hubbub by printing a first-hand account of that scandalous murder. As might be expected, the central interest in this book is the study of the character of the enigmatic author of his one great book, *The House of the Seven Gables*. People who know Salem report that some of Nathaniel Hawthorne's associates were no better than they should have been, and that he himself was happier out of his native town than in it. Son of a neurotic widow, loyal friend of Franklin Pierce, he died of sheer despair in the midst of the Civil War.

The author is to be complimented for his power of selection, and his style, in spite of the fact that the story he had to tell is dreary.

STEWART MITCHELL, *Massachusetts Historical Society*

PRICES AND INFLATION DURING THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION, PENNSYLVANIA, 1770-1790. By Anne Bezanson. Assisted by Blanch Daley, Marjorie C. Denison, and Miriam Hussey. [Industrial Research Department, Wharton School of Finance and Commerce, University of Pennsylvania Research Studies, XXXV.] (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1951, pp. xvi, 362, \$6.75.) This volume completes the series of studies on pre-Civil War price history for the Philadelphia area, a series projected and carried out by Dr. Bezanson and her associates and assistants. The book complements the two previous publications, *Prices in Colonial Pennsylvania, 1720-1775*, by Anne Bezanson, Robert D. Gray, and Miriam Hussey (1935), and *Wholesale Prices in Philadelphia, 1784-1861* (Parts I and II, 1936 and 1937), by the same authors. Largely because the statistics for the Revolutionary era differ in sources and coverage from the other two periods, the volume under review overlaps by a few years both the first volume and the second. In *Prices and Inflation during the American Revolution, Pennsylvania, 1770-1790*, monthly indexes of prices of fifteen wholesale domestic and imported commodities are presented and discussed, and these range alphabetically from beef to wheat, including such commodities as bar iron and West Indian rum. Ten other important but less complete commodity series—such as cotton, rice, and tobacco—are also studied and included in the appendix tables, making a total of twenty-five. Unlike the other volumes, which are based upon price quotations in newspapers, merchants' trade books, and market reports, this volume for the years 1775 to 1784 utilizes solely the account books of contemporaries and their letters to clients, friends, and families. The task of selecting, sifting, and studying a considerable number of sources for each staple commodity must have been a difficult one, but the results of the study fully justify the effort. The discussion is detailed and presents not only a continuous record of wholesale prices of key commodities for the period but also shows the variations in price structure, the variable demand for commodities, the resort to new sources of supply, and the changing relationships among the different economic groups, all of which had a drastic effect upon the interdependent American economy. The difference in amount, source, and worth of the currency medium in circulation—continental, state, and specie—and the continually changing ratio between them add to the difficulties of price study for the period. The instability of the paper currency, the scarcity of certain types of goods, the stoppages of trade and the other innumerable problems brought by the war itself, as well as the state of the crops and the lack of transportation facilities, resulted in price changes and increases often marked by speed and unevenness. This study will be of much value to students of price history and financial history, and also to those whose interests are in the general field of American history because it traces the pattern of price changes and helps to explain economic conditions at any given time in this eventful period of unrest.

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SOUTHERN COLONIES AND STATES

A HISTORY OF EDUCATION IN WEST VIRGINIA: FROM COLONIAL TIMES TO 1949. By Charles H. Ambler, Professor Emeritus, West Virginia University. (Huntington, W.Va., Standard Printing and Publishing Company, 1951, pp. 1010, \$7.50.) Most of the American states now have histories of their educational developments and most of the higher educational institutions have histories of their origins and growth. Too few of either have been done by people trained in historical scholarship. But the case is strikingly different in the present work. The author is a distinguished historian, has had a long and successful career in the writing and teaching of history, and has put into this huge study many years of solid research. He modestly calls it "A History . . ." while he could very properly have called it "The History of Education in West Virginia." The educational theories and practices of that state evolved along with those of the parent state until 1863, when West Virginia was formed out of the Old Dominion and came into the Union. Jefferson's famous educational plan in 1779 for his state failed of enactment into law, the act

of 1796 and subsequent legislation were defective, and Virginia did not do much for public education until 1870. But it is of interest to observe that prior to 1860 there was evidence of rising educational interest in the western counties that came to form West Virginia. Beginning with the colonial period the story is told in an interesting manner to 1949, and deals with almost every aspect of education in one American state—public and private schools, efforts at reorganization after the dark and discouraging period that followed the Civil War, the severe economic dislocation that began in 1929, the education of the Negro, the training and certification of teachers, professional organizations and journalism, libraries, attention to the deaf and blind and other physically handicapped people, and other aspects of education—the whole story for West Virginia is here. Written largely from original sources, well-documented with copious notes, and most carefully indexed, this book ranks high among the best state educational histories. The teacher and student of the educational and social history of the United States will find it most useful.

EDGAR W. KNIGHT, *University of North Carolina*

THE NEGRO AND FUSION POLITICS IN NORTH CAROLINA, 1894-1901. By *Helen G. Edmonds*. (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1951, pp. xiv, 260, \$5.00.) Dr. Edmonds has made a competent and significant, if somewhat pedestrian, addition to the growing body of monographic literature that supports a significant reappraisal of southern history during the period 1865-1900. This reappraisal has nowhere been more vigorously pursued than in North Carolina. Until relatively recent years the principal writers on the post-bellum history of that state (Ashe, Hamilton, Connor) were identified by family and social connections with the conservative wing of the Democratic party, and it is perhaps not surprising that the interpretation presented by their vigorous and competent scholarship accorded in general with the conceptions of that political element. To the more detached eye of a later group of historians the story has seemed otherwise than in earlier popular conceptions. The conservative Democrats have been less saviors of the state than guardians of a tight economic oligarchy based on the control of credit; the Populists and their predecessors seem earnest protestants against economic oppression rather than immoral radicals; Negroes appear rather a bewildered and nearly helpless minority than a dark threat of dominance; "white supremacy" has been more important as a means of deluding poorer whites into support of the traditional order than as a genuine issue. Dr. Edmonds has explored one of the most sensitive areas of this reappraisal by examining the role of the Negro in the period of the Fusion controversy. Her sober and incontrovertibly documented study demonstrates clearly that the Negro vote was by no means decisive in the Fusion victories, which were rather a broadly based uprising against Democratic rule; that Negro officeholders during the Fusion period were few and unimportant, and were generally men of education and character; that such violence as occurred in Wilmington and elsewhere was generally white-initiated; and that the charges of Negro dominance and misrule were calculatingly blown up by the Democratic press and leaders in the election of 1898. Sometimes she betrays a lack of intimate knowledge or "feeling" of the period—for instance, she is obviously unaware that Francis D. Winston was a Republican in his early career. She exaggerates the political influence of manufacturers in the 1880's, since they hardly emerged as a self-conscious group of conservatives until the last years of the century; and I think she underestimates the *bona fides* of Aycock, Simmons, Connor, and other leaders of the 1898 campaign in their pledges of educational improvement. But these are minor defects in a solid and useful work.

DAN LACY, *Washington, D. C.*

BENJAMIN HAWKINS, INDIAN AGENT. By *Merritt B. Pound*, University of Georgia. (Athens, University of Georgia Press, 1951, pp. ix, 270, \$4.00.) This study is more than an account of Benjamin Hawkins serving in the capacity of an Indian Agent. It is a scholarly biography of an able and conscientious public servant. The first five chapters deal with the early life of Hawkins, his services in the American Revolution, his labors in the Congress of the Articles of Confederation, and his work in the United States Senate. Hawkins was elected to the United States Senate from North Carolina in the autumn of 1789. Although a Federalist, he voted against the bill to charter a United States bank, but he supported the excise tax and the carriage tax. In regard to the diplomatic controversies, Hawkins usually sided with Jefferson over Hamilton and "sometimes went on confidential missions for the former" (p. 77). Georgia ignored the authority of the United States to regulate Indian affairs and signed with a few Creeks the Treaty of Shoulderbone, November 3, 1786, which ceded the Indian claims to all lands in Georgia east of the Oconee River. The Creek leader, Alexander McGillivray, was not present at the signing of the treaty and refused to recognize its validity. As McGillivray was a man of influence among the Creeks and in the pay of Spain, President Washington invited him to the nation's capital in 1790. The invitation was accepted and while he was there the Treaty of New York was signed, which Georgia refused to recognize. "McGillivray, despite stipends, annuities, and a commission as brigadier general, continued to oppose Georgia until his death in 1793" (p. 59). In 1795, Washington asked Hawkins to serve on a commission to negotiate a treaty with the Creek Indians to clear up the claims of Georgia to a large portion of their lands. "Perhaps no single event of Hawkins's career was as consequential as his participation in the negotiations of this treaty [Coleraine]. It played no small part in his appointment as Agent" (p. 84, n. 6). The Treaty of Coleraine confirmed the Treaty of New York, and it was ratified despite Georgia's opposition. The last nine chapters of this study deal with Hawkins as Indian Agent from 1796 until his death in 1816. These were vital years in Indian affairs. Federal factories or trading posts were established among the Creeks, Cherokees, and other tribes in order to control the native tribes, to attract the Indian trade to the Americans, and to counteract the Spanish and British influence. A chapter is devoted to Tecuinseh and to the propaganda of his prophets among the Creeks and other tribes. The Upper Creeks, as a result, waged war on the whites, but the Lower Creeks, in the main, remained loyal. General Jackson crushed the Upper Creeks and dictated the Treaty of Fort Jackson in 1814. This book is well written and contains almost no errors of fact. However, there are a few slips in proofreading. For example, Governor Tattall's name is misspelled three times (pp. 171, 177, and 269), and the date of January, 1703 (p. 178) is given for the ratification of the Treaty of Fort Wilkinson when it should be 1803. The author, however, has produced a scholarly as well as a much-needed book.

GEORGE D. HARMON, *Lehigh University*

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WESTERN TERRITORIES AND STATES

PETER SKENE OGDEN'S SNAKE COUNTRY JOURNALS, 1824-25 AND 1825-26.

Edited by *E. E. Rich*. Assisted by *A. M. Johnson*. With an Introduction by *Burt Brown Barker*. [Publications of the Hudson's Bay Record Society, Volume XIII.] (London, the Society, 1950, pp. lxxix, 283.) Peter Skene Ogden headed the Snake Country brigade of the Hudson's Bay Company during six of the most eventful years in the history of the American fur trade. The collapse of Astoria in 1813 had left the Oregon country almost exclusively a British preserve, but in 1824 American trappers returned in force to the region west of the Continental Divide. Economically, the Columbia had to be fought for on its frontiers, and Ogden was elected to do the fighting. His journals, describing the ebb and flow of the Hudson's Bay Company's fortunes while the Snake Country was being turned into a fur desert, are one of the great treasures of western history. The journal of Ogden's first expedition, 1824-25, has never been available to scholars, and it appears now supplemented by a notable diary kept by Ogden's clerk, William Kittson, and by Kittson's illuminating map of the itinerary. Within the scope of a brief review, it is impossible to do justice to the wealth of information these three documents contain, but it is delightful to contemplate the effect they will have on historiography, for clearly we are going to see a vigorous rewriting of the local history of Montana, Idaho, Utah, Nevada, and Oregon, and extensive revision of the standard texts on fur trade and exploration. Only less newsworthy is Ogden's journal of 1825-26 which rounds out the present volume. A version of this diary was published in 1909, but that version, it is now evident, was abridged to the point of mutilation. A second volume of Ogden's Snake Country Journals, with the complete texts of 1826-27, 1827-28, and 1828-29, will be impatiently awaited. (The diary of the 1829-30 expedition, alas, was lost in the Columbia River in 1830.) Once the source documents have been spread upon the record, a life-size biography of Ogden will be an obvious necessity; T. C. Elliott's slim sketch of his life cannot much longer suffice, for Peter Skene Ogden is one of the half-dozen greatest figures in the history of the exploration of the interior West. With this Volume XIII of its publications, the Hudson's Bay Record Society has parted company with the Champlain Society and hereafter will stand upon its own feet.

DALE L. MORGAN, *Washington, D. C.*

THE WEST OF ALFRED JACOB MILLER (1837). From the Notes and Water

Colors in the Walters Art Gallery, with an Account of the Artist by *Marvin C. Ross*. (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1951, pp. xxviii, 200, liv, \$10.00.) This magnificent volume is dedicated to Mae Reed Porter, "whose enthusiasm for Alfred Jacob Miller has resulted in the painter's coming finally into his due place in both the artistic and the historical worlds." In these words the publishers pay their tribute to Mrs. Porter, who surely deserves a vast amount of credit for her ceaseless efforts to win recognition for Miller. On the other hand, the publishers, too, deserve praise for recognizing the value of such a publication as this one and being willing to undertake the expense and risk of putting it before the public. Here is a fine example of how publishing houses can improve public taste and raise the cultural level of the people. Many years ago, when an article by the reviewer appeared

giving data about a botanist on one of Sir William Drummond Stewart's exploring expeditions in the Far West, Mrs. Porter wrote immediately to learn whether the botanist's letters included any information about Miller. Even then she was sure that eventually her enthusiasm for Miller's sketches, water colors, and oils would be shared by the world at large. Her faith has been rewarded. Today this first American artist of any merit to paint the scenes and characters of the Far West is recognized as a genius in his chosen field. His biography has appeared. His works illustrate important books. Miller was largely American trained. Born and educated in Baltimore, he showed early talent, and without leaving his home city was instructed in portraiture by no less a master than Thomas Sully himself. Later he studied a year or so in Europe, just when the romantic school of water-color painters was in the forefront of artistic influence. Though Miller became a renowned portraitist, today his water colors are rated higher than his oils. Every one of the two hundred reproductions in this book has historical value as well as artistic appeal, though the original, on-the-spot sketches have even more value to the historian. Sometime, it is to be hoped, those day-by-day recordings of Drummond's expedition of 1837 will likewise be published. Most of the published water colors show Indians, singly or in groups. Though the portraits of Indian women are too saccharine for modern taste, as a rule, the artist forgets his romanticism as soon as he places a squaw in the saddle, or puts a paddle in her hand. In other words, Miller's pictures of action are better than his portraits. His horses and scenery are also excellent. The detail of this series is almost unbelievable. It depicts the Far West in 1837 as nothing else to date has done. By studying the water colors one follows the caravan of 1837 in its long trek, becomes acquainted with its leader, artist, and members, camps with the travelers, watches the approach of Indians afoot or on horses, thrills to buffalo, antelope, elk, and grizzly hunts, beholds the capture of wild horses, and sees the trapper at rendezvous, on the trap line, crossing rivers, camping, and sometimes starving. In addition, there are scores of pictures that represent Sioux, Shoshone, Pawnee, Crow, Blackfeet, Snake, and other Indians in characteristic dress and action. One even sees Fort Laramie, both inside and out, and a typical frontier log cabin. Then, to make posterity deeper in his debt, the artist himself writes a brief explanation of each picture. For the historian this is almost unbelievably good fortune. In fact, it amounts to a history of the 1837 expedition, with a dissertation on Indian life, the fur trade, and the Far West itself thrown in for good measure. These "notes" have been printed in this volume on left-hand pages, facing black and white reproductions of the water colors. Only one colored plate is included, but its beauty makes one long for the day when color reproductions will be both cheap and faithful.

GRACE LEE NUTE, *Minnesota Historical Society*

ON GOOD GROUND: THE STORY OF THE SISTERS OF ST. JOSEPH IN ST. PAUL. By *Sister Helen Angela Hurley*. (Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1951, pp. xiii, 312, \$3.75.) This little book is a centennial history of the Sisters of St. Joseph in the province of St. Paul, opening with the arrival of the first, small contingent of sisters on November 3, 1851. It is written out of the heart and the memory as well as out of the records. The memory—one can feel (and almost hear) its formation, settling, and refinement through the years—is the community's collective memory, finding its voice in and through the writer's personality. The records, scattered and fragmentary, are used with care; and the gaps are clearly indicated. The collection of data obviously required a great, far-spreading effort. The careful fusion of record and memory produces a work of genuine interest and worth. The reader is carried along, delighted, by the writer's refreshing manner and ease of

style. The expression ranges smoothly from newsy, chatty bits and frank, revealing insights, to the sustained flow of beautiful prose. The action of the story takes place consistently in the proper setting of regional history. The large, controversial issues of education and religion in the emerging society of the region are not examined in detail and roundly; they are handled lightly and are pursued only to the point necessary for background and continuity. The leading characters of the piece (including Archbishop John Ireland, his sister Ellen, and their cousin, Ellen Howard, Sister Antonio, and others) are made to live, in human fullness—their strength, their elements of greatness, and their limitations balanced neatly or suggested in deft strokes. It may be hoped that others will follow the author's practice of depositing in public or private institutional archives many materials that have been gathered with difficulty and that may prove useful to later researchers. This little volume, well indexed, is a handsome example of the publisher's art; it does honor to the University of Minnesota Press.

ROBERT P. FOGERTY, *College of St. Thomas*

MICHIGAN COPPER AND BOSTON DOLLARS: AN ECONOMIC HISTORY OF THE MICHIGAN COPPER MINING INDUSTRY. By *William B. Gates, Jr.* [Studies in Economic History.] (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1951, pp. xii, 301, \$5.00.) Mr. Gates provides us in this book with the first scholarly history of the Michigan copper mining industry. He traces the evolution of the industry from the opening of the Michigan lodes through the period when Michigan copper dominated the American market to the present era of decline and dependence on government favor. No aspect of the industry has escaped Mr. Gates's attention. He is concerned with exploration, production, prices, dividends, technological innovation, transportation, financial and managerial organization, consolidation and integration, labor relations, the impact of the industry on the community, and the role of government. He has indeed attempted to do too much in too little space with the result that many of the subjects that he treats are not developed as fully as they might be. The author makes his most significant contributions when he analyzes price-production relationships, the impact of technological change on the development of the industry, the participation of Michigan concerns in attempts to control the copper market through domestic or international agreements, and the effect of wartime controls on the industry. He pays too little attention to the Boston part of the story and makes no real attempt to solve the "mystery" of Boston predominance in the financing of the industry. He also is insufficiently concerned with the role of the entrepreneur and the company agent in the development of the industry: such names as Agassiz, Shaw, and MacNaughton do not receive the attention they merit. Although Mr. Gates has used the reports of various Michigan copper companies, he has consulted the manuscript files of only Calumet and Hecla. The book benefits from the inclusion of an appendix of statistics and a glossary of mining terms, but its map of the Copper Country leaves much to be desired. The author's conclusion, incidentally, that the current world copper shortage justifies the adoption of a "waiting policy" by the remaining Michigan copper companies is supported by the recent extension of an RFC loan to the Copper Range Company for the development of its white pine property.

SIDNEY FINE, *University of Michigan*

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Latin-American History

James S. Cunningham¹

GENERAL

- LA ENSEÑANZA DE LA HISTORIA EN COLOMBIA. By Miguel Aguilera. [Memorias sobre la enseñanza de la historia, V.] (México, D.F., Instituto Panamericano de Geografía e Historia, Comisión de Historia, 1951, pp. viii, 167, \$15.00 [m.mex.]) To present-day Colombians, history is very largely the history of their own country. That at any rate is the impression one gets from reading this book on the teaching

¹ Responsible only for the lists of articles and documents.

of history in the schools and universities of Colombia. The only other type of history course which receives much attention is universal history. How the various types fare is indicated by the author's distribution of his space. To the history of Colombia, he devotes ninety pages; to universal history, five pages; and to all other kinds of history, six pages. Since the volume under review was published under Pan American auspices, it is particularly interesting to note that the history of the Americas is taught only in a few *colegios*, that the text which they use was written by a Frenchman, and that there are apparently no courses either on the other Latin-American countries or on the United States. The present heavy stress on the history of Colombia is a comparatively recent development, and only one of many expressions of the rising tide of nationalism in that country. As the author shows, in the nineteenth century the emphasis was very strongly upon universal history. In discussing this shift of emphasis, and in other ways, he has brought to light many facts of considerable interest to students of the intellectual history of Colombia. On the other hand, he does not give a clear picture of the way in which history is taught there at the present time, and readers not already familiar with the Colombian educational system may find his account confusing. The chapter "Visión de conjunto" does not provide the summary or bird's-eye view which it seems to promise; instead, it is a statement of the author's personal opinions on the subject. A 23-page appendix contains several recent official "programs" of history courses.

ARTHUR P. WHITAKER, *University of Pennsylvania*

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COLONIAL PERIOD

NORTH AND CENTRAL AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN

BARCIA'S CHRONOLOGICAL HISTORY OF THE CONTINENT OF FLORIDA. Translated with an Introduction by *Anthony Kerrigan*. Introduced with a Foreword by *Herbert E. Bolton*. (Gainesville, University of Florida Press, 1951, pp. lx, 426.) The *Chronological History of the Continent of Florida*, the work of Andrés González de Barcia Carbillido y Zúñiga, is a year-by-year account of happenings in Florida from 1512 to 1722. By *Florida* Barcia understood the whole American continent north of the settled portions of Mexico. In consequence, he gives us in brief form not only the Spanish but the whole story of Dutch, French, and English efforts from the gulf of Mexico to Canada. The present translation will be more valuable to laymen because the Spanish point of view pervades the whole work. For example, in discussing English grants at the time of the Jamestown settlement, Barcia observes that "The English King also ceded the company the mainland and the islands situated between 34 and 41 degrees north (as if they had been his) . . ." For the teacher of colonial history who is not at home in Spanish there will be many significant events in United States history new to him. Out of deference to the detailed account given by the Inca Garcilaso de la Vega, Barcia foregoes discussing the De Soto expedition. However, he includes the Coronado expedition as a part of the exploration of Florida. This emphasis was decided upon over two hundred years ago for the Spanish edition of this book, but it is still valid, since *The Florida of the Inca* to which Barcia deferred has just been rendered into exceedingly good English by John and Jeannette Varner and published (Austin, Texas, 1951). Thus two new

university presses, unbeknownst to each other, are launched the same year with the publication of English editions of Spanish works which dovetail so nicely as to give the impression that they were planned as one. It is an even more remarkable coincidence that this year has also seen the appearance of an English edition of a book no less a classic of the Conquest than *The Florida of the Inca*: Motolinía's *History of the Indians of New Spain* (Washington, Academy of American Franciscan History, 1951). In this work Dr. Francis Borgia Steck gives us an excellent translation and a model of careful and competent editing. The format, type, and binding of the present edition of Barcia's work were designed to imitate the original as it might now appear. The brown paper and binding, while excellent and pleasant, do not necessarily represent the aging of a book from eighteenth-century Spain, which produced such superb rag paper that unless long exposed to weather and light it remains fine and white to this day. Mr. Kerrigan's translation is excellent and straightforward. His introduction, although it involves much literary exertion, is discursive and tangential. The editor and publisher are, however, to be commended for the loving care they so apparently gave to making this attractive edition available to so many Americans.

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SPANISH SOUTH AMERICA

NEW SPAIN'S CENTURY OF DEPRESSION. By *Woodrow Borah*. [Ibero-Americana, No. 35.] (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1951, pp. 58, 75 cents.) Professor Borah begins his narrative with the assertion that historians "have tended to assume that New Spain had a continuously expanding economy." I doubt that this assumption has been made by the historians of recent years. In my *Historical Evolution of Hispanic America*, first published in 1932, I treated the seventeenth century as a period of decline not only in New Spain but also in all Spanish America, and as early as 1929 this thesis began to be supported by the publications of Professor Hamilton on the output of the Spanish American mines. Most writers of textbooks in this field have simply passed over the years from 1550 to 1750 without making any assumptions regarding the trends of development. Professor Borah, for Mexico and incidentally for the other Spanish colonies where the native races were numerous, elaborates the data which formed the basis for the conclusion which I set forth twenty years ago. My conclusion seemed to follow logically from the well-known sharp decline in the Indian population first pointed out by Father Las Casas a few decades after the Conquest. With only a few Spaniards in the New World and nearly all of these indisposed to engage in manual toil, the decided reduction in the labor force was bound, it seemed to me, to produce an economic depression. There is nothing startling in this conclusion. Far more significant is Professor Borah's contention that this rapid decline in the native population exerted a profound influence upon the land and labor systems and the racial composition and historical destiny of Mexico. It was a factor in the rapid growth of latifundia, it led to an eagerness for Negro slaves, it speeded the development of peonage, and it accelerated miscegenation. "Had the aboriginal populations of central Mexico borne the impact of Conquest with little demographic loss, there would have been scant room for their conquerors except as administrators and receivers of tribute. Mexico today would be an Indian area from which, in the process of achieving independence from Spain, a white upper stratum holding itself apart, like the British in India [or like the French in Haiti], could easily have been expelled" (p. 44). And the same conjecture might be made with reference to northern Central America and Andean South America where the Indians were numerous. The labor shortage resulting from the sharp decline in native populations, and the readjustments which this compelled "extended and strengthened the emerging hybrid Mexican culture" and profoundly influenced the economic, social, and political history not only of Mexico but also of Guatemala, Honduras, El Salvador, Venezuela, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, and Bolivia.

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MEXICAN SILVER AND THE ENLIGHTENMENT. By *Clement G. Motten*. (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press for American Historical Association, 1950, pp. vii, 90, \$2.00.) Specialists in the United States have made considerable progress in the investigation of the Enlightenment in Hispanic America since Professor John Tate Lanning published his pioneer work on *Academic Culture in the Spanish Colonies* in 1940. This was followed the next year by Arthur P. Whitaker's monograph on the Huancavelica mercury mine in Peru and by a session on the Enlightenment at the annual meeting of the American Historical Association, the papers read at this session being published in 1942 under Whitaker's editorship. The monograph now under review is a mirror contribution to the same subject. These various investigations indicate that while there were no very brilliant achievements in the realm of science and technology in the Hispanic world during the eighteenth cen-

tury, that world was not the unmitigated stronghold of obscurantism and intolerance that it often is assumed to have been. Professor Motten deals not only with the state of mining in New Spain and attempts made to improve it during the eighteenth century; he also describes the state of learning in that colony, which was probably the most advanced of all the Hispanic colonies in the New World. No startling progress was achieved in either mining or education during the closing years of the colonial epoch; but there was some progress and the pace was accelerating when it was interrupted by the long struggle for independence and the many civil wars that followed until order was finally restored by Porfirio Díaz. This and the other works mentioned are important mainly as background for the period since the 1880's when Hispanic America began to enter the Industrial Age, as I have contended in my recent volume dealing with that subject and in a number of articles published in *Inter-American Economic Affairs* and elsewhere. The "paths to the present" in this region are being rapidly marked out not only by scholars in the United States but by those in the Hispanic lands as well. This reviewer hopes that Professor Motten will continue his investigations. His first work on the subject, despite defects in proofreading and a lack of unity that tends to confuse at times, indicates that he has excellent technical equipment for the task.

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* * * * *Historical News* * * * *

The New York Meeting, 1951

The American Historical Association held its sixty-sixth annual meeting on December 28, 29, and 30 in New York. Registrations at headquarters in the Hotel Statler numbered 1,533. This was the largest meeting in the history of the Association. Except for two meetings of the American Society of Church History, which took place in the Hotel McAlpin, all the Association sessions and those of the sixteen affiliated societies in attendance were held in the Statler.

Local arrangements were excellently handled by Henry F. Graff, Columbia University, who enjoyed hearty co-operation from Wallace K. Ferguson, New York University, Robert W. Hill, New York Public Library, Louis L. Snyder, the City College of New York, Chilton Williamson, Barnard College, and John H. Wuorinen, Columbia University. The hotel staff worked efficiently and successfully to overcome many of the physical handicaps of an inadequate lobby and mezzanine, rooms either too large or much too small for the sessions, and their location on several floors.

The Committee on Program, with William H. Dunham, Jr., of Yale as its chairman, provided an unusually far-ranging series of topics. With his assistants, Evalyn A. Clark of Vassar, Thomas D. Clark of the University of Kentucky, Louis Gottschalk of the University of Chicago, and Anatole G. Mazour of Stanford, he continued the tendency toward an international approach that has appeared in the program since the end of World War II. Indeed, the entire program, consisting of some fifty-five sessions, might well have been entitled "Toward a Definition of the Practical Role of History and the Historian in Present-Day World Affairs." Topics such as "Supra-National Ideologies," "James Madison and Our Times," "Has the Past a Place in Modern History?" and "Contemporary History: Its Validity," all revealed a preoccupation with the question, what are the values and aids history has for the present? The presence of so many federal historians and members of the armed services who attended the sessions, both as participants and as auditors, would indicate that the historian's talents are being used by the government in understanding contemporary problems and in shaping policy.

A second theme of the sessions, closely related to the first, was the concern over the historian's training and his positive role in society. Sessions were held to discuss "Graduate Training," "Teaching Ph.D.'s How to Teach," "Writing History," and "Book Reviewing."

Still a third major theme appeared in the programs: that of a reappraisal of some of the established schools of historical interpretation. Hans Kohn of the City College of New York delivered a paper on "Re-Thinking German History,"

while David H. Willson of the University of Minnesota spoke on "The Emancipation of British History from Liberal Control." And from the American side, James C. Malin of the University of Kansas led a biting attack on the present tyranny of the liberal tradition in American historiography. Undoubtedly the high point in historical soul-searching was reached, however, when Frank Craven of Princeton asked whether American history started before or after 1783.

II

Two of the general sessions which met on Friday, December 28, dealt with American history, and two had to do with the much broader subjects of supranational ideologies and of writing the history of civilizations. At the session on James Madison's role in American history on the two-hundredth anniversary of his birth, Chairman Thomas Perkins Abernethy of the University of Virginia introduced Irving Brant, who discussed "Madison and His Times." Brant said that the time has come to restore Madison as a major historical figure. Madison, he found, had actually preceded Jefferson in beginning the political cleavage that led to the creation of the American two-party system, but he has never been given credit for his activity in founding the Republican party. Adrienne Koch of New York University, in speaking of Madison's importance for the present, praised his accomplishments as a founding father and particularly his reconciliation of the paradoxical issues of "power and liberty." Unlike John Stuart Mill, Madison saw power as a necessary condition for the realization of liberty. Unlike Karl Marx, he saw factions as a natural condition of man and society, and so was able to provide checks against undue force, and yet to escape a utopian view of a classless society. Power to extend liberty, and the United States as a "Workshop of Liberty" provide, in Madisonian terms, a living philosophy which can effectively combat that of communism. In commenting upon these two papers, Harry M. Tinkcom of Temple University felt that Brant's efforts to fix a precise date for the beginnings of party cleavage failed to take into consideration that conflict in colonial, revolutionary, and confederation eras which had already created basic opinion groups by 1790. He also warned that overemphasis of the "great man" explanation of party origins should be countered by a grass-roots study of party growth in each of the thirteen states.

At the afternoon session on "The Start of American History: 1783, Before or After?" Viola F. Barnes of Mount Holyoke College reviewed the battles that have taken place over the conflicting approach to, and philosophies of, American history. She observed that the conflict is not merely between the old and the new, but among the differing patterns of thought held by those struggling for a philosophy of history which will fit their particular idealism in world relationships today. Frank Craven of Princeton, the main speaker, held the thesis that too many members of the profession had accepted a view that American history is naturally divided into a British and an American period, and that one effect

had been to obscure in some measure the essential unity of the American experience. Edmund S. Morgan of Brown University suggested that more attention to the colonial period as an essential part of American history might regain for the professional historian that larger audience enjoyed by Bancroft and perhaps fill a public need now being met only by journalists and historical novelists. Ruth V. Miller of Vassar, on the other hand, spoke for a clear integration of American history with the mainstream of European.

Kenneth M. Setton of the University of Pennsylvania introduced the three speakers on "Supra-National Ideologies." The first, Peter Charanis of Rutgers University, in discussing the "Aims of the Medieval Crusaders and How They Were Viewed by Byzantium," traced certain changes which took place in the foreign policy of Byzantium, in her relations with both eastern and western peoples, as a result of the appearance of the Crusaders in the East. In the next paper, a long one, George Lenczowski of Hamilton College explored the "Aims of the Comintern and Cominform." The Comintern, which was originally conceived as a militant force for world revolution, was transformed, after Trotsky's eclipse, into an instrument of Soviet foreign policy. Its formal dissolution in 1943 changed little in the master-and-pupil relationship which had existed between Moscow and foreign communists, for the tradition of complete subordination was renewed in 1947 by the Cominform. The main task of this organization was to act as the watchdog of doctrinal purity among the satellite communist parties. Russell Fessenden of the State Department read the third paper, on "Soviet Imperialism in Hungary"; Fessenden emphasized that, despite the abundant use of the clichés of international communism, the military, agricultural, industrial, and financial activities of the government of the USSR in Hungary were designed to exploit Hungary for the benefit of the Russians. Their methods and effects were imperialist and nationalist, at variance with the obligations acknowledged and the objectives announced by Soviet propaganda, and they seem certain to alienate the Hungarians who are now being mulcted by the foreigners who dominate their entire political and economic life. Marshall W. Baldwin of New York University, in commenting on the papers of this session, observed that Fessenden alone had used the term "supra-national ideology" and tried in some measure to illustrate its meaning and significance.

The Friday afternoon session on "Uniformities in History," chaired by Rushton Coulborn of Atlanta University, marked a significant departure from the strict fold of history. A. L. Kroeber of the department of anthropology at Columbia spoke on "The Delimitation of Civilizations." Since neither historians nor anthropologists have seriously faced the problems of considering and comparing total civilizations, Kroeber sought to point up the "uniformities or recurrent regularities" which exist in all civilizations. Such factors as discontinuity in space or time, language, religion, political and military development, economics and technology, and style ("all the arts and intellectual creativities such as phi-

losophy and science") may well be used to delimit different civilizations. Art, for example, expresses values which reflect the value systems in a civilization. Such systems have a history, and in their culminations they are sometimes accompanied by bursts of achievement in government and in wealth. The courses of such culminations are perhaps as close to constituting reasonable uniformities as any which occur in history. Kroeber made it clear, however, that this intercultural uniformity is not in content but in the form taken by the historical process; not in the events but in the pattern of events as something tending to recur; and it is connected in its occurrence with those distinctive larger aggregations or nexuses of culture which we call civilizations. The form and structure possessed by civilizations therefore invite a comparative morphology. Yet, he concluded, the fact that the forms are always in process means that they are also historical phenomena and must be viewed historically. "Uniformities and Differences in the Growth of Nations" by Karl W. Deutsch of M.I.T. was the subject of a second paper at this session. Comment on the two papers was by Marshall Knappen of the University of Michigan and John H. Mundy of Columbia.

Dayton Phillips of Vanderbilt University was the main speaker at the session on "History and the Tradition of Learning." His paper "Has the Present a Place in Medieval History?" supported the view that although the present, strictly speaking, has no place in history, still history is influenced by the present because it depends upon present procedures. The present also creeps in illegitimately through misinterpretation of experience and through misuse of theoretical conceptions. The basic factor in historical interpretation, he argued, is empirical recognition of the relatively recurring ways that things act upon other things to produce certain consequences, and this is a matter of experience rather than abstract ideas. The main problem of the historian is that of using abstract conceptions to arrive at knowledge of temporal relations and causal connections. The claim that he should study the structure of past civilizations overemphasizes theoretical conceptions and leads to "pattern thinking." This sort of study, he concluded, has led to a misinterpretation of the place of histories written in the Middle Ages in the history of historiography. A reconsideration of these works, he believes, should lead us to place the origins of modern historiography deep in the Middle Ages, not in the Renaissance. William C. Bark of Stanford University, however, argued that the most unfortunate aspect of "presentism" was that it made the way easy for propagandists by appearing to give their so-called historical efforts the support of reputable scholars. He contended, against Phillips' view, that the authors of histories written in the Middle Ages, and in other periods, had too frequently used the past for present and even future needs. Margaret Hastings of New Jersey College for Women, Rutgers University, suggested that Phillips "had closed the front door to presentism while admitting it to the rear entrance." She inclined to support Bark on the question of medieval historians and sug-

gested that Augustine appeared to be the "great grandfather of the relativists." Howard M. Ehrmann of the University of Michigan looked at the controversy from the point of view of the modern historian. The last forty minutes of the session were devoted to an interchange of remarks between the floor and the speakers. Some fifteen individuals took part in the discussion moderated by E. Faye Wilson of Wellesley.

A second meeting concerned with "History and the Tradition of Learning" took place Saturday afternoon. Archibald S. Foord of Yale introduced the speaker, Charles E. Nowell of the University of Illinois, who discussed the question, "Has the Past a Place in Modern History?" All past generations have been "present-minded," Nowell explained. Each has felt that the events of its own time were of such outstanding and obvious significance that nothing of equal importance had ever before occurred in history. American historians are in danger of this approach today with their overemphasis, both in teaching and writing, on events of current significance and possibly of only ephemeral importance. Recent meetings of the American Historical Association gave Nowell cause for pessimism when he found that a high percentage of the sessions were devoted to "historical" matters well within the living memory of any middle-aged person, and these are invariably the sessions that draw the crowds. College history teaching and American history texts reflected a similar trend. Of the 1,300 doctoral dissertations now in progress, over half are concerned with the twentieth century! Such a heavy occupation with the timely and the "practical" appears to have killed the writing of grand-scale history in the United States, and to have left historical philosophy and all the great subjects to Europeans. Our professionals, Nowell concluded, are being jockeyed into a position that will turn many of them into scarcely more than glorified commentators on passing public events. Charles C. Bayley of McGill disagreed with some of Nowell's conclusions. The past meant a different thing for each era, he said. Thus for medieval man, the "living past" began with the Redemption; for the humanist, it began with the rise of classical literature in antiquity, and the chronological range of the "living" past was further telescoped in the French Revolutionary calendar of 1794 which declared 1792 to be the "Year One of the Republic." The conservative reaction, with its emphasis on tradition and custom, ensured a lengthening of the historical perspective, while the rapid advances of archaeology and of anthropology also contributed to press back the chronological limits of the past. Bayley agreed with Nowell, however, that "present-mindedness" has always existed in the sense that significant and continuous progress was generally regarded as a relatively recent phenomenon in the time-scale of history.

The program theme of analysis and reappraisal of existing schools of historical interpretation was well treated in two Saturday sessions. David H. Willson of the University of Minnesota traced "The Emancipation of British History from Liberal Control" and observed that the Whig or Liberal interpretation of his-

tory, as set by Hallam and Macaulay, provided a glorification of the Whig principles of 1689. J. A. Freude strengthened their interpretation by approaching history with a deep antipathy toward Rome and by a tendency toward hero worship acquired from Carlyle. The history written by the Gladstonian Liberals, such as E. A. Freeman and J. R. Green, was distorted by a worship of progress, a passionate love of political liberty, a sympathy with resistance to constituted authority, a hostility to the Church of England, and a hatred of war as utterly useless. The appearance of the works of Stubbs, Gardner, Ranke, Maitland, Gardiner, Firth, Chadwick, and Round marked an emancipation from the crudities of the liberal interpretation. With the breakdown of the liberal tradition, however, there has appeared a Tory or conservative point of view in books by Keith Feiling, D. L. Keir, Neale, Dietz, and Rowse. Francis C. James of Tulane University took issue with some of Willson's conclusions and asserted that party history did not begin with Hallam but with the formation of parties. The pioneers of modern English historiography who wrote during the Stuart period were motivated largely by the desire to justify Whig or Tory policies and although controversy fostered prejudice, it also begat accuracy and thoroughness. As a result of mutual criticism they came to recognize the value of the scientific method as employed in the new physical sciences. They also fostered a popular interest in history and encouraged the collection and preservation of manuscripts. Godfrey Davies of the Huntington Library remarked that with all the weaknesses of the liberal historians, one must not forget the fundamental liberties won with blood and tears and described with toil and sweat which they wrote about. The chairman of the session was Frederick C. Dietz of the University of Illinois, and the third commentator was Mary Albertson of Swarthmore College.

A reappraisal of "Current European Historiography" was the subject of the session presided over by President George N. Shuster of Hunter College. In a paper entitled "Re-Thinking Recent German History," Hans Kohn of the City College of New York surveyed the field of contemporary German historical writings having to do with the evaluation of developments in Germany since the Napoleonic time. He found many stones and an abundance of weeds, but also blooms which he thought likely to grow into highly significant fruit. Whereas historians like Ranke had been too greatly concerned with the state—though not in a chauvinistic sense—a number of contemporaries have elected to take their departure from Burckhardt, whom Kohn interpreted as being an exponent of the worth of the individual human being. He cited in particular Gerhard Ritter, whose recent writings give evidence of an honest effort to account for the sources of the German catastrophe; Friedrich Meinecke, a convert to a Christian liberalism from his earlier conservative Prussian past; Franz Schnabel, critic of Bismarckianism from the point of view of the federalism once advocated by Constantin Franz; and Ludwig Dehio. Reference was also made to Max Lehmann's *Bismarck*, described as a series of lectures interesting primarily as an illustration

of the transformation of a once arch-conservative German historian's thought. John Bowditch, University of Minnesota, expressed an initial regret that French historians have manifested little eagerness to grapple with questions raised by the cataclysmic events through which their country has recently passed. As exceptions, he cited works by Labrousse and Duveau in social and economic history, and Marc Bloch's *Etrange défaite*, termed "a classic expression of an intellectual's faith in the humanistic tradition." The greater portion of Bowditch's paper critically surveyed nonprofessional commentaries, memoirs, and interpretations. He began with Daniel Guérin's Marxist interpretation of the French Revolution and ended with Paul Boncour's *Entre deux guerres*. Robert G. L. Waite, Williams College, in his comment on Kohn's paper, contended that the supply of stones and weeds was far greater than that of the blooms presented as evidence. He was skeptical of Ritter's acceptance of liberal democracy, and he believed that Schnabel's federalism was retrospective rather than constructive. Waite argued that although some repudiation of Bismarckian nationalism was currently discernible in Germany, basic improvement of outlook would come only when German historians wrestled with the problem of the social structure of their country. Paul H. Beik, speaking briefly about Bowditch's conclusions, felt that his criticism of French professional historians had been too severe. The astringent criticism to which Guérin's book had been subjected was an example of the continuing value of observant scholarship.

At a session on "Constitutionalism: Safeguard of Freedom?" Ronald Thompson of George Washington University and Alison Reppy (whose paper was read by Sidney Asch) of the New York Law School, presented the obverse and reverse sides of the picture of constitutionalism. Thompson discussed "Constitutionalism versus Terrorism in the Soviet Order" and pointed out that history offers scarcely any examples of the antithesis of constitutionalism, for almost all countries have had a certain measure of constitutional organism. The antithesis is found in the systematic annihilation of constitutional safeguards in the Soviet order by the institution of terrorism. He discussed the need for an entirely different frame of reference in the investigation of such an order, and showed the way in which a façade of constitutionalism has accompanied the erection of a system of terror. This façade had deceived some analysts, but the escape clauses in the Soviet constitutional provisions have cleared the path for an operative system of force. He concluded that there is no other government in the world where the power of the state is so large and the right of the individual so small, nor where constitutionalism is so clearly superseded by terrorism, nor, in fact, where constitutional forms are so clearly designed to be evaded as in the Soviet Union. In Reppy's paper, attention was focused upon the continued maintenance and even extension of constitutional safeguards in the form of civil rights as construed by the United States Supreme Court. He referred to the recent and current cases before the Court pertaining to the principle of separation of church and state, as it mani-

fest itself in the question of released time in the schools, and to the equal rights of Negroes as they are involved in full access to public education. His discussion showed that the present Supreme Court remains a sensitive and vigorous agency for upholding the principle of constitutionalism through broad interpretation and full enforcement of civil rights in the United States. David M. Potter of Yale University served as the chairman of this session.

At the general session on Sunday morning E. L. Woodward of the Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, discussed "Contemporary History: Its Validity." Defining his subject as "the histories of yesterday which are being written today," he argued that the disadvantages—and advantages—of the writer of such histories, as compared with those of his colleague writing of a more remote period are not absolute but a matter of more or less. Woodward raised serious doubts whether historians of a more distant past are thinking clearly when they boast of an approach freer from emotion or a truer perspective than the "contemporary" historian can have. Obviously the contemporary historian has the advantage of more information and also a better chance to understand basic matters that leave no record except in the memory of contemporaries. Finally, Woodward argued that the denial of access to certain temporarily "secret" records is of relatively little importance in a democratic society in the context of a free and active discussion of public affairs.

In the discussion, Catherine S. Sims, Agnes Scott College, pled with historians to interest themselves more in bringing their knowledge and perspective to bear on contemporary discussions of public affairs. Philip Crowl, Department of the Army, spoke from experience to the point that the records of recent history are by no means unmanageable by reason of their abundance. Arthur Link of Northwestern without contesting Woodward's points, felt that he tended to underestimate the difficulties of writing recent history. These are such indeed that it is questionable whether they can be overcome except by co-operative undertakings in historiography, such as those of the armed forces to which Crowl referred.

Despite the departure of many from the convention, and the competition of a number of other sessions on Sunday morning, that on "The Problem of Conservative and Liberal Traditions in the Historiography of the United States" attracted more than a hundred hearers. James C. Malin, University of Kansas, delivered a paper which, beginning with a guarded detachment, worked up into a frontal attack on the attitudes and social tendencies of recent leaders in American historiography. The terms liberal and conservative, he suggested, are apt to be misused, since individuals are rarely wholly one or the other. Against collectivist liberalism Malin protested. To a larger degree than is recognized, he insisted, American thinking has become totalitarian. In history this has proceeded through the development of a subjectivist-relativist-presentist point of view, first effectively developed by Becker and Beard, then given a national currency through

such publications as *A Charter for the Social Sciences* (1932) and *Theory and Practice in Historical Study*, S.S.R.C. Bulletin 54 (1946). On examination, this philosophy proves to be an eclectic mixture of ill-assorted splinter ideas, deriving originally from such disparate and contradictory authorities as Croce, Marx, Turner, Dewey, existentialism, and the scientific relativism of Einstein. The recognizable totalitarian elements, said Malin, are élitism, racism, statism, scientism, planning, attacks on religion, challenge to ethical values, and actionism, with the New Deal standing as the vivid realization of this last. As a result of the presentism and actionism of recent thinking there has been a drift away from history itself, in favor of social sciences more immediately functional. Malin closed with a plea for emancipation from the dominant present. While historians should recognize that they cannot be completely objective, they should nevertheless strive for objectivity. The younger generation has "the opportunity, if they only possess the will, to pursue the most exacting, and the loneliest, of all the professions—that of independent and objective scholarship in history."

Although no one of the three commentators agreed fully with the speaker, yet all conceded some validity in his charges. Joseph Dorfman, Columbia University, questioned the interpretation of Charles A. Beard. Dorothea E. Wyatt, Goucher College, wished that propagandists would label their books better, e.g., *A Biased Account of F.D.R.'s Foreign Policy*, or *A One-Sided Story of How Jefferson Did Everything Worth-While in American History*. Emotionalism and absolutism, observed Wallace E. Davies, University of Pennsylvania, were not altogether missing from Malin's own paper. In any case, the winds of doctrine are now veering decidedly into the conservative quarter—and he marshaled the recent writings in deft and informative review. Ever since the professionalization of history, the intellectuals have been alienated from the dominant business culture. But now both Babbitt and Robber Baron are being given a much more dispassionate, even friendly, treatment—while the liberals are scrambling in search of a more tenable middle ground. "An era in which an Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., discovers the existence of evil is bound to have some qualms about the old liberal dogmas. . . ." Surprisingly enough, there was practically no comment from the floor. The audience sat still, as if realizing that this last repast of the convention might be digested better in slow and quiet afterthought.

III

The cold war has so focused European attention on the United States and its role in world affairs that the teaching of American history abroad has become an important part of many European universities and schools. Particularly appropriate, therefore, was it that the sessions on professional problems should open with a survey of the status of American history at Salzburg, Aberdeen, Oxford, and in Germany. The teaching of American history at these was discussed by Dexter Perkins, University of Rochester, James W. Silver, University of Missis-

issippi, and Charles S. Sydnor of Duke. David S. Sparks of the University of Maryland spoke on the American history programs being carried on in Germany. Merrill Jensen, University of Wisconsin, presided at this session.

A session closely related in subject matter to "American History Abroad" was held on "Graduate Training: Study and Research Abroad." Chairman James F. Mathias of the Guggenheim Memorial Foundation introduced four graduate students in history who had recently studied in Europe. Hanna D. Holborn, a Fulbright Scholar, and William R. Emerson, a Rhodes Scholar, both told of their experiences at Oxford, while Elizabeth A. Salmon and Pearce Williams reported similarly on their graduate research in France.

Gilbert A. Highet's (Columbia University) brilliant performance at the session on "Teaching Ph.D.'s How to Teach," served as an example of how all history departments would like to have their members lecture. The commentators, Thomas C. Mendenhall, Yale University, Dorothy Stimson of Goucher College, and Chester P. Higby, University of Wisconsin, as well as some of the large audience attending the session, disagreed over the amount of training needed to produce good teachers. Some, including Highet, felt that it was difficult to train any teacher, while others argued that they could be trained, but that the problem lay in the method of training. Theodore C. Blegen of the University of Minnesota was chairman.

The specific problems arising out of teaching history in the technical institutes were discussed in two papers presented Saturday morning. Duncan S. Ballantine, of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, read a paper entitled "History and General Education: The Virtues of Necessity." Allen A. Gilmore, Carnegie Institute of Technology, spoke on "The Methods and Concepts of History in Professional Schools." Two representatives from professional schools, W. Appleton Aiken of Lehigh University, and David Elliot of the California Institute of Technology were the commentators. D. G. Brinton Thompson of Trinity College was the chairman of the meeting.

"The Place of History in Adult Education" was discussed at a very lively session under the chairmanship of Felix E. Hirsch of Bard College. The first speaker, Hans Simons, president of the New School for Social Research, noted that, for the adult student, his courses are not the core of his life experience but a voluntary, additional intellectual effort. Therefore, the instructor has to make the most of the little time his listeners can contribute. He will have to satisfy the adult's interest in the applicability of historical findings to the current situation, and the possibility of forecasts which are better than guesses. The teaching of history has to take the present as its starting point, its frame of reference and its basis, when it comes to making comparisons. For the adult student, the movement of ideas and their effect on history, including ideas about history itself, are more important than the skeleton of what are regarded as significant events. The adult can gain from such a study of history a better sense of proportion and a

deeper understanding of the relation between his own country and the rest of the world. Simons concluded that the study of history may mean a great human experience instead of a mere accumulation of facts. Stringfellow Barr, president of the Foundation for World Government and visiting professor of political science at the University of Virginia, concentrated on the "great" historians. He believed that the works of Thucydides, Herodotus, Plutarch, Tacitus, Bede, and Gibbon are more desirable for adults to use than a mediocre college textbook, for these authors had wide and deep sympathies, a broadly humane point of view and a judicious mind, and they did not suffer from the occupational diseases of the mediocre historian. Barr took issue with those "scientific historians" of our time who respect accurate data more than the ideas that might have brought intelligibility to these data. Had the need of the adult student for such a deeper historical interpretation "been met in my own country during my own lifetime," he said, "it is unthinkable to me that we Americans would find ourselves in the plight we are currently in." An extended discussion was led by Ruth Lawson of Mount Holyoke College, who considered from her own varied observations as a scholar and teacher the three questions: what are we educating adults for; what are the ruling tendencies of our time; and what light can history throw on an age such as ours?

The session on book reviewing was well attended and those present felt the discussion would bear comparison with the 1912 session when Carl Becker read the leading paper. This time the leading role was taken by William B. Willcox of the University of Michigan, who stressed the central responsibility of editor and reviewer in determining the fate of a book. A good review could not make a book, but a bad review might ruin it. He classified and illustrated adequate reviews and pleaded for consideration for young authors making their first contribution. To editors, he made two suggestions: to submit the review to the author before publishing it and to put reviews on the same competitive basis as that applied to the selection of articles. The three participants in the discussion, all editors, pointed out the practical difficulties of these devices. To George B. Carson of the *Journal of Modern History* they seemed unworkable, nor was he sure that one unfavorable review among many ruined a book. He felt that an editor having selected a reviewer should stand by him, short of total incompetence or legal liability. His further remarks were a clear exposition of the problems offered by reviews to the editor of a strictly professional historical periodical. Francis Brown of the *New York Times* put in a plea for a type of review that Willcox had disparaged, the review that said little of the book and went on with a pleasing exposition of the topics suggested to the reviewer. In selecting reviewers, he had in mind a staff of dependable, literate, and broadly informed writers. With problems of space and deadlines for a weekly, he was obliged to exercise greater freedom in editing reviews. Charlotte Kohler, of the *Virginia Quarterly Review*, who professed to take the part of the reviewer, claimed something of

the same editorial privilege, especially in eliminating clichés and making the reviewer talk tersely. The chairman, Guy Stanton Ford of the *American Historical Review* closed the discussion with some tart remarks on a reviewer not hitherto mentioned, the reviewer who does not review and ignores all reminders, and on the author who reduces the panel of possible reviewers by having his manuscript read in whole or in part by all the other specialists in the field. He agreed with Willcox that an editor should seek and experiment with young scholars and thus encourage them.

The session on "Writing History" which convened on Friday afternoon heard Ralph E. Turner of Yale report on the UNESCO project to write a multivolume "Scientific and Cultural History of Mankind." As chairman of the United Nations commission established to write this history, Turner gave a vigorous defense of the validity and timeliness of the project. Donald C. McKay of Harvard read a paper on "The Sumner Welles Series," and comments were made by Mary Latimer Gambrell of Hunter College and Henry Dater of the Office of the Chief of Naval Operations. The chairman, Samuel H. Brockunier of Wesleyan University, handled expertly an acrimonious discussion.

On Sunday at the session on "The Current Religious Revival and Historical Interpretation," E. Harris Harbison of Princeton discussed "The Meaning of History in Current Christian Thought." He observed that, since the outbreak of the Second World War, a renaissance of Christian thought has quickened an interest in both theology and history. A new and sharpened perception of the role of Providence in history, as well as of the demonic, seems to him discernible. There is an impressive effort to preserve and to renovate the Christian idea of history as moral and spiritual progress nourished by divine grace and the redemptive merits of Christ. But most Christian writers and thinkers he believed to be just as suspicious as professional historians of vast philosophies of history. Salo W. Baron of Columbia spoke on "The Impact of Wars on Religion." In analyzing the consequences to religion of the Roman-Jewish War of 66-70 A.D., the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars, and World War I, he noted two consequences: a religious awakening among previously agnostic, or superficially religious, persons, and an arousing in men of dormant sadistic impulses. The three wars set in motion quests for new religious absolutes. In his comment, Roderic H. Davison, George Washington University, agreed with Harbison that the day of belief among historians in secular utopias is passing, if not already past.

IV

Of the twelve special sessions, four dealt with American diplomatic and military topics since the First World War. Indeed, the first session on "Inter-Bellum Diplomacy, 1919-1945," opened with a paper by Gordon A. Craig, Princeton University, on "The Professional Diplomat and His Problems, 1919-1939." He emphasized that neglect of the advice of the professional diplomat was not

limited to totalitarian dictatorships but was a general phenomenon in many of the democratic countries. In examining the decline of professional diplomacy in Britain and France during the interwar years, Craig pointed out that the leading ministers by-passed the foreign offices or kept them uninformed about negotiations. He illustrated this point by referring to the conduct of foreign affairs by Lloyd George, Ramsay Macdonald, and Neville Chamberlain. He also stressed the tendency of the home offices to accept as true only those diplomatic reports which corresponded to their preconceived ideas or to the requirements of domestic policies. Almon R. Wright of the Department of State, in his discussion of the "Diplomacy of the Panama Canal, 1936-1947," showed the great difficulties which the United States, in its concern to maintain a good neighbor policy, experienced in its negotiations with Panama. Since the Convention of 1936 provided for consultation and agreement upon measures necessary for the protection of the Canal, the United States had to make far-reaching concessions after the outbreak of the war in order to obtain the right of occupation for sites necessary for defense. After the war, American military authorities demanded an extension of these leases for ten to thirty years, and very complicated negotiations were necessary before an agreement was reached. Even then the Panamanian Assembly, under the pressure of public opinion, rejected this agreement and by mid-February, 1948, all sites were evacuated. The commentators, Robert Strausz-Hupé of the University of Pennsylvania, and William L. Neumann of the University of Maryland, agreed with the main points in Craig's paper. An extended discussion centered mainly on two questions: to what extent has the nature of modern democratic industrial society made traditional diplomacy impossible? and, how valuable a source are modern diplomatic documents, since the decline of professional diplomacy has limited their importance?

At the session devoted to "Experiences with Soviet Russia as an Ally," Forrest C. Pogue, a historian on the staff of the Chief of Military History, Department of the Army, and T. H. Vail Motter, of Princeton, New Jersey, spoke. In his treatment of "American-Soviet Relations in the Persian Corridor in World War II," Motter asserted that, although the United States forces were there to supply the USSR with millions of tons of much needed goods, the United States representatives negotiated from a position of weakness. In large part this weakness arose because the Russians regarded the Americans as the heirs of a long rivalry between Russia and England; from the lack of a unified command over the entire corridor in view of the separate zones established under Russian and Anglo-American control; and from the extreme Soviet insistence on the letter of the bond in each operation. The hostility encountered in the Soviet zone in Iran Motter explained in terms of the Soviet government's long-standing aims for extension of its influence to the Indian Ocean through Iran, and of its constant assumption that the United States was engaged not in a wartime operation of supply to an ally but in establishing a postwar domination in Iran. He concluded

that it is necessary to negotiate with the Soviet leaders from strength and not to separate different aspects of the negotiation into political, military, or economic factors since the Russians themselves regard them all as a single complex.

In his discussion of "Why the Russians Got Berlin and Prague" Pogue said that a careful examination of the evidence produced no basis for saying that the decision to halt the advance of the Allied forces at the Elbe and in western Czechoslovakia was the result of a political decision or promise made to the Russians in advance. Rather, it was General Eisenhower's conclusion that he should, on military grounds, seize the Baltic coast and clean up the forces in the South rather than push on to the Elbe. Accordingly, he informed the Russians that he would stop along the middle and upper Elbe for the time being, so that they would know how to fit their plans into his. Both the British chiefs of staff and Mr. Churchill urged President Roosevelt to join in reversing this decision and in pushing on to Berlin. The President, however, maintained that military factors were primary and that a prestige victory, such as was involved in pushing on to Berlin, was not worth the additional military cost. Similarly, the decision to stop the American and Allied advance in western Czechoslovakia, thus leaving Prague to be liberated by the Czechs and the Russians, was based upon a military decision to set up in advance a demarcation line between the Soviet and SHAEF forces. Pogue concluded that the U. S. military leaders were opposed to political solutions to questions that could be settled, as in this case, on a military basis; that there was no evidence that public opinion in the United States supported a move to Berlin or Prague; and that the decision made on a purely military basis to end the war as quickly as possible with the smallest possible number of casualties was a proper decision. Harry Schwartz, of Syracuse University and the *New York Times*, felt that Pogue's paper added up to an indictment of military thinking in that it showed the naïveté of the Western leaders and a failure to evaluate the experience with administration by zones in Iran. It also illustrated the failure of Intelligence to evaluate the threat of a German redoubt in the South, as a factor which contributed strongly to the reluctance to push on in the north to Berlin. He felt that the United States was slow to see the interconnection of political and military factors in decision-making and asserted that only an alert public opinion could improve this situation. Douglas K. Reading, of Colgate University, held that the United States had been too much bound by legalisms in its policy in Iran during the war, that it had striven to remain oblivious to great power politics and to Soviet aims in the East. While the Soviet policy in Iran had been clear, he said, the American policy had not been clear as to its long-range purposes. Philip E. Mosely, Columbia University, served as chairman.

"The Far East in United States Strategy" was the subject of a successful session which convened under the chairmanship of Arthur W. Hummel, chief of the Division of Orientalia of the Library of Congress. Although he was originally

scheduled to speak on "Formosa," Robert Ross Smith of the Department of the Army changed his topic to "The Strategic Background to the Approach to the Philippines." In reviewing the Allied efforts to recapture the Philippines during the Second World War, Smith pointed out that while there was general agreement that they would serve as a key base from which Allied forces could cut Japanese lines of communication, and from which they could attack Japan itself, there was considerable debate concerning the best method of approach to the islands. General MacArthur, whose views were seconded by many Army and Navy planners, favored an advance along the northern coast of New Guinea to the islands between New Guinea's northwestern tip and Mindanao, while the United States Pacific Fleet under Admiral Nimitz would cover his right flank by destroying or containing the Japanese Fleet. The U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff, on the other hand, believed that the Central Pacific route of approach to the Philippines should be given priority since it would more directly threaten Japan; provide for the optimum employment of the U.S. Pacific Fleet; would be logistically easier; and, finally, would be better hygienically. Smith then traced the factors which operated to modify both the MacArthur and the Joint Chiefs of Staff plans, and explained the strategy which was finally pursued to gain an initial entry into the Philippines. The second speaker, Riley Sunderland, also of the Department of the Army, read a paper on "China as Ally." Comment upon the two papers was made by John J. Nolde of the University of Maine, and Woodbridge Bingham, of the University of California at Berkeley.

Alfred A. Knopf presided over the meeting on "American Conservation Policies" which convened Friday morning to hear two papers. In the first, "Natural Resources and Conservation Policies," A. William Smith of the Conservation Foundation, New York City, traced conditions in the England from which the settlers came, and noted the conditions they found in the colonies. By the nineteenth century, however, the Americans had developed a new attitude toward natural resources. Primed by population pressure, technical improvements such as the self-scouring steel plow and the seemingly limitless amount of land available, the pioneer with axe and flame began to practice the exploitative farming techniques for which we are paying today. In closing, Smith noted that, in addition to government conservation policies, the present high land values, the need for heavy investment in stock and equipment, and the great demand for produce has at last persuaded the farmer himself to engage in sound conservation policies.

A more specific aspect of the conservation movement was treated by Thomas G. Manning of Washington in his paper "Yellowstone Park and the First Forest Reserve." Despite the early appeal of the Park as a place of scenic wonders and as "a great breathing-place for the national lungs," the public did not take enough interest in Yellowstone to prevent attempts to exploit the Park's natural resources. The difficulties of reaching the Park were so great, and the expense of a trip so prohibitive that the friends of the Park urged that the Yellowstone

country be designated a wild game preserve and a forest reservation. Even though twenty-thousand people, mostly hunting enthusiasts, petitioned Congress in 1888 to enlarge the size of the Park and to make it a game and timber reservation, there was little public support. Moreover, a power lobby in Washington backed by strong support in Montana was working against the basic National Parks idea. There was a legislative stalemate until President Harrison signed a proclamation establishing the Park on March 30, 1891. Discussion was led by E. Louise Peffer of the Food Research Institute, Stanford University.

"Christian Assumptions in Occidental Histories of China" was the subject of a paper by Professor S. Y. Teng of Indiana University on Friday afternoon. In an impressive survey of Occidental accounts of China over several centuries, Teng developed the general thesis that although there were periods in the past when Western accounts were very fair, and while some scholars, such as Chavannes, had approached the subject in a truly scientific manner, Western writers have usually judged Chinese culture by the standard of contemporary "Christian" nations. However, Teng recognized that Western scholars have contributed much to Chinese historiography by extending its scope from mere chronological arrangement to systematic interpretation that includes social and economic materials. Two commentators, Harold C. Hinton of Georgetown University and M. S. Bates of Union Theological Seminary, took violent objection to some of Teng's remarks. Both thought that the speaker had erred in virtually identifying religion and culture so that "Christian" often became the equivalent of "Western." Nor did the many unfavorable opinions of Chinese society by nineteenth-century writers mean that they possessed a superiority complex. Hinton closed his remarks with the denial that the evidence of Teng's paper proved that Western scholars have usually looked at things Chinese through the eyes of Christians. Bates pointed out the impossibility of the historian's pleasing all Chinese, and then outlined a set of rules which might be followed by a historian writing of a culture other than his own. He suggested that many missionary writers had actually observed these tenets in writing Chinese history. The chairman of the session was Paul H. Clyde of Duke University.

"New Points of View in Economic History" was the subject of two papers presented Friday morning by David S. Landes of Harvard University and M. Postan, of Cambridge University, a summary of whose paper is not available. Landes recommended the use of social and psychological factors to humanize economic history. Since the war, he said, sociology has developed a sizable body of empirical hypotheses concerning social attitudes and values and their influence on human behavior which could be of great use if applied to private records of businessmen, to the official archives of business firms, and to other actors in the economic process. This effort to study the human being in economic history and to place him in his social context would mark a new departure in economic history. John W. Oliver of the University of Pittsburgh served as chairman of

this session and J. C. Russell of the University of New Mexico was the commentator.

"Ottoman Influences in the Balkans" was the subject of a session presided over by Harvey P. Hall, editor of the *Middle East Journal*. Sydney Nettleton Fisher of Ohio State University, in the opening paper, traced in detail "Ottoman Feudalism and Its Influences upon the Balkans" from its beginnings down to its disappearance in the nineteenth century. He found that foremost among the effects of this feudal system upon the Balkans was the emergence of national states devoid of a class of hereditary nobility. At the same time, however, it created a wide gulf between peasants and proprietor and prevented the national assimilation of one by the other. Finally, the unfortunate state of Ottoman feudalism in its decline left in the Balkan peasants an attitude of deep suspicion toward all government and a distrust of all political affairs. G. G. Arnakis of the University of Kansas City next spoke on "The Futuwwa Tradition among Akhis, Bektashis, and Craftsmen as a Factor in the Establishment of the Ottoman Empire." In his comments, Wayne Vucinich of Stanford University complimented the speakers for both content and interpretation, but he felt that Fisher might have explained more precisely the difference between Ottoman feudalism prior to the seventeenth century and after that period. Similarly, Arnakis did not give sufficient attention to the craftsmen, their guilds, their inter-relation, and in what way they differ from one another.

Fletcher M. Green of the University of North Carolina was the principal speaker at the session held Saturday morning on "Nationalism in the Ante-Bellum South." Fred Cole of Tulane University presided at the meeting. The four speakers approached the subject by developing the careers of prominent southerners of the period. Green's paper, "Duff Green and States Rights," showed that Green (1791-1875) was educated in the strict construction, state rights philosophy of the Jeffersonian school and was consistent in support of these views to the end. He noted Green's stand on the issues which confronted the country between 1820 and 1860 and indicated his role in developing the political, economic, and cultural solidarity of the South that had merged, by 1861, into a southern nationalism. Margaret L. Coit, West Newbury, Massachusetts, speaking on "Southern Nationalism and the Secession Movement," which she illustrated from her acquaintance with John C. Calhoun's career, contended that fear of the freed Negro, bottled up in the South, competing with and underselling the poor whites, had united poor white and slaveholder and made southern nationalism possible at last. The other bases for nationalism in the South, she emphasized, were only secondary to this central factor. Russell E. Miller of Tufts College, in commenting on Abel Parker Upshur, a contemporary and political friend of Duff Green, said that Upshur exhibited a strong sectional allegiance which was expressed as both political and cultural nationalism. James Rabun of Emory University stressed the emotional bases of southern nationalism.

While many of the variable factors that give people a consciousness of nationhood were present in some degree in the South, he insisted that the strongest of the roots of secession and southern nationalism were to be found in emotional impulsions that were derived mainly from the struggle over slavery.

Frances S. Childs presided at the well-attended meeting on "The French Revolution Abroad." John Hall Stewart of Western Reserve University opened with a paper on "The Fall of the Bastille on the Dublin Stage." In estimating the significance of two popular plays which appeared dealing with the Bastille theme, Stewart stressed their propaganda, rather than their dramatic, value and noted their inevitable effect on shaping Irish public opinion on the French Revolution. Richard M. Brace of Northwestern University explained that "The Libertine Crusade of 1792" meant to its supporters a humanitarian movement to secure the natural rights, the liberty and the equality expressed in the Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen. He related these ideas to their setting in the period of the Enlightenment and then traced their gradual evolution into the militant Jacobinism of 1792. Frances Acomb of Duke University in her comment told how the French crusade appeared to a conservative publicist, Jacques Mallet du Pan, citizen of Geneva and political editor of the *Mercure de France* from 1784 to 1792. E. L. Higgins of the Arkansas State Teachers College asked why the fall of the Bastille was of such interest to Irishmen, and what elements in society made up the enthusiastic Dublin audiences? After commenting amusingly on the revolutionary contradictions in terms such as "foreign patriot," and more profoundly on the Propaganda Decrees, he compared the propaganda techniques of the French revolutionaries to those of the totalitarians of our day.

"Spengler in 1951" was the subject of a paper presented by H. Stuart Hughes of Harvard University at a meeting devoted to "Freedom of Thought in Philosophies of History." Hughes sought to bring up to date the controversy, which began with the publication of Spengler's *Decline* in 1918, between that group which engaged in specialized disapproval of specific aspects of the work and another consisting of enthusiastic and impressionistic admirers. Hughes viewed Spengler's work as "a manifestation of the enormous effort of intellectual re-orientation that has characterized our century." He agreed with the criticism made by idealist historians of Spengler's cyclical interpretation, but he maintained that the core of the latter's interpretation remains intact. In two major respects his cyclical interpretation fares well, as literature and as prophecy, notwithstanding his shortcomings in the latter field. Hughes argued that the *Decline* remains one of the major works of our century because it is a symbol of a whole age as "a massive concretization of a state of mind—the state of mind of an old society anticipating its end."

R. F. Arragon of Reed College appeared as the second speaker at this session. His paper, "The Place of Reason in Historical Change," described the attitudes taken by ancient and modern philosophies of history toward freedom of thought

as a corollary of the role attributed to reason in social and cultural change. Thus, in ancient thought the view that reason might establish and maintain a just, or at least a stable and balanced, state was countered by the apparently more realistic cyclic theory that condemned all states to deterioration and made moral forces more important than rational ones. The positive role of reason in modern thought, Arragon observed, has been the means of material and cultural progress, and this view has been supported by the confidence in science as the product of thought-inquiry and by the doctrine of the immanence of a universal rational spirit in the historical process. Though British liberalism considered freedom the means and end of a process, positivist and Marxian dogmatism and Viconian and Hegelian philosophies of immanence have tended to make reason authoritarian and to interpret all historical changes as inevitable and rational. Moreover, the cyclic theory has been revived and given an organic inevitability that is in keeping with the view of historical process as the working out of an immanent principle, and this has renewed the suspicion of critically inquiring reason as contradictory to social solidarity. Confidence in the potential effectiveness of rational inquiry and tested knowledge for shaping society, and in the freedom necessary for such inquiry, has not been abandoned in all quarters, but it has been gravely compromised in contemporary thought. Garrett Mattingly of Columbia and James H. Nichols of the University of Chicago were the commentators at this session, and Leo Gershow of New York University presided at the meeting.

The last special session met on Sunday morning to hear F. Dvornik of Harvard University speak on "The Origins of the Muscovite State." He opened with the remark that there is nothing in history to indicate that the Russian is by nature predisposed to accept absolute autocracy. He described as an example of a democratic system of government the old Kievan state in which the city *veche* exercised as great a role in government as the prince himself. Dvornik then noted changes in population movement and economics which allowed for the centralization of government under the new princes of Moscow. He also explained the role which the church and other elements played in enlarging these powers until the Muscovite government became such an autocracy that even the western ideas imported by Peter the Great could not modify the pattern. Andrew Lossky of U.C.L.A. agreed in the main with Dvornik, but thought that more emphasis should be placed on the work of Joseph of Volokamsk and his followers when tracing the rise of the Muscovite State. Peculiar conditions of time and place must not be omitted from the factors that shaped autocracy, Nicholas Riasanovsky of Iowa State University, the second commentator, asserted. He thought that the problems with which the Muscovite princes were faced in the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the economic and social conditions of the time, were perhaps of more moment than Byzantine political traditions. In particular he discounted Mongol influence, the weakness of which he ascribed to their cultural poverty. Stuart R. Tompkins of the University of Oklahoma was the chairman.

V

Thirteen joint sessions with affiliated societies met with the American Historical Association this year. The topics treated at these meetings were so varied and some of them were so specialized as to subject matter that it is difficult to summarize them adequately. The Hotel McAlpin was the scene of the joint meeting with the American Society of Church History. Ray C. Petry of Duke University presided at the meeting and introduced the two speakers, Robert T. Handy of Union Theological Seminary and Quirinus Breen of the University of Oregon. Handy's paper on "Christianity and Socialism in America, 1900-1920," discussed the question of the relation between Christianity and socialism. Although a majority of Christians and many socialists believed that the traditional gulf between the two was unbridgeable, a small but aggressive group of Protestant Christians became strong supporters and active members of the Socialist party. Theologically, they reconciled their position by identifying the coming kingdom of God on earth and the co-operative commonwealth of socialism. This identification came to be applied specifically to the Socialist party of America after its organization in 1901, but the shock of World War I led to its failure by dissension over such issues as America's entry into the war and the Russian Revolution. With the central inspiration thus destroyed, the movement of Christians in socialism disintegrated. Breen's learned paper concerned the life and writings of Celio Calcagnini (1475-1541), professor of Greek and Latin letters at the University of Ferrara, canon of the cathedral, and apostolic prothonotary. Although Calcagnini played a minor role in his era, he was engaged in many important church activities. His scientific writings are perhaps more significant for in his *Quod coelum stat, terra moveatur*, he defended the rotation of the earth philosophically, in the scholastic manner of disputation, and humanistically, by appealing to the classical literature.

The Conference on Latin American Studies was chaired by G. H. T. Kimble of the American Geographical Society. In the first paper, "Portuguese Overseas Contacts before Henry the Navigator," Bailey W. Diffie pointed out that we know little of such Portuguese contacts before Henry simply because this aspect has not been studied, for such contacts were abundant. Charles Verlinden's (University of Ghent) paper, "Italian Influence in Iberian Colonization," made much the same point in calling attention to the number and effectiveness of Italians in Portugal. The concluding paper, "Some Aspects of the Peninsular Background of Ibero-American Life," by Charles F. Bishko, examined the development of cattle ranching as an institution peculiar to Spain and Portugal. Such factors as mercantilist economics and the opposition of the Mesta to sheep herding in the New World made it a cattle and not a sheep region.

The development of the railways serving New York City formed the subject for three papers read at a meeting of the Lexington Group. The hundredth anni-

versary of the New York and Hudson River Railroad occurred in 1951, and so a review of the New York Central System was presented. A paper, "Highlights of a Century," by William F. Gaynor of the New York Central System emphasized the great achievement of John B. Jervis in building a road along the steep and winding banks of the Hudson River. George A. Reilly talked on the role of the Camden and Amboy in New Jersey politics, 1850-53, where the management of the railroad and the New Jersey Democratic machine were closely related. This tie-up was perpetuated by the clause in the railroad charter that gave the state a share of the profits as long as the railroad retained a monopoly of the New York-Philadelphia traffic. A large part of the state's return from the railroad, which by 1850 was sufficient to pay the cost of government, arose from high rates on through traffic that did not hurt New Jersey shippers. During the Civil War the legislature relinquished its monopoly, and in 1871 the Camden and Amboy was leased for 999 years by the Pennsylvania Railroad. David M. Ellis in his discussion of New York City and the western trade, 1850-1905, pointed out that prior to 1869 the Erie Canal was the chief route of freight to and from the West. In consequence New York City had an advantage over her rivals to the south. After 1870 the east-west trunk lines became more efficient and took freight away from the canal. This meant that henceforth Baltimore and Philadelphia had slightly lower rates from the West than New York City. But other factors, such as increasing industrialization, financial leadership, and better steamship connections, worked to maintain and even advance New York's relative position by the first decade of the twentieth century. Thomas C. Cochran of the University of Pennsylvania acted as chairman.

At the joint meeting of the Business Historical Society, Charles W. Moore, the chairman, introduced three speakers. "The Mercantile House of McKinney & Williams, Underwriters of the Texas Revolution," Joe B. Frantz of the University of Texas assessed the role of two financial supporters of the Texas Revolution, Thomas F. McKinney, a Southwest trader, and Samuel May Williams, a merchant with experience in Baltimore, Buenos Aires, and New Orleans. They had established a typical mercantile capitalist business in Texas by 1833, and when war came they devoted their credit and organization to serve the cause of Texas. In her paper on "Labor in the Early New England Carpet Industry," Nancy P. Norton of Harvard University discussed the establishment of a code of employer-employee relations after 1825 under the new factory system. Since this was the era of the skilled male hand-loom weaver, the experience of adjustment varied from that of other New England textile firms. The final paper, by Vincent P. Carosso of the Carnegie Institute of Technology, analyzed "Werner Sombart and Business History." He noted Sombart's contributions to the development of business history, and stated that he was more than just a major historian of capitalism since he also had a wide interest in such essential aspects of business history as the rise of a "spirit" of capitalism, the role of business and the businessman in

history, the role of accounting in the development of modern capitalism, and the dominant place of man in the whole system.

The joint session of the American Association for State and Local History on "Area Studies in Local History" was presided over by Albert B. Corey, New York State Historian. The three speakers on the program brought to the discussion a variety of interests and backgrounds, but all had a common concern about materials available for, and the problems involved in, writing local history. Granville Hicks of Grafton, New York, explained the difficulties involved in finding data adequate for writing the history of a small town. Angie Debo of the Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College spoke on some of the problems connected with the research, writing, and publication of her book, *Prairie City*. The difficulties in presenting truthfully the story of real-life personalities and their ancestors in a community can be grievous ones. Miss Debo's solution was to create a composite prairie community instead of using an actual one. However, all her facts and conversations are true, and the incidents she faithfully described all took place in that section of the state. The author of local history, however, must devise some way of insuring accuracy while not offending the friends and relatives of personalities in the book. Allan Nevins, Columbia University, in his comments placed particular stress on the contrast between local histories written a century ago and those published in recent years. Many of the early works were monumental in size but poorly written, and they contributed little to the understanding of history. Recently, a new pattern has evolved emphasizing readability for a large audience. These books have been rich in anecdote and the picturesque. Even though they may represent an improvement over some local histories, they are weak and flimsy. All three of the speakers stressed the universality of local history. It must show the relation of the specific area to other areas, and it must relate the past to the present.

At a joint meeting with the American Military Institute, presided over by Wood Gray of George Washington University, the problem of mobilization and demobilization of the United States Army in World War II was treated by two members of the armed services. M. A. Kreidberg, USA, pointed out that prior to World War II the United States had never begun a major war with any real preparation in advance. Mobilization planning for World War II was far more comprehensive and functional than ever before. Both military and industrial mobilization plans, developed by the General Staff, and industrial mobilization plans, developed by the Office of the Assistant Secretary of War, were ready when the war came. Kreidberg listed five flaws in our mobilization planning: insufficient planning personnel; non-co-ordination of defense and foreign policy; failure to confide in Congress and the people in time to permit certain defense measures to be taken; the tendency of Congress to follow the executive in defense matters; and the tendency of peacetime military staffs to become so meticulous in procedures that they become inflexible in thought and action. John C. Sparrow,

USA, thought that the United States had also shown a lack of judgment in its demobilization policy. Although plans were drawn up for demobilization during World War II, they had to be whittled down because of an almost hysterical public demand, directed through Congress and the civilian administrative agencies, to "get the boys home." As a result, the means needed for the enforcement of the victory were taken away from the United States, and other nations not so fully disarmed could take advantage of America's self-inflicted weakness. Sparrow, in closing, said that an educated public is necessary to prevent the repetition of such reckless behavior.

Albert H. Imlah, of Tufts College and the Fletcher School, conducted an extremely successful meeting of the Economic History Association which over a hundred people attended. The joint session was devoted to a consideration of the role of the historian in the analysis of economic growth. Walt W. Rostow of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology presented the principal paper arguing that the historian, including "the historian in general," should join in, and perhaps guide the work of synthesizing the social sciences for a more unified application. The particular task in the field of economic history is to analyze more closely, in the light of the great developments of social science techniques and economic theories, the long-term factors in economic growth too much neglected by economic theorizers in the Keynesian and post-Keynesian period. Rostow stressed particularly the need for organization of teams of social scientists for this task and expressed confidence that, if specific problems are chosen for analysis and an agreed set of questions are posed, the answers supplied by the various disciplines can be unified. Commenting on the paper, both George R. Taylor of Amherst College and Adolf Sturmthal of Bard College commended the proposal to return to the historical approach of the classical economists and gave qualified approval for team organization. Sturmthal, perhaps with some implied reservations regarding the special fitness of historians to guide co-operative efforts, directed the substance of his comment to an illustrative examination of the Kondratieff cycle and socialist movements, in 1919-1939, in various European countries.

Harold J. Grimm of the Ohio State University presided at the joint session of the American Society for Reformation Research. Harold S. Bender of the Goshen College Biblical Seminary presented a paper on "The Anabaptists and Religious Freedom in the Sixteenth Century," stating that the Reformation brought no gain for religious liberty, that the sixteenth century was one of intensified persecution, and that the Anabaptists were the common target of Catholics and Protestants alike. He quoted both outstanding scholars of the Reformation and the writings of the Anabaptists to show that Anabaptism was the forerunner of modern religious liberty. As a powerful, though small, evangelical reform movement, it challenged Christendom to free religion from compulsion, to separate church and state, and to stop the burning of heretics. In the discussion which followed, John T. McNeill stated that there was a reluctance to persecute people

because of divergent beliefs in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, too. Roland Bainton said that the main reasons for the persecutions in the sixteenth century lay in the desire to maintain the *corpus christianum* and that the Anabaptists believed that the church was free from tares, while the Reformers believed that the tares and wheat were to be found in both church and state. Ernest G. Schwiebert warned against oversimplifying Lutheranism and against characterizing it as an upper-class movement. Quirinus Breen stated that humanism was a force favoring toleration, but not on strictly religious grounds. George W. Forell pointed out that Luther's concept of the two kingdoms was relevant to an understanding of his attitude toward the Anabaptists, that it was not the church which persecuted, but the state which exercised its *exousia* against anarchy.

A joint session with the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, presided over by Richard W. Leopold of Northwestern University, was devoted to "Pressure Groups and American Foreign Policy." The importance, difficulties, and inherent limitations of this approach to diplomacy were revealed. In dealing with "The Navy League and American Foreign Policy after the First World War," Armin Rappaport of the University of California sketched the objectives, methods, and arguments of the League in the years through 1930. He concluded that the organization did not have any significant financial backing from munitions makers or shipbuilders; that its influence can easily be exaggerated; and that while it could not divert a prevailing current, it did stimulate action and aided existing forces when conditions were right. In "War or Peace: America First Committee Strategy, 1940-1941," Wayne S. Cole of the University of Arkansas analyzed closely the origins, membership, and purposes of that noninterventionist body. He argued that its leaders sought to narrow the foreign policy debate to the simple issue of whether the United States should become a full belligerent in the European war and that they did so as the only means of insuring unanimity within their diverse group. He concluded that this strategy, though partly successful, was frustrated by the Japanese attack in the Pacific. By way of comment, James L. Sellers of the University of Nebraska questioned whether the Navy League had been wise in concentrating on England as the potential rival. Walter Johnson of the University of Chicago asserted that war or peace was in 1940-1941 a false issue. He felt that more attention should be paid to the economic and geographic pattern of the America First Committee and contended that its opposition to President Roosevelt's foreign policy resulted from its hostility to his domestic program and a fear of wartime controls upon American business.

The Southern Historical Association met in a lively joint session chaired by C. Vann Woodward. In the first paper, "Toward a Reconsideration of Abolitionists," David Donald of Columbia University described the abolitionists' social origins. He had classified 106 principal abolitionists according to age, sex, race, place of birth, occupation of parents, education, religion, and political affiliation, and presented a composite picture of the typical antislavery radical. Social and economic

leadership was being transferred from the country to the city, from the farmer to the manufacturer, from the preacher to the corporation attorney. Expecting to lead, as his fathers had, he found no following, and he became a part of an élite without function, a displaced class. Eventually, he came to make the natural identification between monied aristocracy, textile manufacturing, and southern slave-grown cotton. An attack on slavery was his best, if quite unconscious, attack on a new industrial system, and his call for emancipation was thus a double crusade. Donald admitted that leadership of humanitarian reform may have been influenced by revivalism or by the British antislavery precedent, but its true origin, he liked to think, lay in the drastic reorganization of Northern society. T. Harry Williams of Louisiana State University treated the subject "Toward a Reconsideration of Civil War Generals." One reason why the North won the Civil War was that it developed two things the South did not: a central command system and a central plan of strategy. Since the political and social system of the South was based on the principle of localism, it had to fight a war of localism. Williams traced the development of the Northern command system, discussing Scott, McClellan, and Halleck as generals in chief, and stating that no one of them possessed the qualities to fill the office. In 1864 the North achieved a modern command system with Grant as general in chief and Halleck as chief of staff. In analyzing Lincoln's role in the Civil War, Williams commended him as a great war director and a great natural strategist, one who was better than any of his generals. Although he interfered in the direction of the war, he was acting in the tradition of previous presidents and many of his interventions were necessary.

At the joint session with the Agricultural History Society, which was presided over by David M. Ellis of Hamilton College, the possibilities for new research in the fields of ancient and medieval agriculture were expounded. Tom B. Jones of the University of Minnesota pointed out the opportunities for research in the agricultural history of ancient Mesopotamia for which abundant archaeological and written sources are available. He cautioned scholars against the dangers of oversimplifying the involved and varied history of three millennia. Jones analyzed in detail the agricultural practices of the period of the Third Dynasty of Ur touching upon such aspects as the cultivation and irrigation of land, the recruitment of labor, and the use of implements. His contention that farming probably began in the hills and subsequently moved to the valleys aroused considerable comment. F. M. Heichelheim of the University of Toronto then traced the rise and fall of agricultural prices between ca. 600 B.C. and A.D. 618 relating price fluctuations to the major political and economic changes of the ancient world. In the final paper, Herbert Heaton of the University of Minnesota spoke, in place of M. M. Postan, on problems of agrarian history in medieval England. He analyzed the period of great agricultural expansion between 1150 and 1350, when the three-field system became widespread, when the Germans settled the eastern and southern frontiers of central Europe and when the spirit of enterprise caused

clergy and laymen to enlarge their domain operations and to seek new markets. After 1350 agriculture in western Europe experienced a period of stagnation and shrunken profits, and landlords were more willing to commute feudal dues.

The joint session with the American Catholic Historical Association took place on Sunday morning. Joseph R. Strayer, Princeton University, presided over this final meeting. Martin R. P. McGuire of Catholic University discussed the development of Christian humanism from the Church Fathers through Thomas Aquinas and Dante. He stressed especially the great intellectual achievement of the fathers in assimilating pagan literature and learning and the equally great achievement of Aquinas in harmonizing the Christian faith and a philosophy based on the pagan Aristotle. Crane Brinton of Harvard described types of modern humanism from the Renaissance to the present. He rejected the term "humanism" as an antithesis of "scientism" and concluded that "humanism" is a "level" of human experience, higher than the naturalistic level, lower than the religious. Franklin L. Baumer of Yale, commenting on Brinton's paper, pointed out that the easy confidence of early modern humanism has disappeared and that many modern humanists are pessimistic about the future. He found, however, a restrained optimism in certain modern humanists. Father Horgan of Georgetown University, who substituted for Father Walsh of Fordham, emphasized the delicate balance between the human and the divine in medieval thought, achieved through the concept of grace perfecting nature.

VI

The annual dinner of the Association took place in the Grand Ballroom of the Statler on the evening of December 29. John A. Krout of Columbia, as toastmaster, presented the president of the Association, Robert Livingston Schuyler of Columbia. His address on "The Historical Spirit Incarnate: Frederic William Maitland" appeared in print in the January number of the *Review*. Guy Stanton Ford, Executive Secretary of the Association, announced the winners of prizes. The Committee on the Beveridge Memorial Fellowship awarded honorable mention to the "History of Marshall Field and Company, 1865-1906" by Robert W. Twyman, assistant professor at Bowling Green State University. Professor Catherine E. Boyd's (Carleton College) manuscript, "The Ecclesiastical Tithe in Medieval Italy," was selected for publication by the Committee on the Carnegie Revolving Fund. The Robert Livingston Schuyler Prize went to Professor Howard Robinson of Oberlin College for his book, *The British Post Office: A History* (Princeton University Press) and an honorable mention was awarded Professor Ralph W. Hidy of New York University for his book, *The House of Baring in American Trade and Finance: English Merchant Bankers at Work, 1763-1861* (Harvard University Press). The Watumull Prize went jointly to Professor T. Walter Wallbank, University of Southern California, for *India in the New Era* (Scott, Foresman) and to Louis Fischer for *The Life of Mahatma Gandhi* (Harper and Brothers).

Two affiliated societies also held dinners, and several societies met in luncheon conferences. William E. Lunt of Haverford College, president of the Mediaeval Academy of America, presided at the Academy's dinner on December 28. The speakers were Joseph R. Strayer of Princeton and James L. Cate of the University of Chicago. In his paper on "The Crusade of Philip III against Aragon," Strayer stressed the importance of this crusade in 1285 as marking the end of a period in which the papacy could count on an almost automatic response of the French king to an appeal for help, and hence the end of the crusade as a regular and reliable instrument of papal policy. After this unsuccessful venture by Philip III, his son and successor, Philip the Fair, lost interest in the Mediterranean and concentrated his efforts on expansion to the north and east. This decision, a wise one from the French point of view, weakened the political position of the papacy. In a witty and entertaining satire of English and American heroics, "With Henty in the Middle Ages: A Tale of a Boy's Historian," Cate drew upon the novels of G. A. Henty. Their romanticized versions of the Middle Ages explained Henty's influence in arousing in American boys of a generation ago an interest in medieval history.

Merle Curti of the University of Wisconsin presided at a dinner of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association which also took place on Friday. He introduced Wendell H. Stephenson of Tulane University, who spoke on "William E. Dodd, Historian of Democracy." Stephenson characterized Dodd as a dynamic teacher who inspired his students, a writer who united past and present in a stream of history, a citizen who recognized an obligation to enlighten society, and a public servant who faithfully performed his duties. Whether he was writing about the Old South or the New, the southern colonies in the seventeenth century or the United States in the nineteenth, or political and economic issues of the twentieth, the same democratic yardstick was applied to men, measures, and institutions. In recording America's past, Dodd expressed a sympathy for the common man and confidence that practical democracy, if given a fair trial, would exalt his social, economic, and political station. The men who best illustrated Dodd's concept of democracy were Thomas Jefferson, Abraham Lincoln, and Woodrow Wilson. Of Jefferson and Lincoln, he wrote with alarming assurance; of Wilson he was less certain. Whether as a college teacher, a public lecturer, a Virginia farmer, or ambassador to Germany, Stephenson stated, Dodd personified democracy.

At the luncheon of the Conference on Latin American Studies members heard "The Colored Castes and American Representation in the *Cortes* of Cádiz" by James F. King of the University of California at Berkeley. Charles E. Nowell of the University of Illinois presided at the luncheon.

At a mid-day meeting of the Society of American Archivists, Lester K. Born, secretary general of the International Council on Archives, reported on UNESCO efforts to preserve documents in member states both for the use of scholars and for the use of mankind as segments of cultural heritage. Gigantic plans for dupli-

cation of all important source materials in all accessible countries have been formulated, Born said, but the prohibitive cost of such a task, plus the many difficulties involved, has so far prevented their being carried out.

At a third luncheon conference held on Friday, December 28, President Ray C. Petry of the American Society of Church History delivered an address on "Social Responsibility and the Medieval Mystics."

On Friday afternoon a Ladies' Tea, arranged by Caroline Robbins of Bryn Mawr College, attracted, instead of an estimated forty, well over one hundred guests, including a substantial number of gentlemen. This experiment proved a highly successful innovation despite a few administrative difficulties. The response was such as to justify the hope that a Ladies' Tea will become an established custom at our meetings.

Two luncheon conferences met Saturday, December 29. The Modern History Section listened to a paper by Rudolph A. Winnacker of the Department of Defense on "Modern History and National Security." Donald C. McKay acted as chairman of the meeting. At a meeting of the Agricultural History Society, Carl C. Taylor of the Department of Agriculture discussed "The American Farmers' Movement: An Historical-Sociological Analysis." The presiding officer was Lewis E. Atherton of the University of Missouri.

In conclusion the writer of this report would like to thank the many program chairmen and speakers who kindly sent in summaries of the sessions in which they participated. Although every attempt has been made to preserve as much of the style, coverage, and spirit of the summaries as possible, apologies are offered to those whose remarks have been omitted (sessions for which no summaries were submitted have been, perforce, omitted) and to those whose speeches may have been inadvertently distorted. It is hoped that at least a few of the speakers will have recognized the summaries of their handiwork.

Yale University

HOWARD R. LAMAR

The Year's Business, 1951

REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY AND MANAGING EDITOR FOR 1951¹

An executive officer must ask himself when he prepares a report what it is that his fellow members want to know and ought to know about the affairs of our organization. It does not help much to try to remember back to the time when, as a member, you were one of the constituency for something over forty years. That spans the good old times when the elder statesmen, some of them founders of the Association, were presidents, members of the Council and members of the Board of Editors of the *Review*, of which some were the actual owners. They ruled

¹ Read at the business meeting of the Association, December 29, 1951.

wisely and well. One revered them as great teachers and producing scholars. The finances were not a problem, for the chief figure, not only then but in all the history of the first fifty years of the Association and the *Review*, was J. Franklin Jameson, who was also head of the historical division of the Carnegie Institution in Washington. Problems of headquarters and staff were lightened by mutually profitable services of each organization to the other. There was nothing to be concerned about. At least I cannot remember that as a member I was concerned about anything. Then came the revolt led by three highly vocal recalcitrant members who gave voice in the press, chiefly the *Nation* of those days, to unbridled attacks that in the end had as much to do with personalities as with principles and procedures. The elder statesmen were deeply hurt but fought back. The puzzled membership could only make out that there was at bottom one reality, namely, a misunderstanding as to the ownership of the *Review*, which most of us had casually thought was the property as well as the organ of the Association. That transfer made by the individual owners and a change in elections were the concrete results of the controversy. I came on the Council at the end of the unedifying squabble in time to make an impromptu motion that closed it. Frederick Jackson Turner, my old teacher, came up to me afterwards and said that he had never realized that I was such a good politician. This was something of which I was never openly accused again except by a Farmer-Labor member of the Board of Regents of the University of Minnesota. Except for a term as a member of the Board of Editors when Dr. Jameson was the efficient editor, I was, like yourselves, a plain garden variety member. Then the responsibilities of the presidency of the Association turned my attention to the affairs of the organization. A committee headed by Professor John Hicks did a thorough study of the management and found that it had drifted into decentralization in four different centers, the least important of which was in the traditional headquarters in Washington. The committee's report dealt with procedures, finance, and organization, not with persons who were trying to make a four-headed organization work. That is evident, I think, when I can say that three of the four are now on the Council and two have been or are presidents of the Association. Its recommendations when approved gave us the present organization. Having had to do with this reorganization, it might seem that I had planned a job for myself, but I hasten to defend both the committee of selection and myself by recording that they tried hard to find someone else and appealed to me only as a second or perhaps third choice. I must admit that this personal account of relations with the affairs of the Association does not represent the average member's experience. But if you will reflect upon it, as I have from time to time, it does give an executive secretary and managing editor some guidance not only from day to day but in reporting to a membership that is almost double what it was a dozen years ago.

The most vivid and interesting report that I could render would be a wire

recording of a day or a week in the Washington office. Unfortunately, neither my office or the Black Hole of Calcutta, alias the smoking room in the Annex to the Library of Congress, is equipped to do this. One conviction such a record would bring to all members is the wisdom of the return to Washington as a base of operation. In no other place could your central office perform as many services to members or to public and private agencies. The importance of the Association with its nation-wide personnel is recognized by the calls from governmental or other agencies for aid or counsel or to furnish rosters of specialized persons. To be at the end of a telephone in Washington may have its disadvantages but they are very few from the standpoint of the Association and the advantages are many. Even if we should sometime face finding rented quarters in a crowded capital, it would be money well spent to remain there. The steady inflow of articles and books from foreign as well as domestic sources is a tribute to the *Review* as something more than a national periodical.

These indications of the Association's national standing and service, even without details, are things the members should know. From the history of the past any responsible officer should be constantly aware that despite necessary centralization there must be as wide a distribution of member participation as possible. This is best done through membership in our many committees with a rotation that will keep the benefit of experience available in some part of all committees. It means that the *Review* should be constantly alert in the selection of articles, books to review, and competent reviewers to judge them. Speaking broadly, it means that young men and women should be encouraged in their special interests. If they try more than their maturity warrants, they should be given such criticism as will not discourage those who have shown some ability. In the matter of reviewers, I took it as a compliment when a veteran member said, "I don't recognize the names of a goodly number of the reviewers today." I did not tell him that I did not either, for in a single issue I would be hard put to it to recall the source of the decision to assign a review to a hitherto untried reviewer. The reasons for nonassignment to a logical reviewer are often more compelling than those for assignment—the chief of which is usually found in the author's acknowledgments to those who have advised him or read parts of the manuscript. I recall also a remark to me by Professor Turner. He said, "I don't know about the meetings of this Association where you meet and make friends with scholars whose books you may be asked to review. When I was a young man," he went on, "I reviewed Schouler's *History of the United States*. I met him at the next meeting and he was such a nice old man that I doubt if I could have written that review after knowing him."

In concluding these reflections on what a member might want to know about the central office, I would recall that in the election by the whole membership of the two controlling bodies of the Association, the Council and the nominating committee, and the reserved right of nomination by petition, you as members have the power to direct its affairs. If you do not vote, you are abdicating that

right. The elected officers, as representatives of the Association, serve it that in turn it may serve truth-seeking in teaching and writing history. That is a high calling in which the humblest among us shares responsibility with the highest.

First among the details the membership should know is an assurance that the finances are on a sound basis. The treasurer's report which I commend to your attention gives assurance that we are in the black. We are relieved of any more payments following the \$15,000 contributed to the Library of Congress during the last two years for the preparation of the *Writings on American History*. Against some increases in normal items in income must be set off decreased profits from the *Review* due to higher printing costs, and this increase runs into all items in other office expenditures. Effective at once the Council has made modest increases for my four assistants who face increased costs of living and the temptations of government salaries in Washington for like services. I want to record my appreciation for their loyalty and efficiency. If the lady members of the Association ever feel their sex does not have enough to do with running its affairs, they forget that four of them are keeping the Association going and doing it with the co-operation of one mere man who learned his limitations a long time ago.

Mention of the *Writings on American History* leads me to report first on the National Historical Publications Commission set up by Congress on the initiative of the President. This Association is represented, by Council election, by Julian Boyd and Guy Stanton Ford. Professor Richard Shryock is one of the two presidential appointments. Dr. S. J. Buck represents the Librarian of Congress, Dr. Rudolph A. Winnacker, the Department of Defense. Mr. Philip Hamer is director and Wayne Grover, the Archivist of the United States, is chairman. Other departments, the Supreme Court, and both House and Senate have representatives. In a preliminary report to the President it has named sixty-six representative Americans whose papers should be published and will add to the list. Five were especially singled out: Franklin, Hamilton, Madison, John Adams, and John Q. Adams. It is not the intent of the Commission to undertake such publication itself or ask Congress for supporting contributions. It hopes to explore and encourage such publication by appropriate private and public institutions. For instance, the Lincoln and Jefferson projects were under way before the Commission was set up and the publication of the papers of Andrew Carnegie has recently been underwritten. The Commission at its last meeting approved as its own responsibility the continuation of the preparation of the manuscript of the *Writings on American History* on the condition that the Association carry the costs of publication from its share in the Smithsonian appropriation and that its Committee on the Annual Report act as an advisory committee. Few things that have happened this year can give scholars in the field of American history more satisfaction than this assured future for a bibliography that has led a precarious but honorable life since 1902. Its new status may lead to some modifications in the terms on which it is distributed. If it does, the news will be carried in the *Review*.

The Commission also has under favorable consideration two long-neglected

documentary projects. The first would cover the debates and talks on the ratification of the Constitution and the first ten amendments. The second would give us from all possible sources the accomplishments of the First Federal Congress.

At the head of the usual items of an officer who combines the duties of executive secretary and managing editor are properly membership and the *Review*. Our membership on December 15 was 5,958.

Volume LVI of the *Review*, from October, 1950, to July, 1951, contained 1075 pages, only two more than the preceding volume. The usual twelve articles were distributed by fields, one on the purpose of history (the presidential address), five in American history, one in medieval, and five in European. Of the notes and suggestions, four were in American history and two in European. There were exactly the same number of long reviews as in Volume LV, 233, and a few more short reviews. Ninety-five articles were submitted as against 103 in 1950. Sixty-six were returned. A few are under consideration or subject to revision. As editor, I am grateful to the busy scholars who have served as critics and referees of articles that seemed to have a reasonable possibility of consideration.

The Committee on the Annual Report through its chairman, Philip Hamer, says that the present funds from the Smithsonian will provide only for the thin volume of the official report and one volume of the *Writings on American History*. The volume of proceedings for 1950 is off the press and will be distributed soon. All galley and some page proof for the *Writings* of 1948 has been received and the volume will come out within a few months. Copy for 1949 is ready and half of the work on 1950 is done. It is plain that the work of Dr. Masterson is piling up copy faster than the funds for publication accumulate. The consolidated index for 1902 to 1940 undertaken by the late David Matteson is revised from A through K and work is proceeding on the rest of the alphabet. These two volumes will be expensive to print and, unless additional funds are found, will have to find a place in a schedule already crowded by the volumes of the *Writings* now in preparation.

The following committees making awards have been inactive this year due to the fact that this is the off year for granting some of the prizes. This applies to the John H. Dunning Prize and the Herbert Baxter Adams Prize. The George Louis Beer Prize and the Beveridge Fellowship committees report that they did not find any of the work submitted of sufficient merit to warrant an award. The Beveridge Committee does record honorable mention to Dr. Robert W. Twyman for his manuscript "History of Marshall Field and Company, 1865-1906." Dr. Twyman is, at present, an assistant professor at Bowling Green State University, Ohio. The committee on the Carnegie Revolving Fund has been gratified to receive more manuscripts than usual and is now engaged in reading them.² The

² The committee later made the announcement that the manuscript selected for publication this year is by Professor Catherine E. Boyd of Carleton College and entitled "The Ecclesiastical Tithe in Medieval Italy."

Committee on Honorary Members received news of the death of Dr. Altamira too late to nominate someone to fill this vacancy and bring the quota up to the full fifteen. The recipients of the Watumull and Schuyler prizes will be announced this evening at the dinner (see p. 820 above). The Littleton-Griswold Committee, which is this year losing its efficient chairman for the last six years, Professor R. B. Morris of Columbia, reports progress on the preparation of three volumes which were reported last year as in the process of preparation; namely, (1) the Prince George's County Court book of Maryland, (2) the Rhode Island Equity Court volume, and (3) the records of New Jersey Quarter Sessions courts for the Revolutionary period.

Social Education, on whose editorial board this Association is represented and whose funds are dispensed through our office, has had a reasonably successful year, both in finances and in the quality of the articles that have been available. Our elected representative on their board, Professor Destler, is retiring after a number of years of faithful service. As his successor, the Council has chosen Professor Robert Riegel of Dartmouth. Your Executive Secretary is, *ex officio*, the other member of the board.

The Committee on Government Publications will later present in the form of resolutions some of the results of its deliberations.

The chairman of the Committee on Documentary Reproduction reports that his committee is concentrating its attention on two matters this year. First is the development of the joint American Historical Association-Library of Congress program of microfilming. To forward this, they have supported the application for Fulbright scholarships of several competent scholars who could survey archives and microfilming programs. They have received reports of work already done by Fulbright research scholars working along the lines of the committee's interests from Professor Howard Rice, who has submitted a checklist of unpublished portions of inventories and bibliographical materials in the French archives and in certain French ministries, from Professor A. P. Nasatir, who has been doing microfilming for the Bancroft Library and the Library of Congress (for the latter, he has covered the French consular reports before 1792), and from Professor Robert L. Reynolds, who has submitted a checklist of manuscripts and of microfilm material prepared for the Library of Congress from the Genoese Notarial "cartularies" of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. From Professor Peter Topping, there was a report of progress in preparing a bibliography of manuscripts in Greek archives relating to the Greek Revolution and the history of Greece since 1830. Other promising projects are, for the moment, without the necessary support but will not be abandoned. The second great interest of this committee is represented by the microprint publication of the nineteenth-century British House of Commons Sessional Papers. As of October, 1951, they have reproduced 2,000,000 pages or about half of what is to be covered. Subscribers have now received microfilms of the papers for the years 1820-1864. The committee

has under consideration the possibility of extending this project backward into the eighteenth century and possibly forward into the twentieth. The full report on all these items will appear in the printed volume of the *Annual Report*. The committee still profits by the devotion and energy of its chairman, Professor Edgar L. Erickson of Illinois.

Professor Donald C. McKay of Harvard, who is our representative to the International Committee of the Historical Sciences, reports that a reasonably successful international meeting was held in Paris this last summer. It was clear that further consideration should be given to the arrangements and program of future congresses in order that they might be more rewarding. It will be the responsibility of the national committees and of the American Historical Association as the committee for the United States to submit suggestions for such improvements. Your Executive Secretary will write later to all of those whose names he has as present at the meeting and ask for their comment. He would be glad to have the names of any of our members who attended the Paris meeting. From these comments a consolidated report will be made in mid-June, 1952, in Brussels to a joint meeting of the executive committee and of the general assembly of the International Committee. The result of their deliberations on the above matters will be made available to the Italian committee which is in charge of the forthcoming conference in Rome, 1955. The *International Bibliography* has now appeared in the eighteenth volume. It is expected that the president of the Commission will present a report on the future form of this bibliography. Dr. S. J. Buck is our representative on the special committee on bibliography and has already submitted some very constructive suggestions. One item from the minutes of the meeting of the executive committee in Stockholm in June of 1951 may be of interest to our members. There has been created in the National Archives in Paris a service which keeps track of all research being carried on by French and foreign scholars in all the archives of France. This is an exceedingly useful service. Our representative at this Stockholm meeting was Professor Samuel E. Morison, substituting for Professor Donald McKay.

Professor Roy F. Nichols reports for the Social Science Research Council as our representative and the present chairman of that Council. All three of our representatives, Messrs. Clough, Ellis, and Nichols, have been active in the major committees of the Council. Its Committee on Historiography, headed by Professor Ralph Turner of Yale, will soon bring out a report on the intellectual relationship between history and the other social sciences. The Council is continuing its system of research fellowships and grants-in-aid and in area-training fellowships. A number of members of this Association have been beneficiaries of this program. Census bureau studies pursued jointly with the Council will probably result in monographs of interest to historians. Absence from the country has brought about the resignation from our panel of Messrs. Clough and Ellis.

Professor Strayer reports for the American Council of Learned Societies that

that organization is pursuing activities mentioned in earlier reports and has developed new activities. One of these is a series of conferences on the relation between science and the humanities and on law as a field for humanistic study. The Russian translation project will issue two additional volumes soon. The *Review* has already carried a note on the joint publication with the Social Science Research Council of the *Current Digest of the Soviet Press*. The list of subscribers to this publication is growing rapidly. The fellowship program that was recently expanded provides part-time release of faculty members for study in fields other than those the recipient normally follows in teaching and research. Young scholars cut off in their careers by economy measures due to decreased enrollments have received grants enabling them to pursue their studies and develop their skills. In time, as the costs of publishing mount, the membership of this Association and all scholars are going to be increasingly grateful for the studies being made by Mr. Henry Silver of the staff of A.C.L.S. of methods of publication other than letter press.

It is a matter deserving a word of comment that the last two reports bring to the attention of the members of the Association opportunities through fellowships and grants-in-aid to pursue research and writing. When you add to these two reports the Fulbright and Guggenheim fellowships and other support programs noted from time to time in the *Review* the outlook for productive scholarship is not so bleak as it is sometimes pictured. Fifty years ago, the old *Review of Reviews* published an article on the four leading living American historians. They were, as I recall, James Ford Rhodes, Henry C. Lea, Henry Adams, and Alfred T. Mahan. The article emphasized the fact that all four were not members of any university staff. What I would point out is that three were men of independent means who could hire assistants and copyists and the fourth was in a position where he had time and free access to his sources. Today, I know only one historian engaged in a large historical enterprise who has similar advantages. Today historical writing that will stand the test of scholarship is almost solely dependent upon the efforts of men on academic staffs. Neither salaries or sales give large rewards. A recent listing of the chief books in the last fifty years selected, of course, largely on a sales basis contained only five titles that by the most liberal interpretation could be called history. Historical studies, large or small, must be planned and pursued in the future by university men. Universities and learned institutions and foundations are becoming aware of this responsibility not only in the case of history but in all the humanities. Young scholars can undertake the planning of larger writing projects with some hope that when they have given evidence of their purpose and ability support will be forthcoming. In the meantime, it would not be hard to find today examples of older men who are pursuing to successful completion major works of significance in the field of biography and history. Not one of those I have in mind has been turned aside from his task by more remunerative forms of publishing. By husbanding their time and resources

rates for exhibition space be increased to \$50 and advertising space in the program to \$75 per page and proportionately more for cover space. The Executive Secretary was authorized to increase the registration fee, not to exceed two dollars.

The Council next gave consideration to the publishing problem presented by the inadequacy of the Smithsonian funds to cover both the *Writings on American History* and the Matteson Index when the latter is ready. Dr. Buck pointed out that presumably the director of the National Historical Publications Commission would, in view of the fact that the Commission is taking over the preparation of the *Writings*, propose a new system for their distribution. This might involve a charge to those who desire to receive the *Writings*.

The Council next considered the question of increasing annual and life membership dues and setting up junior memberships. After full discussion, Dr. Buck moved that it be recorded as the consensus of the Council that the dues for annual membership should be increased from \$5.00 to \$7.50, that the dues for life membership should be increased from \$100.00 to \$150.00, and that provision should be made for a junior membership at approximately \$4.00. Further, that the present president be instructed to appoint a committee to investigate the problems involved and to formulate necessary amendments for action by the Council by mail vote and then for circulation to the members of the Association at least twenty days in advance of the 1952 annual meeting of the Association. The motion was seconded and unanimously carried.

After some discussion of the problem raised by the resignation of Professors Morris, Billington, and Whitaker as chairmen of the Littleton-Griswold Fund Committee, Carnegie Revolving Fund for Publications Committee, and Albert J. Beveridge Memorial Fund Committee, respectively, the Council approved the following recommendations for membership on the committees for 1952:

Committee on Committees.—Guy Stanton Ford, Library of Congress Annex (ex officio); T. Walter Johnson, University of Chicago—term expires December, 1953; David E. Owen, Harvard University—term expires December, 1953; James W. Patton,* University of North Carolina—term expires December, 1954; Edgar E. Robinson, Stanford University—term expires December, 1953.

Committee on Honorary Members.—Richard H. Shryock,* Johns Hopkins University, chairman; E. Malcolm Carroll, Duke University; John K. Fairbank, Harvard University; Guy Stanton Ford, Library of Congress Annex (ex officio); Lewis Hanke, University of Texas; Waldo G. Leland, Washington, D.C.; Geroid T. Robinson, Columbia University; Raymond J. Sontag, University of California, Berkeley.

Committee on the Herbert Baxter Adams Prize.—Lowell Ragatz,* Ohio State University, chairman; Henry Cord Meyer, Pomona College, Claremont, California; A. William Salomone, New York University.

*New member this year.

Committee on the George Louis Beer Prize.—Howard McGaw Smyth, Department of the Army, chairman; O. J. Hale,* University of Virginia; Richard W. Leopold, Northwestern University.

Committee on the John H. Dunning Prize.—Lawrence A. Harper, University of California, Berkeley, chairman; David Potter, Yale University; Francis B. Simkins, Longwood College, Farmville, Virginia.

Committee on the Publication of the Annual Report.—Wood Gray,* George Washington University, chairman; Solon J. Buck, Library of Congress (ex officio); Guy Stanton Ford, Library of Congress Annex (ex officio); Wesley Gewehr,* University of Maryland; St. George L. Sioussat, Chevy Chase, Maryland.

Committee on the Albert J. Beveridge Memorial Fund.—Dorothy Burne Goebel, Hunter College, chairman; Fred H. Harrington,* University of Wisconsin; John T. Lanning,* Duke University; Henrietta Larson, Harvard Business School; Alice Felt Tyler,* University of Minnesota.

Committee on the Carnegie Revolving Fund for Publications.—Raymond P. Stearns, University of Illinois, chairman; Ray A. Billington, Northwestern University, Lynn M. Case, University of Pennsylvania; Paul W. Gates, Cornell University; Fletcher M. Green,* University of North Carolina.

Committee on the Littleton-Griswold Fund.—Zechariah Chafee, Jr., Harvard University; John Dickinson, University of Pennsylvania; William B. Hamilton, Duke University; George Haskins, University of Pennsylvania; Mark D. Howe, Harvard University; Leonard W. Labaree, Yale University; Richard L. Morton, College of William and Mary; Arthur T. Vanderbilt, Newark, New Jersey.

Committee on the Watumull Prize.—Taraknath Das, Columbia University, chairman; Merle Curti, University of Wisconsin; T. Walter Wallbank, University of Southern California.

Committee on Documentary Reproduction.—Edgar L. Erickson, University of Illinois, chairman; Cornelius W. de Kiewiet, University of Rochester; Austin P. Evans, Columbia University; Milton R. Gutsch, University of Texas; Lawrence A. Harper, University of California, Berkeley; Loren C. MacKinney, University of North Carolina; Easton Rothwell, Stanford University; Warner F. Woodring, Ohio State University; Richard W. Hale, Jr., Wellesley College.

Committee on Government Publications.—Jeannette P. Nichols, Swarthmore, Pa., chairman; James H. Rodabaugh, Columbus, Ohio; Joseph G. Tregle, Jr., Loyola University, New Orleans.

Delegates of the American Historical Association.—*American Council of Learned Societies:* Joseph R. Strayer, Princeton University. *International Committee of Historical Sciences:* Donald C. McKay, Harvard University; Philip E. Mosely, Columbia University. *National Historical Publications Commission:* Julian P. Boyd, Princeton University; Guy Stanton Ford, Library of Congress Annex.

*New member this year.

National Records Management Council: Thomas C. Cochran, University of Pennsylvania—term expires December, 1952. *Social Education*: Guy Stanton Ford, Library of Congress Annex (ex officio); Robert E. Riegel,* Dartmouth College. *Social Science Research Council*: Ray A. Billington,* Northwestern University—term expires December, 1954; Gordon A. Craig,* Princeton University—term expires December, 1952; Roy F. Nichols, University of Pennsylvania—term expires December, 1953.

Professor Whitaker presented for comment and advice some changes in the procedures for publishing manuscripts now being considered by the Committee on the Albert J. Beveridge Memorial Fund. The substance of the change would be to give the author an election between publication by the committee and choosing his own publisher. The changes would be made in the hope of attracting manuscripts from established scholars. (1) Without altering the cash value of the fellowship, which would remain at \$1,000, the publication terms would be modified. Instead of publication in the Beveridge series under contract with the University of Pennsylvania Press, the recipient might elect to arrange for publication through a private publisher or university press. He would be given one year to complete such an arrangement. No publication costs would be charged to the Beveridge Fund but due acknowledgment would be given to the Beveridge Fund and the publication would carry the Beveridge seal. If no arrangement is made by the author, the chairman would proceed to publish in the usual way through the committee's publisher. (2) There would be no change in the present terms of honorable mention awards, but not more than three grants-in-aid of publication would be awarded. In case three honorable mentions were awarded, it would involve grants-in-aid of \$1,000 each in that year. In these cases the author would use the \$1,000 as a subvention to his own publisher without further expense to the Beveridge Fund.

The discussion centered chiefly on the fellowship. Mr. Buck thought the fellowship at present stimulates publishing of desirable works by promising scholars. He would be disturbed if this change resulted in all Beveridge awards being given to works by established scholars that would be published even if they were not given the Beveridge prize. Professor Whitaker thought the change would not only attract more advanced scholars but the award of the fellowship would attract the attention of publishers as well. The committee hopes the proposed plan would enable them to publish four manuscripts instead of two and at less cost to the fund. The matter was referred back to the committee with the suggestion that the committee really convince itself that it is saving money, putting more books out, and that the quality of the series will continue to serve scholars who need this kind of assistance.

Then, speaking as the American representative on the Pan-American Insti-

*New member this year.

tute of Geography and History, Professor Whitaker presented the following resolutions which were endorsed by the Council:

Resolved, That this Council is very favorably impressed by what the Commission on History has accomplished with the limited funds at its disposal, and regards this Commission as an agency of substantial present value, and still greater potential value, for the promotion both of historical scholarship and of international co-operation among historians;

Resolved, That since the Commission on History is a division of an inter-governmental organization, the Pan American Institute of Geography and History, this Council hopes that the United States Government will take appropriate steps with a view to increasing the financial support accorded the Commission on History by the governments of the American Republics;

Resolved, That the Executive Secretary transmit duly authenticated copies of this resolution to the Secretary of State of the United States, the President of the Pan American Institute of Geography and History, and the United States Member of the Commission on History.

The Council, which had received mimeographed copies of the report of the ad hoc Committee on Historians and the Federal Government, then discussed this report and the future status of the committee. This action was in accord with the resolution of one year ago which extended the life of the committee for one year. The discussion of the report indicated that the Council was not yet ready to make the committee in its present form, on the basis of this report, a permanent committee of the Council. It declined to authorize further solicitation of additional funds beyond the present balance of December 21, 1951, of \$1,337.98. However, as this sum would lapse on March 1, 1952, the chairman of the committee was authorized to solicit the extension of the grant to December 31, 1952. The discussion of the past performance of the committee and of future possibilities of any such committee ranged over many topics. The Council was clearly interested in the problem of recruiting personnel for government historical work. Supplying this type of service did not seem to be a function that could be performed by a committee and the idea of an additional person in the executive office hardly seemed practical from the standpoint of both funds and space. In the end, on motion duly seconded and passed, the committee as it stands was continued for another year but definitely charged with preparing a report embodying a definite plan for a committee which would perform the functions subsumed under the name of the temporary committee. This report should be in the hands of the Executive Secretary in time for circulation and consideration at the next meeting of the Council.

Mr. Ford, as Managing Editor of the *Review*, nominated Professor David E. Owen of Harvard to succeed Professor F. C. Dietz, who was retiring after a five-year term on the Board of Editors. The Council indicated approval of this nomination.

As delegates to the Social Science Research Council, the Council elected Professor Ray A. Billington for a term of three years to succeed Professor Shepard B. Clough and Professor Gordon A. Craig as a replacement for Professor Elmer Ellis, whose term will expire at the end of 1952.

By unanimous vote, the Council nominated, for confirmation of the American Documentation Institute, Solon J. Buck as its delegate to the Institute.

Professor John H. Kemble of Pomona College presented a summary of the report of the Pacific Coast Branch. The membership showed a slight gain in the last year and the financial condition of the Branch continues on a sound basis. Professor Kemble expressed the gratification of the Branch for the generosity of the Council in renewing the subvention for its operation next year. The Council then authorized the Executive Secretary to extend greetings to the Council and membership of the Pacific Coast Branch with wishes for success of their meetings which were in session on the campus of Stanford University December 27, 28 and 29.

On motion made and carried, the Council gave approval to the budget for *Social Education*.

Motion was made, seconded, and unanimously approved confirming the action of the Executive Secretary in securing Professor Sidney Painter of Johns Hopkins as Program Chairman for the Washington meeting in 1952 and Dean Elmer Kayser of George Washington University as chairman of local arrangements.

Mr. Ford reported on the settlement of the Matteson estate for the information of the Council. The invested funds as of August 31, 1951, were valued at \$65,360. It is expected that this amount will be increased by funds received after August 31.

The Council then took under consideration the problem of refinancing certain bibliographies in English history, Gross (*Sources and Literature of English History*), Read, and Davies. Of these bibliographies, the Gross is out of print and should not be published without revision. The Read at least is in short supply, enough for two years more, and the Davies is in need of revision although the edition is not exhausted. Mr. Ford read the following letter from the Clarendon Press:

Thank you for your letter of 13 November about Read's *Bibliography of Tudor History*. I take it that your letter arises out of my letter to Professor Hale Bellot of the Royal Historical Association in which I explained to him that stock was now reduced to rather less than two years' supply and asked him about the problem of revision.

Your letter calls attention to the provision under the agreement by which the A.H.A. could call upon the Delegates to reprint and, failing agreement by the Delegates to do so, could recover the rights of publication etc. I do not think there is any likelihood that this clause will need to be invoked; for my letter to Professor Hale Bellot implied readiness to proceed with the reprint.

You will recall that by another clause in the agreement any profits were to be devoted first to the repayment of excess corrections, and thereafter "to further

the scheme, whether by way of further volumes of the Bibliography proper or by way of supplementation or revision when the time for such revision comes." The sum paid by A.H.A. for excess corrections has long since been refunded. It therefore remains to determine what sum can be allocated to the revision of particular volumes. I shall now have this looked into.

Meanwhile it would be a help if you could give us some more precise idea of what revision of the Tudor volume Dr. Conyers Read and the A.H.A. think necessary. In particular will it be on a scale which will make resetting of the whole book necessary? For, if so, production of the new edition will be very expensive. It may be, on the other hand, possible to make do with a supplement. Until we have some more exact idea of what is required we cannot make estimates for the cost of the new edition.

A forecast of the time it will take before the material is ready to go to the Printer would also be helpful.

In general you may assure your Council that the Delegates will be anxious to see that this great series is kept going and in the state where it will be most useful to scholars.

Mr. Ford then read the following letter from President W. K. Jordan of Radcliffe College:

May I request that you consider with the Council of the American Historical Association a proposal for exploring the possibilities of preparing and publishing revised editions of the standard bibliographies which bear the names of Gross, Read, and Davies?

I need scarcely say that these are bibliographical works of the first importance and that they are monuments to American scholarship. Moreover, this great series has been extended by the recently published work of Stanley Pargellis. Unfortunately, they are now badly out-of-date, the Gross volume (dealing with the Middle Ages) having been published, in its last edition, in 1915, the Read volume (dealing with Tudor England) having been published in 1933, and the Davies volume (dealing with the Stuarts) having appeared in 1928. Moreover, I am informed that the Read volume is now out of print.

I think all scholars would agree that it would be disastrous if these volumes were to go out of print and that it would be unfortunate if each generation of scholars did not undertake the necessary periodic revisions required if they are to be fully useful.

While engaged in research in England this summer, I talked with a number of English historians about the whole problem and since my return have been in correspondence with several of my American colleagues about the matter. Everyone with whom I have discussed the question seems agreed that we ought to explore the possibilities of a new edition and that we ought to do so with the approbation of the Council of the American Historical Association. May I therefore request that you and the Council consider setting up a committee composed of Godfrey Davies, W. K. Jordan, Wallace Notestein, Conyers Read, Kenneth Setton, and Louis B. Wright to explore the question and that you authorize this committee to negotiate with the Clarendon Press for the publication of revised editions of the Gross, Read, and Davies bibliographies, subject to the approval of the Council of the American Historical Association of any tentative agreement reached with the publishers? Since careful and thorough revision of these volumes will necessarily require a considerable outlay for editorial and clerical assistance, I would likewise propose that the Council authorize the committee

to undertake to raise funds in an amount not exceeding \$25,000 to cover these expenses.

I should also say that, since the Mediaeval Academy is directly interested in the Gross volume, members of the proposed committee are also asking that body to consider the question.

I need scarcely say that the committee mentioned above is at present a most informal group interested only in initiating the undertaking and that no meetings as yet have been held even for a consideration of detailed plans. I think the whole matter should rest at just this stage until the Council has considered the question and until we have its approval. If you should think it desirable, I am sure that any one of the members of the group would be willing to appear before the Council.

After discussion, the Council, having substituted the name of William E. Lunt for that of Kenneth Setton, authorized the Executive Secretary to ask this committee with Mr. Jordan as chairman to proceed in their planning and submit to the Executive Secretary a draft of the proposed plans for bringing these bibliographies up to date, whether by total revision, by supplements, or otherwise, with an estimate of the sum necessary to carry out their plans. This draft would then be submitted, by mail, to the Council for approval.

The Executive Secretary presented a breakdown and distribution of the membership list and brought up the question of publishing it. The Council agreed that the membership list should be included in the next publication of the *Annual Report*.

Mr. Ford then called the attention of the Council to the need for a new list of doctoral dissertations in progress. Mr. Buck moved that the Executive Secretary be authorized to prepare and print a new edition of the list at the expense of the J. Franklin Jameson Fund. This motion was seconded by Professor Knaplund and approved.

Upon motion duly made and seconded, the Council voted to hold the 1954 meeting in New York. The meeting in 1952 will be held in Washington, D.C., and in 1953 in Chicago.

The Council elected the following members of the Executive Committee: James G. Randall, chairman; Dexter Perkins; Robert L. Schuyler; Joseph R. Strayer; Solon J. Buck (ex officio); Guy Stanton Ford (ex officio).

The Council appointed Professor Leo Gershoy as chairman of the Committee on Resolutions.

Under the head of new business and upon recommendation of Mr. Ford, the Council authorized the incoming president to reactivate the committee to choose Mr. Ford's successor as the Executive Secretary of the Association and Managing Editor of the *Review*. The committee is as follows: Joseph R. Strayer, Princeton University, chairman; Theodore C. Blegen, University of Minnesota; Solon J. Buck, Assistant Librarian, Library of Congress.

There being no further business, the Council adjourned.

GUY STANTON FORD, *Executive Secretary*

MINUTES OF THE BUSINESS MEETING OF THE AMERICAN
HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, HOTEL STATLER, NEW
YORK, DECEMBER 29, 1951, 4:15 P.M.

President Robert L. Schuyler called the meeting to order with about two hundred members present. It was unanimously voted to approve the minutes of the last meeting as printed in the April, 1951, issue of the *American Historical Review*.

Mr. Ford read his report as Executive Secretary and Managing Editor. (See pp. 822-30 above.)

The Treasurer, Dr. Buck, presented a summary of his report, copies of which had been distributed to the members. The motion was made and passed to accept the report and place it on file. (The report will be printed in full in the *Annual Report* for 1951.)

By unanimous vote, Mr. W. Randolph Burgess was re-elected chairman of the Board of Trustees.

Professor Richard H. Shryock of Johns Hopkins University, representing Miss Louise Fargo Brown, chairman, gave the report of the Nominating Committee. As a result of the mail ballots cast, the committee announced the election of the following:

Members of the Council—E. C. Kirkland of Bowdoin College and Sidney Painter of Johns Hopkins University.

Members of the Nominating Committee—C. Crane Brinton of Harvard University and Thomas C. Cochran of the University of Pennsylvania.

For the Presidency of the Association for the year 1952, the committee nominated Professor J. G. Randall; for the Vice-Presidency, Professor Louis R. Gottschalk; and for the office of Treasurer, Dr. Solon J. Buck. On motion, the Executive Secretary was instructed to cast one ballot for all nominees and they were declared elected.

Mr. Ford summarized the following actions taken by the Council at its meeting (see minutes of Council meeting, pp. 830-37 above): the report of the Committee on Committees; the appointment of Professor David E. Owen as the new member of the Board of Editors; the election of Professors Ray A. Billington and Gordon A. Craig as delegates to the Social Science Research Council, of Professor Robert E. Riegel on the Board of Social Education; the nomination of Dr. Solon J. Buck as delegate to the American Documentation Institute for confirmation of the Institute; the announcement of the program chairman, Professor Sidney Painter, and the local arrangements chairman, Dean Elmer Kayser, for the 1952 meeting; the membership of the Executive Committee; a change in fees for annual and life membership dues and registration at annual meetings.

The report of the Pacific Coast Branch was presented by Professor John H. Kemble.

The Executive Secretary announced that the membership list will be included

in the *Annual Report* for 1951 and that a new list of doctoral dissertations now in progress in the United States will be published sometime late in 1952.

The following report and resolutions were submitted by Mrs. Jeannette P. Nichols, chairman of the Committee on Government Publications:

As "time marches on" the work of this committee grows increasingly important and more difficult, for American publication needs and programs move in inverse ratios. As our national and international problems become more complex, the area of understanding seems to narrow, instead of widen. Thus, our predicament, as described in the 1945 Report of the Committee on Government Publications, looms forth with yet more serious import in 1951. Six years ago this committee warned: "It is painfully clear that the public stands very much in need of the more adequate understanding which could result from such a [purposeful publication] program; otherwise it will not be possible to substitute broad enlightenment for the suspicion and strife now threatening national as well as international welfare." Today, this is even more true; the reason is not far to seek. It seems more wholesome to state it bluntly than to sugar it over.

The fact is, that if disinterested historical work is to survive, historians cannot forever maintain a lack of interest in the means for that survival. The primary obligation of historians, surely, is to foster the sense of time, so that impatience toward today's problems may be tempered by a modicum of understanding of that past from which grew the present.

Such an understanding of course requires a dual publication policy, intelligently adapted: (a) a stream of erudite publications equipping professional historians to present the historical background adequately to students; (b) a stream of popular publications arresting attention and challenging the personal interest of the mass of reading voters (the nonreading voters are desperately in need of "spoken publications" illuminating the background of current needs).

No government agency has succeeded in doing these jobs in a manner fully to meet the need, for the historians have not moved the electorate to clamor for the service through their congressmen. Historians, in other words, for the most part share the faults of nonhistorians; they lack a sufficient sense of responsibility for public interest in the truth. They fear to protest outrage of history, with the result that documentation and documenter are traduced the more openly and unrestrainedly for political purposes. The few who do protest have their views ignored. This is shameful treatment.

The members of your committee stoutly strove to impress the appropriate powers with the importance of continuing and indeed reinforcing the two streams of government publications. But these endeavors could scarcely be well-rewarded where they were confronted by skepticism as to the usefulness of historical knowledge and as to the patriotism of the purveyors of it.

"Bloody but unbowed" the committee re-enters the fray, venturing to request the American Historical Association to endorse resolutions in a minimum of three publication fields: those of the State Department, of the National Historical Publications Commission, and of the Territorial Papers.

WHEREAS, the American Historical Association applauds the efforts of historians in government service and recognizes the obstacles against which they contend, now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the executive officers and the members of the American Historical Association, representing as they do the historians of the entire United

States, undertake to remind the appropriate federal officials, senators, and congressmen that (1) in this time of crisis maximum official publication of documents on foreign relations is essential to public understanding, without which United States foreign policy will be subject to ill-advised pressures; and (2) that therefore the reporting to the American people on our foreign policy should be expedited: (a) by speeding up the publication of the four principal State Department series—the *Foreign Relations of the United States*, *United States Treaty Developments*, *Department of State Bulletin*, and the *Documents on German Foreign Policy* and (b) by expanding the more popular State Department publication program, *insofar as* this can be done without penalizing the four scholarly series on which the popular program depends for background. And be it further

Resolved, That the American Historical Association, through its executive officers and its membership, urge upon the Administrator of Public Services, the Archivist of the United States, and the chairmen of the appropriating subcommittees of Congress, the need to provide the National Historical Publications Commission with a staff and facilities adequate for publishing materials on key developments in our history and for publishing the papers of our notable leaders, on a scale comparable to that of other great nations, engaged in similar activities. And be it further

Resolved, That the American Historical Association hereby urges the director of the General Services Administration to include in his budget estimate for the years 1952–1953 a sum adequate to maintain the publication of the *Territorial Papers*; and further, to petition the Congress of the United States to appropriate sufficient funds to provide for the continuation of this publication.

On motion made and carried, the above resolutions were approved.

Mr. Ford reported that the Second Congress of Historians of Mexico and the United States will be held in September, 1953.

Professor Leo Gershoy submitted the following resolutions for the Committee on Resolutions:

Resolved, That the American Historical Association record its keen appreciation of the admirably directed energy and patient efforts of the many conscientious workers who individually and collectively contributed to the success of this sixty-sixth annual meeting. It wishes in particular to express its thanks to Dr. Henry F. Graff of Columbia University, chairman of the Committee on Local Arrangements, and his associates for their skillful and co-ordinated handling of a trying and cumbersome assignment; to Professor William H. Dunham of Yale University, chairman of the Program Committee, and his colleagues for the rich variety of offerings they have presented and the timely emphasis of so many of these offerings on the social responsibilities of the historian; to the clerical assistance of many volunteer workers; to the management and the staff of the Statler Hotel and especially to Mr. Charles E. Villaverde; and finally to Mr. John Hastings and the staff of the Columbia University Public Information Office for their able publicity work.

This resolution was unanimously approved.

As there was no further business, Professor Frank M. Anderson moved that the meeting be adjourned.

GUY STANTON FORD, *Executive Secretary*

American Historical Association

A list of members will be printed this year with the *Annual Report* of the Association for 1951. Members are here notified that only changes of address received up to June 1, 1952, will be included. Those who do not receive the annual reports and who wish a copy of this list will be able to order separates from the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office. The Association will also publish this year another list of doctoral dissertations in progress. Blanks have been sent to all institutions known to us to be giving the Ph.D. in history. If any institution has been missed, will the department chairman notify the office of the Association. Chairmen of all history departments please note that the deadline for receipt of titles for this list is June 1, 1952. The dissertation list will be sold through the office of the Association for one dollar per copy.

The seventh annual competition for the Albert J. Beveridge Memorial Fellowship of the American Historical Association for the best original manuscript in American history will close on June 1, 1952. Established in 1945, the fellowship has a cash value of \$1,000 and also provides for free publication in the Beveridge series. Honorable mention may also be awarded to one or more additional manuscripts, and this award, too, carries with it free publication in the Beveridge series. "American history" is interpreted as including the history of the United States, Canada, and Latin America. All correspondence, including requests for further information and forms of application, should be addressed to Dorothy Burne Goebel, Department of History, Hunter College, 695 Park Avenue, New York 21, N. Y.

Other Historical Activities

The papers of William Howard Taft, covering his long and distinguished career of service to this country, and certain papers of other members of the Taft family, which have been on deposit in the Library of Congress, have now been given to the United States by the children of the late President. Until January 1, 1960, access to the papers will continue to be given only to those scholars who through the chief of the Manuscripts Division, have received permission from a representative of the family. Thereafter the papers will be administered directly by the Librarian of Congress or his authorized representative.

The papers of Colonel George B. McClellan, Jr., have been presented to the Library by Mrs. McClellan. Beginning with scrapbooks he kept during his college days at Princeton, where he was a member of the class of 1886, the papers, numbering about 4,600 pieces, reflect various phases of his career to 1922. They include an account book of the New York-Brooklyn Bridge Company (1889-93), of which McClellan was treasurer; papers covering his four terms as Representative from New York in Congress (1895-1903) and his years as mayor of the City

of New York (1903-1909); and a diary kept during his military service in World War I. In the family correspondence, there are some fifteen letters from his father, the Civil War general, whose papers have been in the Library of Congress for a number of years.

A group of papers composed mainly of the military diaries of General August Valentine Kautz (1828-95) have been transferred to the Library by the Army War College. The diaries, spanning the years from 1857 to 1895, cover all but the earliest part of General Kautz's long and active military service. There are, in addition, a two-volume journal for the Civil War period; a volume of military orders; and eight scrapbooks of newspaper clippings dating from the 1860's to the 1890's.

Ninety-five field notebooks kept in 1887 and 1888 by engineers in the hydrographic, boring, and surveying parties of the Nicaragua Canal Construction Company have been received from the Chase Safe Deposit Company of New York City. These notebooks contain the most minute information about the physical features of the area through which it has recently been proposed to build a second interoceanic canal. Other material of special interest are eight letters written by or to the famous tragedian, Junius Brutus Booth (1796-1852), and his son Edwin Booth (1833-93); an apparently unknown autograph letter of June 6, 1837, from A. Bronson Alcott to Ralph Waldo Emerson, referring to the coming dedication of Hiram Fuller's school at Providence, Rhode Island; an autograph letter from Laurence Housman to Grant Richards, dated November 16, 1899, and a 36-line autograph variant of Housman's "The Elfin Bride"; and reproductions of the original sixteenth-century chronicle, "Historia verdadera de la conquista de Nueva España y Guatemala," an eyewitness account of the conquest of Mexico by the keenly observant Bernal Díaz del Castillo.

A manuscript volume of George Washington's account of expenses as commander-in-chief of the Continental Army, 1775-83, and records relating to the Louisiana Purchase, 1803-1804, have been transferred to the National Archives from the Treasury Department.

The McCormick Collection, containing more than 1,000,000 manuscript pieces and 20,000 printed pieces on American agriculture and its development and on business has recently been acquired by the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. The collection will be housed in the society's building in Madison and will be available for study and research as soon as it is shelved and arranged. The University of Wisconsin is the residual beneficiary in case the State Historical Society ever ceases to exist or moves from the campus area at Madison. Dr. Herbert A. Kellar was named co-ordinator of the collection. Dr. Kellar has been curator of the McCormick Collection since 1915.

The papers of Henry W. Sage, a chief benefactor of Cornell University, and of the Sage Land and Lumber Company which he founded, have been given

to the Cornell library by a great-grandson of Sage, Edward O. Holter of San Francisco. They are a valuable source for the history of the lumber industry and of Cornell University.

The Mississippi State College Library has undertaken to microfilm files of important county newspapers in the north Mississippi area. The emphasis has been placed on the period since 1890 because of the poor quality of newsprint used since that date. Several rare Populist newspapers have been found among the collections microfilmed.

College administrators and social scientists will find much useful information in a pamphlet issued by the Maxwell Graduate School of Citizenship of Syracuse University and prepared by Herbert H. Rosenberg and Erin Hubbert. It is entitled *Opportunities for Federally Sponsored Social Science Research*. Copies may be had on request directed to Washington Research Office, 1785 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Washington 6, D.C. Through no fault of the editors, history is not a government contract service.

The Library of Congress has issued the first number of a new publication listing monographs and periodicals currently received by the Library from East European countries. The new publication, the *East European Accessions List*, is a companion to the Library's *Monthly List of Russian Accessions*. The new publication is for sale by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C. The subscription price is \$3 a year in this country and \$4 a year to subscribers in foreign countries. Single copies will sell for 30 cents each.

The New York Academy of Medicine has recently published *A Bibliography of Articles on the History of American Medicine Compiled from "Writings on American History," 1902-1937*, by Dr. Judson B. Gilbert. This supplements the bibliography of the history of medicine published annually in the *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*. Copies are sold for \$1.25 and may be obtained from the library of the Academy, 2 East 103d Street, New York 29, N.Y.

The second in the series of "Americana Nautica" has recently been issued by Henry Calhoun Taylor of New York. A reproduction and transliteration into modern text of John Rolfe's "A true relation of the state of Virginia lefte by Sir Thomas Dale, Knight, in May last 1616," it has been printed by Carl Purington Rollins at the Yale University Press in an edition of 212 copies. The introduction comes from the hand of John Cook Wyllie, curator of rare books in the library of the University of Virginia, a biographical sketch of John Rolfe by John Jennings, librarian of the Virginia Historical Society, and a series of notes on this Pembroke-Taylor manuscript by Francis L. Berkeley, Jr., of the library of the University of Virginia.

Friends and former students of David M. Robinson, professor emeritus (1947) of art and archaeology at the Johns Hopkins University, have taken the occasion of his seventieth birthday to present him with a truly imposing volume of essays introduced by a biographical sketch, a bibliography of his writings, and his sponsored doctorates. The volume of approximately nine hundred pages with excellent plates has been edited by Professor George E. Mylonas of Washington University and is issued under the imprint of that university. It is to be followed by a second volume consisting like this of contributions from scholars in many lands.

The Société d'Emulation du Bourbonnais (11, Place de la République, Moulins, France) is soon to publish *Chartes du Bourbonnais*, a volume of about 500 pages devoted to previously unpublished manuscripts from the period 918-1522 concerning the region of Bourbonnais and the ancestors of the Bourbon kings of France. Pre-publication price of the volume is 3,500 francs.

In a disastrous fire last year the Michigan Historical Commission (Lansing) lost its file of *Writings on American History* and the annual reports of the Association. It desires to replace them, especially the *Writings*, by gift or purchase. Perhaps members of the Association will come to their help.

William L. Winter (114 South Main Street, West Hartford, Connecticut) is preparing a report on Hanscatic research and historiography in the United States for the *Hansische Geschichtsblätter*. He would appreciate communications from anyone doing research in this field.

The Business Historical Society announces a business history fellowship for the academic year 1952-1953. The fellowship carries a stipend of \$4,000 and enables an advanced student in history to spend a year of study and research at the Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration. Requests for application blanks should be addressed to Professor Thomas R. Navin, Executive Secretary, Business Historical Society, Boston 63, Massachusetts. Applications should be filed by May 1, 1952.

Supported by money given to the University of Pennsylvania by the Ford Foundation in 1950, a seminar of a dozen students is undertaking the study of technological change and social adjustment in Norristown, Pennsylvania, from 1900 to 1950. The students are all advanced doctoral candidates in either American civilization, anthropology, history, or sociology. The research will continue for at least another year, and an additional dozen students will be eligible for substantial fellowship aid next fall. The faculty members directing the seminar are Thomas C. Cochran, American civilization and history, and Dorothy S. Thomas and Anthony Wallace, sociology. Since each student's task will pre-

sumably lead to a doctoral dissertation, it is practically essential that fellows be enrolled for a degree at the University of Pennsylvania.

The Committee on Statistics (a department) of the University of Chicago has established, under a five-year grant from the Rockefeller Foundation, a program of postdoctoral awards to provide training and experience in statistics for scholars whose main interests lie outside that field. There will be three awards per year, to holders of the doctorate or equivalent in the biological, the physical, and the social sciences. Each award will be \$4000 or slightly more, office space will be provided, and \$600 to \$1000 will be available for clerical, computational, and research assistance. There will be no tuition charges. Recipients of the awards must have received the doctor's degree prior to commencing the program, except in the case of recognized research workers whose experience and accomplishments are clearly the equivalent. Applications, or requests for further information, should be sent to the Committee on Statistics, University of Chicago, Chicago 37.

Friends and students of the late Louis Knott Koontz are planning a memorial to him in the form of an annual award for the best article or document published in the *Pacific Historical Review*. Contributions to the fund may be sent to Dr. John A. Schutz, California Institute of Technology, Pasadena 4, California.

A meeting of scholars in English history was held at New York University on November 10 for the purpose of forming an association. Fifteen universities and colleges and the Folger Library were represented. It was decided that the name of the association should be the "Conference on British Studies." Officers chosen for the coming year are Harold Hulme, New York University, president; Ruth Emery, Rutgers University, secretary-treasurer; J. Jean Hecht, University of Delaware, Caroline Robbins, Bryn Mawr College, Robert L. Schuyler, Columbia University, Jean Wilson, Smith College, executive committee. Meetings will be held semiannually at New York University.

The sixth annual Northern New England Historians' Conference was held at Hanover, New Hampshire, on Saturday and Sunday, October 13-14. About forty delegates attended from Bates, Bowdoin, Colby, Dartmouth, Middlebury, New Hampshire, Norwich, St. Anselm's, St. Michael's, and Vermont. On Saturday evening Professor William Yale of the University of New Hampshire spoke on "Some Problems of the Near East," and on Sunday morning a round-table discussion on the topic "Problems of Coordination in the History Major" was held under the chairmanship of Professor Paul Fullam of Colby.

The autumn meeting of the Upper Midwest History Conference was held on the campus of the University of Minnesota on November 16, 1951. A paper en-

titled "The 'New' Bismark" was read by Professor Lawrence Steefel of the University of Minnesota. Discussants were Brother Michael of St. Mary's College and Professor Kenneth Bjork of St. Olaf College. Professor Steefel was elected chairman for the ensuing year and Professor Walker D. Wyman was re-elected secretary.

A summer seminar on cultural interchange, under the auspices of the Social Science Research Council, will be held at Northwestern University in July and August. Although inter-disciplinary in personnel this group will include several historians: Theodore Saloutos of U.C.L.A., Kendall Birr of the University of California (Berkeley), George Gilkey of Westminster College, Salt Lake City, and Franklin Scott of Northwestern, chairman. Arnold Schrier will serve as assistant. The individual topics center upon the impact of America on Europe, particularly as related to immigration.

The eighth annual institute in the preservation and administration of archives will be held at American University, June 16-July 11. Courses in genealogy will also be given. Applications should be sent to the Office of the Director, 1901 F Street, N.W., Washington 16, D.C., not later than May 5.

Luther H. Evans, Librarian of Congress, will deliver the first Randolph G. Adams Memorial Lecture in Ann Arbor on October 8, 1952. This lectureship was established in 1951 by the Clements Library Associates of the University of Michigan to honor the memory of their late colleague.

Paul Wallace Gates of Cornell University delivered the Henry Wells Lawrence Lecture at Connecticut College on November 11, 1951. His subject was "From Democratic Individualism to Democratic Collectivism in American Land Policy."

The first James Forrestal Fellowship in naval history was awarded in 1951 to Willard C. McClellan, a graduate student at the American University, for his proposed study "The Development of United States Military Sea Transportation."

At the annual academic convocation of the Academy of American Franciscan History, Washington, D.C., on December 10, 1951, the Serra Award of the Americas was conferred on Carlos Eduardo Castañeda of the University of Texas.

Personal

APPOINTMENTS AND STAFF CHANGES

Clarence C. Hulley, professor of history in the University of Alaska, has been granted leave of absence for two semesters to write a history of Alaska. Duane Koenig, of the University of Miami, Florida, will replace him.

Clarence W. Rife of Hamline University served during the first semester of 1951-52 as visiting professor at the American University in connection with the "Washington Semester" program.

In the department of history at Brown University Barnaby C. Keeney, Edmund S. Morgan, and William F. Church have all been promoted to the rank of full professor.

W. Ross Livingston of the State University of Iowa was granted leave of absence to serve as visiting professor of history in the University of California at Los Angeles for the current academic year.

Frank Freidel of the University of Illinois and C. Vann Woodward of the Johns Hopkins University will teach in the summer session of Columbia University.

Thomas Jefferson Wertenbaker, professor emeritus at Princeton University, is visiting professor of history at the University of Delaware during the second semester. J. Jean Hecht is assistant professor of history at the University of Delaware for the current year, replacing John A. Munroe, who is on leave.

David L. Dowd of the University of Florida, who was awarded a Ford Foundation faculty fellowship for the current year, is doing research in France.

Walter Consuelo Langsam, formerly professor of history in Union College and more recently president of Wagner College (Staten Island) has accepted the presidency of Gettysburg College. He will assume his new duties on July 1.

William E. Leuchtenburg, formerly of Smith College, was appointed assistant professor of history at Harvard University for five years beginning July 1, 1951. Franklin L. Ford, of Bennington College, and Bruce Dale Lyon, of the University of Colorado, have been appointed assistant professors of history at Harvard for five years beginning July 1, 1952. Dr. Lyon is on leave of absence during the current academic year as the holder of a Belgian-American fellowship for study in Belgium.

David S. Sparks of the University of Maryland has been promoted to the rank of assistant professor of history. Charles A. Johnson of the same institution has been recalled to active duty with the United States Air Force and assigned as assistant chief of the historical division to the Headquarters in Wiesbaden, Germany.

Donald E. Wortester of the University of Florida is teaching at the University of Michigan during the spring semester. He has taken over the courses of Irving A. Leonard, who received a Fulbright award to lecture at Oxford University.

In the department of history and government of Mississippi State College Harold S. Snellgrove has been promoted to associate professor of history and Robert A. Brent has been made assistant professor of history.

John P. Harrison of the University of California at Berkeley is now Latin-American specialist at the National Archives.

Vincent P. Carosso of the Carnegie Institute of Technology will give courses in the Technological Institute and in the College of Liberal Arts at Northwestern University during the summer session of 1952.

Eric C. Kollman of Cornell College, Mount Vernon, Iowa, will join the staff of the Portland Extension Division of the University of Oregon for the summer session.

Pieter Geyl, professor of modern history in the University of Utrecht, is serving as William Allan Neilson Research Professor at Smith College during the second semester.

Donald C. Cutter, formerly of San Diego State College, has gone to the University of Southern California as assistant professor of history.

Henry H. Simms of the Ohio State University will teach the first six weeks of the summer session of 1952 at the University of Southern California.

Trinity College announces the promotions of George B. Cooper to associate professor of history and of Eugene W. Davis to assistant professor of history.

Mae M. Link, formerly with the Office of Military History, Department of the Army, has been appointed chief historian in the Office of the Surgeon General, United States Air Force.

David B. Tyler has been promoted to professor of history in Wagner College.

Harry W. Nerhood has been promoted to full professor of history in Whittier College.

RECENT DEATHS

Pierre Caron, Lic.-ès-lettres, archiviste-paléographe, directeur honoraire des Archives de France since 1941, and honorary member of the American Historical Association, died in Paris on January 25 at the age of seventy-six. His entire career

was in the Archives Nationales, of which, in 1937, he became director. He had a leading part in the development of modern French historical studies, especially as editor of documentary collections and of major bibliographical tools of research. Chief among these were: *Bibliographie des travaux publiés de 1866 à 1897 sur l'histoire de la France depuis 1789* (Paris, 1907-12), *Répertoire méthodique de l'histoire moderne et contemporaine de la France, pour les années 1898-1906* (with Gaston Brière and others, Paris 1899-1924), *World List of Historical Periodicals and Bibliographies* (with Marc Jaryc; Oxford, International Committee of Historical Sciences, 1940). In addition to his editorial activities he was author of a number of valuable works on the French Revolution: *Manuel pratique pour l'étude de la Révolution française* (Paris, 1912), *Les massacres de septembre* (Paris, 1935), and *La première terreur, 1792* (Paris, 1950). He was a founder of the *Revue d'histoire moderne*, secretary of the Section moderne of the Comité de travaux historiques, member of the Commission d'histoire économique de la Révolution, and member of the Commission de l'histoire politique et diplomatique de la guerre de 1870-71. His last years were devoted to directing the collection and editing of documentary materials for the history of the occupation and liberation of France.

In 1927 he was selected by the newly created International Committee of Historical Sciences to organize and edit its annual *International Bibliography of Historical Sciences*, a project which had been proposed to the International Committee as one of its major undertakings by J. Franklin Jameson. With the collaboration of Marc Jaryc—until his death in 1943—Caron served as director of this publication until 1950.

Tall, impressive, kindly, hospitable, Caron had a keen sense of humor. After a notable dinner at the Boeuf à la Mode, since unhappily deceased, to celebrate the founding of the *International Bibliography*, he remarked, "Jamais la bibliographie ne m'a si bien nourri." His name was familiar to many American historians, and he was a warm friend of those who by reason of residence in Paris had the privilege of his acquaintance.

Thad Weed Riker, professor emeritus of history in the University of Texas, died February 17 in Austin. Professor Riker was born in Stamford, Connecticut, November 2, 1880. He followed his bachelor's degree from Princeton with a B.Litt. from Oxford as a Rhodes scholar and was later (1935) honored with a D.Litt. from that institution. After a brief teaching experience at Cornell University he went to the University of Texas in 1909. There he rose through successive promotions to a full professorship in 1923 with the added designation of special research professor in 1941. His interests were in modern European history with special consideration to English and Rumanian history. His volume on *The Making of Roumania* (1931) was translated at the request of the Rumanian Academy of which he was a corresponding member. He was the author of widely used textbooks in modern European history. It was his two-volume *Life of Henry*

Fox, First Lord Holland (1911) that first brought him real distinction. He found his chief diversion as a collector of autographs and stamps. His last service to this Association was as a member of the Board of Editors of the *Review* (1945-48). As teacher and scholar he brought distinction to the institution he served for forty-three years.

The Reverend Donald McFayden, professor emeritus of history in Washington University, St. Louis, died on November 15 at the age of seventy-five. Mr. McFayden was rector of the Grace Protestant Episcopal Church in Amherst, Massachusetts, from 1908 to 1911, instructor in ancient and Bible history in the University of Colorado from 1912 to 1919, assistant professor of history in the University of Nebraska from 1919 to 1922, and William Eliot Smith professor of history in Washington University from 1922 until his retirement.

The Reverend Gerald Groveland Walsh, professor of medieval history in Fordham University, died on December 17, 1951, at the age of fifty-nine years. Father Walsh had served as professor of church history and librarian at Woodstock College, Maryland, 1929-1934, as professor of medieval history in the Gregorian University in Rome (1934-36), and as professor of medieval cultural history in Fordham University since 1937.

Communications

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

Where a book is an obvious and admitted "product of years of intensive research," do not the canons of book-reviewing require that a hostile reviewer present his readers with a full picture of the scope and character of the work and the author's purposes before expressing his own opinions? In his review of *A Documentary History of the Jews in the United States, 1654-1875*, edited by Morris U. Schappes (*AHR*, July, 1951, pp. 902-903) Frank Rosenthal has been so eager to inform us of his discovery of a fact well known to scholars in the field that Schappes is a Marxist, that he has failed in this fundamental task of the reviewer. His review seems predicated on the assumption that to "expose" a historian's alleged affiliations and philosophy—in this case an unorthodox one—is to relieve the critic of the responsibility of weighing or even presenting that writer's findings.

Authorities of long standing reputation in the field of Jewish history do not share Mr. Rosenthal's contention that it is "doubtful whether Schappes's work will contribute greatly to a more adequate understanding of the Jewish role in the American culture." Professor Salo Baron of Columbia University considered the collection "certainly . . . one of the major contributions in this field to appear in recent years." While taking exception to a few of Schappes's "value judgments," occasional "lacunae" and to some specific interpretations, Baron nevertheless felt the work "will stimulate the study of Jewish history on this continent" (*Jewish Social Studies*, January, 1951, pp. 77-80). Lee M. Friedman, president of the

American Jewish Historical Society, observed that Schappes "has long been known as an accurate and indefatigable researcher, and an original and successful investigator." Friedman noted Schappes's "anti-capitalist point of view and bias" but offered the judgment that "There are few today so competent as he to undertake so laborious, demanding, and time consuming a task" (*Jewish Quarterly Review*, April, 1951, pp. 415-18). The reviewer for *New York History*, Sidney Jackson, was of the opinion that Schappes has started in the American-Jewish field what John R. Commons did for the industrial society (January, 1951, pp. 71-73).

In discussing a collection of documents, a critic might be expected to inform us of the principles that guided the editor in his selection. In this work they are stated very candidly in a general introduction of essay length and are in no way concealed as one might infer from the tone of Mr. Rosenthal's remarks. Historians with a familiarity with the literature of Jewish history will recognize, if they examine Schappes's work, that it is singularly free from the numerous self-defeating tendencies they have complained of in writings about American immigrant groups. Schappes has felt no defensive need to show that Jews were always "on the side of the angels": the documents present Jewish Tories as well as patriots, slaveowners as well as abolitionists, anti-laborites as well as liberals, and even a Jewish nativist. It is also obvious that the editor's aim has not been to glorify a few respectable Jewish heroes. An effort is made to develop a rounded picture of the forces within the Jewish Community; class relations in fact are depicted in much greater complexity than Mr. Rosenthal's citations would suggest. Economic history, for example, known to scholars as an especially neglected area of Jewish history, is represented by about thirty documents drawn from business correspondence, wills, newspaper notices and the like.

Although Mr. Rosenthal mentions that "a considerable number of these sources are printed here for the first time," he gives no inkling as to the new areas these items open for investigation or the historical revisions they suggest. Most striking of these is the pattern of anti-Semitism disclosed virtually for the first time in a period where it has been considered unimportant. The extent, scope, and meaning of this pattern awaits evaluation but so large a body of evidence of prejudice and discrimination in business, politics, and social relations can hardly be dismissed as the product of an editor's "bias." Schappes also offers new data on what might be called the Jewish episodes in the separation of church and state and an interesting Jewish chapter in the antislavery controversy. The documentation of three episodes in nineteenth-century diplomacy, the Mortara affair, the Swiss Treaty and the Damascus Blood Libel is also noteworthy; in the latter sequence Schappes presents the first complete statement of the affair.

Mr. Rosenthal's comment on what he chooses to call Schappes's "bias" reflects a confusion on a methodological issue that is of concern to all students with a philosophy of history or a strong point of view. As proof of "bias" the reviewer cites seven interpretations of specific events or movements. Many of these, it may be noted, although unorthodox, will hardly be viewed by all historians with the same astonishment Mr. Rosenthal reflects. (Is there no "social basis" for anti-Semitism prejudice? Was nineteenth-century capitalism free from "sharp practices"?) But more important, it may be asked when does a generalization represent a "bias" and when an opinion worthy of consideration as the product of systematic research? Does it depend on whose ox is being ignored? Is it Mr. Rosenthal's underlying assumption that a historian who has a theory of historical process cannot arrive at conclusions that do not reflect a "bias"?

Schappes's work raises a great many problems of method in writing the history of a national segment, of areas requiring further study and of specific interpretations. The quality of Schappes's scholarship, his recognized contributions in the field, and the pioneering character of his work establish his right to be discussed and not pilloried.

Wesleyan University

ALFRED F. YOUNG

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

It is gratifying to learn that 400-word reviews, appearing in the *Review* elicit such violent response, several times longer than the space allotted to the reviewer. However, I shall not resort to innuendos and implications that Mr. Young seems to relish. But why does Mr. Young only refer to those critical reviews of Mr. Schappes's book that speak favorably of his *Documentary History*? It is true the principles that guided the editor in his selection and interpretation are set forth in the fifteen-page introduction, especially pp. xi-xii and xvii, and great emphasis is placed upon the use of such ideological terms as "feudalism" and "objectivity" or the "*fundamental, irreducible* cause of antisemitism." This reviewer is critical of just this kind of semantics and has so expressed himself.

Drake University

FRANK ROSENTHAL

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

It has been suggested that the review of J. Russell Major's *The Estates General of 1560* appearing in the October, 1951, issue of the *AHR* "obscures the important contribution that Major makes toward our understanding of the Estates General." Having no desire to do injustice to a competent work, this reviewer would like to emphasize a point he believed had been made clear in the review. Major's book represents an excellent and valuable piece of descriptive research which contributes much useful information concerning the Estates of 1560. Critical comments pertained to what the *reviewer considered* limitations of insight regarding certain general interpretations presented by the author in his introductory and concluding chapters and not to the material specifically relating to the Estates of 1560. It is to be regretted that in a short notice a critical observation will frequently overshadow statements of positive merit.

Reed College

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James Madison and His Times

IRVING BRANT

IN a recently published magazine article on the life portraits of James Madison, the following statement is quoted from the biographer of Charles Willson Peale: "Peale painted Jefferson in December, 1791. He tried to paint 'coming men' for his gallery, and in selecting them relied mostly on the advice of those whose judgment he trusted. It is a fairly safe supposition that Jefferson recommended Madison for this honor."¹

Why should it be assumed that Jefferson was the one who recommended Madison? The Philadelphia painter had many contacts with Frenchmen. Might he not have heard that French Minister Luzerne, seven years earlier, had described Madison as the foremost member of the Continental Congress?² Could he not have heard, from almost anybody in public life, that Madison was at least the godfather of the new Constitution? As a Philadelphian, Peale might have heard the complaint of Senator Maclay of Pennsylvania in 1789 that Madison "already affects to govern" President Washing-

¹ Quoted by Theodore Bolton in "The Life Portraits of James Madison," *William and Mary Quarterly*, VIII (January, 1951), 28-29.

² Chevalier de la Luzerne, "Liste des Membres du Congrès depuis 1779 jusqu'en 1784," Archives des Affaires Etrangères, Mémoires et Documents, Etats-Unis, vol. 1, ff. 253-87.

ton.³ The recommendation might even have come from Madison's principal adversary in Congress, Fisher Ames, who wrote of him in that same year: "He is our first man."⁴

In rejecting the supposition that Madison needed sponsorship in 1791, I do not mean to disparage Mr. Sellers, the author of the very excellent life of Peale. The biographer of an artist, when he deals with statesmen, naturally relies on the verdicts of historians and political biographers. Why should he not suppose that Jefferson was responsible for Madison's inclusion in the portrait gallery, when everything else in his life—his education, his political and constitutional opinions, his career in public office; everything you can think of, except, perhaps, his birth—has been placed to Jefferson's credit? In making this comment, I should at once point out some conspicuous exceptions. There is nothing like this in Dumas Malone's life of Jefferson, nor in Miss Koch's studies of the philosophy and letters of Jefferson and Madison. I might add that according to some reports, Douglass Adair's doctoral thesis at Yale was so favorable to Madison that it almost paralyzed some of the examining professors.

Pick out at random a dozen histories of the double decade ending in 1800. In how many of them will you find a factual basis for the statements of Luzerne and Fisher Ames? In how many will you find that Madison laid the foundations of the Democratic party, by his opposition to Hamilton's funding system, while Jefferson was still on his way from the American legation in France to the cabinet of President Washington? In how many will you learn that, as late as 1795, Federalists in Congress were calling their opponents "the Madisonians"?⁵

For an example of the way history has been perverted to support a preconception, consider this extract from Beveridge's *Life of Marshall*, dealing with events of 1793: "Jefferson was keeping pace with the anti-Nationalist sentiment of the masses—drilling his followers into a sternly ordered political force. 'The discipline of the [Republican] party,' wrote Ames, 'is as severe as the Prussian.'"⁶

Compare that with what Ames actually wrote: ". . . the discipline of the party is as severe as the Prussian. Deserters are not spared. Madison is become a desperate party leader, and I am not sure of his stopping at any ordinary point of extremity."⁷

³ *The Journal of William Maclay*, ed. Edgar S. Maclay (New York, 1890), July 1, 1789, p. 97.

⁴ Fisher Ames to George R. Minot, May 3, 1789, *Works of Fisher Ames*, ed. Seth Ames (Boston, 1854), I, 36.

⁵ Ames to Minot, Jan. 20, 1795, *ibid.*, I, 165.

⁶ Albert J. Beveridge, *The Life of John Marshall* (Boston, 1916-19), II, 81.

⁷ Ames to Thomas Dwight, January, 1793, *Ames*, I, 127.

Beveridge, I am sure, did not intend to distort. He merely reshaped the material to fit the distortions of earlier writers. These he brought to a magnificent climax of his own, brilliantly epitomizing a hundred years of error, in the statement that Madison was the valley between the mountain peaks of Jefferson and Hamilton.⁸

To a great extent this impression reflects the interplay of hero and devil worship. Until the American people subscribe to Confucianism, there is no possibility that they will deify James Madison. As long as half of them look upon Jefferson as a god and Hamilton as a devil, while the other half sees them in opposite roles, there is little likelihood of building a really commodious American Pantheon. What has actually happened is that a fairly level Jefferson-Madison-Hamilton plateau has been converted into two mountains and a valley by the unrelenting activities of cairn-builders and rock-throwers. Some political geologists are beginning to suspect that this plateau, instead of being depressed in the middle, may originally have had a few bulges upward there.

Disparagement of Madison as a supposed satellite did not begin with historians. It began as a defense mechanism of Federalist politicians. During the formation of the new government, Madison and Hamilton were linked in the public mind. They were the outstanding advocates of the Constitution, and a few close friends knew them as joint authors of the *Federalist*.

When the great political cleavage came, in 1790, it was a direct break between Madison and Hamilton. Madison delivered his opening speech against Hamilton's financial system on February 11, 1790. On that day, in that speech, the wheels of Hamiltonian federalism and Jeffersonian democracy started rolling down the political highway.

Jefferson did not even know this was going on. The debate was over, the vote was taken, the fundamental cleavage in American politics was indelibly recorded, four weeks before he arrived at the capital to enter Washington's cabinet. Now that implied no defect in Jefferson's principles or in his perception. It was no reflection on him that a letter telling him of Hamilton's report on public credit took nineteen days to reach Monticello.⁹ But there were reasons, deep in human nature, why neither Federalists nor Jeffersonians could admit that Madison laid the cornerstone of the Democratic

⁸ "He [Madison] was easily influenced by such lordly wills as Hamilton, easily seduced by such subtle minds as Jefferson. Thus his public service was a series of contradictions, compromises, doubts and fears. . . . Between those tremendous mountain peaks of power, Hamilton and Jefferson, standing over against each other, Madison was the valley." Albert J. Beveridge, quoted in the Madison volume of "Autographs of the Presidents," Morgan Library, New York.

⁹ Madison to Jefferson, Jan. 24, 1790, *The Writings of James Madison*, ed. Gaillard Hunt (New York, 1900-10), V, 434; received February 12, Epistolary Record, Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress.

party and continued to be an independent, creative force in its development.

During the ensuing years, it became apparent that between Jefferson and Madison there existed perfect harmony of feeling and a close correspondence of political views. Each time the basic issue arose in some new form, Madison took the lead in Congress, Jefferson in the cabinet, both working to the same end. The Federalists, tied up with rich speculators, were under constant compulsion to deny the moral flaws in their own position. They must see themselves, they must be seen, as the representatives of morality, intelligence, and respectability. On that score, Madison's opposition was far more distressing than Jefferson's. It was easy to endow Jefferson with diabolical traits, especially after the six years he had spent in Paris, the devil's paradise. But Madison was beyond the reach of ordinary attack. The principal architect of the new Constitution could not be suspected of a malicious desire to tear it down or to ruin the national credit which he had been working for ten years to establish. How could it be explained to the public that a man of his acknowledged wisdom, stability, and integrity was on the wrong side? That proved quite easy. He had gone over to please Jefferson. A good man had been seduced by Satan.

So said Hamilton, though he knew it was not true. So said a hundred others, and believed it.¹⁰ But that was just the beginning. Once this explanation was given, Madison's character had to be reshaped to make it credible. A little earlier, he had been accused of twisting George Washington around his fingers. Jefferson was still in transit when Madison's challenge of the money power inspired a Massachusetts newspaper writer to exclaim: "Happy there is a Madison who fearless of the bloodsuckers will step forward and boldly vindicate the rights of the widows and orphans, the original creditors and the war worn soldier."¹¹

Bold? Fearless? That did not fit the new story. What sort of man would change his political convictions to please a friend? Only a soft-willed man, a weak and timid man. So Madison was pictured as the submissive errand boy of Thomas Jefferson, perverting his intellectual genius to political purposes alien to his mind. Federalists dared not admit that Madison had sacrificed his dominant position in Congress, sacrificed his influence over President Washington, for the sake of principle. So they made a double assault—an assault on Jefferson for political immorality and on Madison for weakness and timidity.

¹⁰ Alexander Hamilton to Edward Carrington, May 26, 1792, *The Works of Alexander Hamilton*, ed. Henry Cabot Lodge (New York, 1904), IX, 523-29.

¹¹ *Columbian Centinel* (Boston), Feb. 24, 1790.

The technique of the big lie, the big smear, was not invented in our day. It was brought to perfection against Jefferson and Madison, but with differing results. Madison was admired, for his mental endowments, by friends and foes alike, and he made warm friendships. But he had no political glamour. Jefferson, a symbol as well as a leader of democracy, had personal qualities which made people either worship or hate him. His admirers threw back the slanders against him. Did they likewise reject the perverted picture of Madison? On the contrary they made it their own, and thereby placed Jefferson on a still higher pedestal. So there you had both Federalists and Democrats, for totally different reasons, agreeing on a characterization of Madison which was not only unsupported by the record but was refuted by it at every turn.

At this point, historians and biographers took over from the politicians. The big lie became the lasting misconception. The historians had testimony from both sides that Madison drew his ideas from the master of Monticello and did what he was told to do. If everybody said it, it must be true.

Let us see how this operated in the fight over federal assumption of state war debts. The conventional story is that about June 20, 1790, Hamilton and Jefferson made a trade. Jefferson agreed to assumption in exchange for the national capital on the Potomac, and induced Madison, his henchman, to help it through Congress. Apply the chronological test to that story of events in 1790, and what do you get?

March, 1783—Madison, in the Continental Congress, proposed federal assumption of state debts.¹²

July, 1783—Madison proposed a national capital on the Potomac.¹³

February, 1790—Madison spoke against *unqualified* assumption.

March 2—Madison proposed a qualified assumption, which the Hamiltonians rejected.

March 20—Jefferson returned from his diplomatic exile.

June 17—Madison wrote to a friend that to save the whole funding bill from defeat and national credit from destruction, assumption probably would have to be admitted in some form, and the Potomac might show up in the business.

June 20—Hamilton and Madison, brought together by Jefferson on Hamilton's initiative, agreed to a compromise—the national capital on the Potomac,

¹² Irving Brant, *James Madison*, II: *The Nationalist* (Indianapolis, 1948), 233; Papers of the Continental Congress, No. 26, pp. 438-40; Notes of Debates, Mar. 7, 1783, *Writings of James Madison*, I, 399.

¹³ Brant, II, 300; Madison to Edmund Randolph, July 28, 1783, *Writings of James Madison*, II, 4.

in exchange for qualified assumption, which Madison had offered three months before without a *quid pro quo*.¹⁴

In other words, both of the basic policies originated with Madison. Both features of the compromise came from him and so did the idea of linking them. All he got out of it was a reputation for weakness and timidity. The valley travailed and brought forth two mountains.

Next came the great conflict over the power to create a national bank. I quote from Beveridge: "Jefferson was already opposing, through the timid but resourceful Madison and the fearless and aggressive Giles, the Nationalist statesmanship of Hamilton. Thus it came about that when Washington asked his cabinet's opinion upon the bill to incorporate the Bank of the United States, Jefferson promptly expressed with all his power the constitutional theory of the Virginia legislature." To this Beveridge affixed a footnote: "and see Madison's argument against the constitutionality of the Bank Act in *Annals*, 1st Congress, February 2, 1791."¹⁵

What would have been the effect if Beveridge had omitted the Virginia legislature, which had no more to do with it than the parliament of Timbuktu, and had stated the simple, chronological truth? This was that Madison launched the attack against the national bank on February 2, and Jefferson, thirteen days later, paraphrased Madison's speech in a report to the President. That couldn't be told. It would have ruined a preconception.¹⁶

Madison was Secretary of State throughout the two Jefferson administrations. You can imagine how contemporary politicians and many historians have treated these eight years. The prevalent practice has been to credit Jefferson with every policy, every action, every document of any importance that came from the State Department. If Madison is mentioned at all, he is the errand boy, the amanuensis, obeying implicitly every order handed to him. One of our standard diplomatic histories does not even mention that Jefferson had a Secretary of State. Another mentions him only once.

Now it happens that a very different appraisal of Madison was recorded in 1806 by a Federalist senator, along with his own conventional one. Senator Plumer of New Hampshire, in his diary, quoted Senator Adair of Kentucky, a Democrat, as saying: "The President [Jefferson] wants nerve—he

¹⁴ Brant, *James Madison, III: Father of the Constitution* (Indianapolis, 1950), pp. 306-18. The June 20 date is approximate.

¹⁵ Beveridge, *John Marshall*, II, 71, n. 2.

¹⁶ Feb. 2, 8, 1791, *Annals of Congress* (Washington, 1834), II, cols. 1944-52, 2008-12; "Opinion against the Constitutionality of a National Bank," February 15, 1791, *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson*, ed. A. A. Lipscomb and A. E. Bergh (Washington, 1903-1904), III, 145. Jefferson enlarged Madison's argument by contending that the "necessary and proper" clause of the Constitution restricted Congress "to those means without which the grant of power would be nugatory"—a test which would invalidate any action to which there was a possible alternative.

has not even confidence in himself. For more than a year he has been in the habit of trusting almost implicitly in Mr. Madison. Madison has acquired a complete ascendancy over him." To this the New Hampshire Federalist replied: "I observed that I considered Mr. Madison as an honest man—but that he was too cautious—to fearful and too timid to direct the affairs of the nation."¹⁷

Here, it would seem, was a sharp challenge to historians, especially to those equipped with the instruments of modern scholarship—in this instance, the writings of Jefferson and Madison and their associates and the diplomatic archives of the United States, Great Britain, France, and Spain. That brings us to Henry Adams, the first historian who tapped these rich sources of information. Adams wrote nine volumes whose effect is to sustain the negative side of both appraisals. His history sustains Senator Adair's conclusion that Jefferson lacked nerve and confidence in himself, and Plumer's opinion that Madison was fearful and timid. Henry Adams leaves it uncertain which of these two weaklings ruled the other, but, employing endless condemnation and an irony far more deadly, he created the impression that between them, in their successive presidencies, they reduced the United States to the depths of national degradation. And what shape was the country in at the end of this period of humiliation? Its area and population, Adams noted, had doubled, and it was on a tidal wave of prosperity and confidence. I quote from his ninth volume:

These sixteen years set at rest the natural doubts that had attended the nation's birth. . . . Every serious difficulty which seemed alarming to the people of the Union in 1800 had been removed or had sunk from notice in 1816. . . . Not only had the people during these sixteen years escaped from dangers, they had also found the means of supplying their chief needs. . . . The continent lay before them, like an uncovered ore-bed.

That was the economic picture. And the national character? I quote once more from Adams:

In 1815 for the first time Americans ceased to doubt the path they were to follow. Not only was the unity of the nation established, but its probable divergence from older societies was also well defined. . . . The public seemed obstinate only in believing that all was for the best, as far as the United States were concerned, in the affairs of mankind.¹⁸

This mighty material and spiritual advance had been brought about, if we may believe Adams, not with the aid of Jefferson and Madison but in spite

¹⁷ William Plumer, diary, Apr. 8, 1806 (Library of Congress), quoted by Charles E. Hill in *The American Secretaries of State and Their Diplomacy*, ed. Samuel F. Bemis (New York, 1927-29), III, 7.

¹⁸ Henry Adams, *History of the United States*, IX, 173, 220, 240.

of their blundering and cowardice. It was the communal product of Mother Nature and the Goddess of Luck, with a little timely assistance from Albert Gallatin, John Armstrong, and John Quincy Adams, Henry's grandfather.

One would suppose that the grotesque inconsistency between Adams' premises and his conclusions would raise suspicion in the minds of his more critical readers. But the magnitude of his research was enough in itself to discourage skeptical inquiry. His conclusions as to Jefferson and Madison were in line with contemporary Federalist verdicts, while the historian himself, though plainly a Federalist in his sympathies, drove away the thought of bias by damning the Essex Junto with a violence he never employed upon the chiefs of administration. So the Adams history has become the accepted classic, virtually unchallenged by historians, biographers, journalists, or statesmen, except in the emotional resentment of admirers of Jefferson. That emotional rebellion, plus the Louisiana Purchase, was enough to lift Jefferson into the lists of great Presidents. Madison was left buried under 750,000 disparaging words, marked with the same stamp of goodness, weakness, timidity, and blundering that was originally placed on him by Federalist politicians to fortify their own self-esteem.

The Adams history, as most people know, is a compendium of documents as well as an interpretation. The factual material has been selected with very little bias, and the interpretations are honest. But isolate the documents from the interpretation and strange results ensue. The documents will support, nay they are likely to demand, a drastically different set of conclusions.

As I read Henry Adams, he was neither partial nor impartial. He was just a solid mass of conditioned reflexes. His Federalist leanings conditioned him against Jefferson and Madison. His family descent conditioned him against every President not named Adams, and against every enemy of President John Adams—against Hamilton and Wolcott, against Pickering and the whole traitorous gang who sabotaged the War of 1812. His life in his father's American embassy during the Civil War conditioned him against British diplomats—against Canning, Castlereagh, and Wellesley. He needed no conditioning against Napoleon and Talleyrand. Among these objects of his dislike, Henry Adams played no favorites. He hit them all whenever their heads came up, and thus achieved the air of magnificent impartiality, with devastating effect upon the capacity of many later historians for independent judgment.

I shall come back to Henry Adams, but first let us pursue a more basic inquiry. Was Madison weak and timid? To what extent was he Jefferson's errand boy, and to what extent did he direct policy, during his eight years as Secretary of State?

The errand-boy assumption runs up against some curious facts. In the summer of 1801, British Chargé d'Affaires Thornton complained to Madison that a certain action by French seamen violated the Anglo-American treaty of 1794. Madison and Jefferson were at their homes in Virginia, and the policy adopted would be put into effect by Gallatin. Madison wrote to Jefferson that the circumstances admitted an easy reply "that the case is not considered as within the purview of the treaty." Jefferson replied that he thought the vessel "must fairly be considered as a prize made on Great Britain to which no shelter is to be given in our ports according to our treaty." But he wanted Madison to feel free to revise this opinion and act as he thought best. Madison wrote at once to Gallatin: "It was readily decided that the treaty of '94 is inapplicable to the case." The President, he said, "has thought, as I do," that the ship should be sent away under a different sanction. And when Madison communicated the decision to Thornton, the British diplomat replied that he found himself "entirely at a loss to comprehend the ground on which the President is pleased to regard the cases . . . as in no manner falling within the provisions of the treaty of 1794." Here you have not only an instantaneous reversal of Jefferson's judgment by Madison, but a total concealment from Gallatin and Thornton that there had been any difference of opinion.¹⁹

There was in fact no basic difference. Thornton was trying to give British prizes a preferred position over French prizes in American ports. Madison realized this. Jefferson did not, but Madison knew that the President would approve in retrospect. This was a minor incident, but consider what it means when applied to Madison's position, character and conduct. Was there weakness? Was there vacillation? Was there timidity? Was there subordination of intellect and will? Was there inferiority of judgment?

Turn now to the most important event and greatest achievement of the Jefferson administration—the Louisiana Purchase. Historians have tried for generations to decide how Louisiana was won. From Henry Adams we hear that Madison invited France to build an empire west of the Mississippi, and that Jefferson had no means of preventing it until the French military downfall in San Domingo made American hostility troublesome to France. "President Jefferson [I quote from Adams] had chiefly reckoned on this possibility as his hope of getting Louisiana; and slight as the chance seemed, he was right."²⁰ From various other commentators, we hear of the diplomatic skill

¹⁹ Madison to Jefferson, Aug. 12 (received), 18, 27, 1801, Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress. Jefferson to Madison, Aug. 22, 1801, Madison Papers, Library of Congress. Madison to Gallatin (private), Aug. 29, 1801, Gallatin Papers, New-York Historical Society. Edward Thornton to Madison, July 23, Nov. 11, 1801, National Archives, General Records of the Department of State, Notes from the British Legation, II (1796-1803).

²⁰ Adams, II, 54-55.

and relentless pressure of Minister Robert Livingston or of the shrewd and forceful guidance of Jefferson. And we are told by Professor Channing that Napoleon "suddenly . . . threw the province" at the American government, with no credit to anybody else except for catching and holding it.²¹ As to Madison, the only question raised would seem to be: Was he an absolute nonentity, or did he surrender to France, failing even to discern, as Jefferson did, that French defeat in San Domingo held the hope of American success?

There can be no doubt that the wiping out of General Leclerc's army, in the war with Toussaint Louverture, was the crucial factor in the cession of Louisiana. It destroyed the fulcrum of French power in the Western Hemisphere. Now let us trace the American attitude toward Leclerc. His army reached San Domingo in February, 1802. He carried instructions which included this sentence: "Jefferson has promised that the instant the French army arrives, all measures will be taken to starve Toussaint and to aid the army."²²

That promise was made to the French chargé d'affaires, Pichon, in the summer of 1801. Reporting this joyously to his government, Pichon said it relieved him of fears derived from a prior talk with Madison. The Secretary of State, he said, had seemed ready to support Toussaint, and in the same talk had given warning that collision between the United States and France would be inevitable if the latter should take possession of Louisiana from Spain. That, please observe, was in July, 1801, seven months before the French opened their campaign to reconquer San Domingo and nearly two years before Napoleon offered Louisiana to the United States. One month later, Pichon wrote that Madison's San Domingo policy still seemed to be in effect. Six months later he reported that he had complained once more to Jefferson about it, and "I found him very reserved and cold, while he talked to me, though less explicitly, in the same sense as Mr. Madison."²³

Here we have a repetition of the Thornton incident, this time at the highest level of national policy. Madison realized instantly what San Domingo meant. Jefferson did not, but swung over to Madison's policy when the realities were placed before him. The result? The United States allowed American ships to go on trading with the Negro rebels while guerrilla warfare and yellow fever wiped out the army of occupation. That was tough power politics—brutal politics. It did not come from a weak and vacillating errand boy.

²¹ Edward Channing, *History of the United States*, IV, 319 n.

²² *Lettres du Général Leclerc*, Appendix I, 269; Carl L. Lokke, "Jefferson and the Leclerc Expedition," *American Historical Review*, XXXIII (January, 1923), 324, 327-28.

²³ L. A. Pichon to Talleyrand, July 22, Aug. 11, 1801, Feb. 24, 1802, Arch. Aff. Etr., correspondance politique, Etats-Unis, vol. 53, f. 179; vol. 54, f. 161.

Let us jump a year or two. On April 10, 1803, Easter Sunday, Napoleon sent for his finance minister, Marbois. Before Marbois left the palace Napoleon said to him: "I renounce Louisiana. It is not only New Orleans that I mean to cede, it is the whole colony without reserving any of it." It is well known that Napoleon made this decision two days after he read the resolutions of Senator Ross of Pennsylvania authorizing military occupation of New Orleans. But that was not the latest news he had from America. In the course of the talk with Marbois, Napoleon remarked: "The London cabinet is informed of the *resolutions taken* at Washington."²⁴ That means that Napoleon had received the London diplomatic pouch of April 7. He sent for Marbois after reading, in the *London Times* of that date, that the United States Senate had passed a bill to construct fifteen gunboats for use at the mouth of the Mississippi and that Congress was about to authorize the raising of 80,000 men for invasion purposes. Napoleon renounced Louisiana a few hours after he read the following London summary of American policy:

Whether Spain continues in possession of Louisiana, or possession is taken by France, it is no longer doubtful that the deliberations of Congress are in unison with the feelings of the people. . . . The government and people seem to be aware that a decisive blow must be struck before the arrival of the expedition now waiting in the ports of Holland.

This was no thunderclap out of a clear sky. For two years the French legation in Washington had been describing the clouds that were rolling up, and here was evidence that there was lightning in them. It was not merely the danger of British seizure of Louisiana that Napoleon faced—he could have sidestepped that by leaving the country in the hands of Spain. The prospect that confronted him was both a danger and an opportunity—the certain prospect that some day the United States would take the country away from either Spain or France, and the reassuring certainty that they would never let it pass into the hands of Great Britain. These considerations were decisive, provided they were enforced by evidence of American strength and determination. Did Livingston provide that evidence? I quote from his letter of January 18, 1803, to Talleyrand, urging the cession of Florida and part of Louisiana to the United States:

Under any other plan, sir . . . the whole of this establishment must pass into the hands of Great Britain. . . . France, by grasping at a desert and an insignificant town, and thereby throwing the weight of the United States into the scale of Britain, will render her [Great Britain] mistress of the new world.²⁵

²⁴ François Barbé-Marbois, *Histoire de la Louisiane* (Paris, 1829), pp. 298, 301; R. R. Livingston to Madison, Apr. 11, 1803, *American State Papers, Foreign Affairs*, II, 552 (hereafter cited as *State Papers*). The italics in the quotation are added.

²⁵ Livingston to Talleyrand, Jan. 18, 1803, *State Papers* II, 531. This letter is dated January

Madison had instructed Livingston to assure France that American self-interest forbade either a "voluntary or compulsive transfer" of these provinces from Spain to Great Britain.²⁶ Instead, the minister pictured the United States as supinely submitting to encirclement and domination through a compulsive transfer from France to Britain.

Was it from Jefferson that Napoleon heard of American strength and determination? The President wrote many forceful letters which did not go to the First Consul, and at times made threats which did, but observe what he said at the moment of highest crisis. I quote Pichon's report of what Jefferson said to him on January 12, 1803, explaining the decision made two days earlier to send Monroe to France:

That Mr. Monroe was so well known to be a friend of the Western people that his mission would contribute more than anything else to tranquillize them and prevent unfortunate incidents; that he will be authorized jointly with Messrs. Pinckney and Livingston to treat with France or Spain, according to the state of things, in order to bring the affairs of the Mississippi to a definite conclusion. That the administration would try peaceful means to the last moment and they hoped that France would be disposed to concur in their views for the preservation of harmony.²⁷

Livingston described the effect of this conciliatory attitude upon a promise just given him to confirm American treaty rights at New Orleans: "Unfortunately, dispatches arrived at that moment from Mr. Pichon, informing them

10, 1803, in *State Papers* and "20 Nivose an XI (Jan. 10, 1803)" in the State Department copy (National Archives, Diplomatic Dispatches, France, VIII, enclosure to Livingston dispatch of Jan. 24, 1803) from which it was taken for publication. It is dated January 18 in Livingston's letterbook (New-York Historical Society) and January 18 in a copy in Monroe Papers, VII, Library of Congress. At the end of the original letter (Arch. Aff. Etr., Etats-Unis, Supp., vol. 7, ff. 310-13) is the date 20 Frimaire an XI (Dec. 11, 1802). This cannot be correct because the letter opens with a reference to the closing of New Orleans to American commerce by Spain, news of which did not reach France until January. Arthur B. Darling (in *Our Rising Empire, 1763-1803* [London, 1940], p. 447), observing no signature to the letter, concluded that this was Livingston's December 11 memoir to Joseph Bonaparte, wrongly addressed to Talleyrand by somebody who transcribed it in the foreign ministry. The letter is actually in the handwriting of Livingston's usual copyist, and is signed "Robt R. Livingston," but the faded ink of the signature is almost invisible in the photographic reproduction in the Library of Congress. News of the New Orleans closure reached Livingston on or just before January 7 (Livingston to Joseph Bonaparte, Jan. 7, 1803, *State Papers*, II, 536). Talleyrand learned of it between January 10 and 14 (Talleyrand to General Bernadotte, Jan. 10, 14, 1803, Arch. Aff. Etr., Etats-Unis, vol. 55, ff. 164, 170). The original letter is indorsed as received on 30 Nivose (Jan. 20), which confirms the date of January 18 found on two manuscript copies of it. What happened, apparently, was that Livingston wrote a paragraph about New Orleans and directed his clerk to add the Bonaparte memoir of December 11 to it. The clerk copied it date and all, then noticed the error while preparing a copy for Madison and changed 20 Frimaire to 20 Nivose, both wrong. Minus the opening paragraph, it is, as Darling concluded, the only known text of the memoir to Joseph Bonaparte.

²⁶ Madison to Livingston, Sept. 28, 1801, National Archives, General Records of the Department of State, Instructions to Consular Representatives, I (1800-1806). In the published instructions (*State Papers*, II, 510), the words "from Spain to Great Britain" appear as "from Spain to France," making the whole sentence nonsensical.

²⁷ Pichon to Talleyrand, Jan. 21, 24, 1803, Arch. Aff. Etr., Etats-Unis, vol. 55, ff. 184v, 192.

that the appointment of Mr. Monroe had tranquillized everything . . . they determined to see whether the storm would not blow over."²⁸

Six days later more dispatches arrived, giving Madison's far different account of the reasons for sending Monroe—reasons which "imperatively required that this mission should have a prompt conclusion." Instead of quoting from his veiled threats of war, I present Pichon's comments upon them:

The implicit language of Mr. Madison . . . brings to light ideas too general to be neglected. . . . Louisiana in the first moment of war will answer for the behavior of our administration. . . . The crisis grows greater every day, and we cannot push it into the distant future. . . . I should fail in my duty if I did not tell you that these feelings of concern which Mr. Madison expressed to me are generally felt and that public opinion in the latest circumstances expresses itself at least as strongly and energetically as the government.²⁹

That was the last diplomatic word from Washington before Napoleon read about the fifteen gunboats and 80,000 men. Who put the heat on Bonaparte?

Now let us come back to Henry Adams. I spoke of his charge that Madison invited France to build an empire west of the Mississippi. That amounted to nothing. Adams merely failed to recognize a threat of war in thirteen-letter words like "circumstances" and "eventualities."³⁰ But he was well aware that for two years Madison had been working incessantly against French occupation of the trans-Mississippi country. Ignoring all that, he relied on one cryptic passage in one letter to brand the Secretary of State as a blundering nincompoop.

That was the way Adams operated. Without a particle of mental dishonesty in his makeup, he always searched for the worst and never failed to find it. A British diplomat wrote: "Madison is now as obstinate as a mule."³¹ A man cannot be obstinate as a mule without having that trait show up again and again. It does not show up in Adams' history, even though he quoted that particular statement. There you find that Madison was fretful, he was irritable, he had "a feminine faculty for pressing a sensitive point."³² Always the adjectives imply weakness. There is nothing to account for the fact that, as one foreign diplomat after another took him on, those who were hostile went home in discomfiture. Consider, as the most extreme case, the man who described Madison's obstinacy. Francis James Jackson—"Copen-

²⁸ Livingston to Madison, Mar. 24, 1803, *State Papers*, II, 549; Talleyrand to Livingston, 1 Germinal an 11 (Mar. 22, 1803, misdated Mar. 21), *ibid.*, II, 550.

²⁹ Pichon to Talleyrand, Jan. 24, 1803, Arch. Aff. Etr., Etats-Unis, vol. 55, ff. 196-98v.

³⁰ *Ibid.*; Adams, II, 54.

³¹ Francis James Jackson, Oct. 26, 1809, quoted in Adams, V, 130.

³² Adams, II, 74; V, 187.

hagen Jackson,"—was the hatchet man of the British Foreign Office. On his arrival at Washington he wrote to Canning that his predecessor had told him "of the most violent things said to him" by President Madison. Erskine, he observed, had turned the other cheek, but "I shall give blow for blow."³³ Jackson delivered one blow and was ordered out of the country.

Let us examine the most damning characterization of Madison to be found in the Adams history—an account by French Minister Turreau of his protest to Madison against the filibustering expedition of General Miranda. General Turreau was a tough guy. He hammered his wife with a club while his secretary played on the French horn to drown her screams³⁴ and he aspired to be just as brutal in diplomacy. "I have never yet beheld a face so cruel and sanguinary as his," wrote a United States senator. On the occasion told of by Adams, he was acting as the agent of Spanish Minister Yrujo, with whom Madison had refused to have any more dealings. I quote from Adams' translation of Turreau's letter to the Spaniard: "I was this morning with Madison. . . . He was in a state of extraordinary prostration while I was demanding" etc., etc.³⁵

It is a vivid picture—Madison collapsing with weakness and fright before the terrible Turreau. Let us look now at the French text. Turreau wrote: "*Il était dans un abattement extraordinaire.*"³⁶ I asked two Frenchmen on the Library of Congress staff to translate that. The first one said: "He was in very low spirits." The second: "He was very dejected." I showed the Adams translation to Ambassador Bonnet and he exclaimed: "How could anybody make a mistake like that?" It could be done, quite readily, by anybody who would also say that to hold a man in suspense means to hang him by the neck. For sixty years, this false picture of James Madison has blackened the canvas of history.

Adams' favorite technique against Madison was the left-hand, right-hand, left-hand punch—condemnation first, then quotation, then condemnation. In 1805, when England was at war with France and Spain, American Minister Armstrong in Paris sent home the "well-considered suggestion," as Henry Adams called it, that the United States take Texas away from Spain by force. Jefferson, Adams writes, "seized Armstrong's idea, and uniting it with his own, announced the result to Madison as the true solution." The United States should first obtain a promise from England not to make peace without

³³ Francis J. Jackson to Canning, Sept. 14, 1809, Foreign Office 353, vol. 60.

³⁴ Register, I, 181, William Plumer Papers, Library of Congress. Ordinarily, Turreau needed no provocation to beat his wife, but in this instance she had just hit him with a flatiron.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, I, 105; Adams, III, 192-95.

³⁶ General Turreau to the Marquis d'Yrujo, Feb. 7, 1806, Archives Hist. Nac. Madrid, leg. 5544 pt. 1.

American consent, then Congress should grant the President discretionary authority to make war on Spain. "Here at length," Adams commented, "was a plan—uncertain indeed because dependent on British help, but still a scheme of action." And then Madison knocked it on the head by observing that England was unlikely to bind herself positively not to make peace unless the United States bound itself positively to make war. Madison, Adams commented, "had nothing to propose except negotiation without end."

At this moment news reached America of William Pitt's second coalition against Napoleon. The whole continent of Europe was flaring into battle. International alignments were melting like wax. Madison's reaction opened the way for a one-two-three. Adams began with condemnation: "Upon Madison's mind this European convulsion acted as an additional reason for doing nothing."

Then quotation to prove it. Madison to Jefferson: "I think it very questionable whether a little delay may not be expedient," but meanwhile the United States should order Morales, Casa Calvo, and Yrujo out of the country.

Then final condemnation based on the quotation: "Madison's measures and conduct toward Europe showed the habit of avoiding the heart of every issue, in order to fret its extremities."³⁷

All this because Madison thought a little delay would be expedient before jumping into the Napoleonic wars. Adams' specific complaint was that Madison "disregarded Armstrong's idea of seizing Texas." But when Madison, as President, seized West Florida on the same theory advanced by Armstrong for Texas, that it had been paid for in the Louisiana Purchase, Adams described it as "filching a petty sandheap," an action imbued with force and fraud, and he quoted at length the protesting preachment of a British diplomat against "wresting a province from a friendly power . . . at the time of her adversity." In brief, Madison was damned if he did and damned if he didn't.³⁸

³⁷ Adams, III, 69-74.

³⁸ Adams, V, 309, 315. One's belief that Henry Adams did not distort intentionally is put to quite a strain at finding three distortions on one page (II, 69), all designed to prove that Minister Robert R. Livingston did not think that the portion of West Florida lying west of the Perdido River was included in the Louisiana Purchase until several weeks after the treaty negotiated by him and James Monroe had been signed. Adams wrote: (1) "In the preceding year one of the French ministers had applied to Livingston 'to know what we understand in America by Louisiana'; and Livingston's answer was on record in the State Department at Washington: 'Since the possession of the Floridas by Britain and the treaty of 1762, I think there can be no doubt as to the precise meaning of the terms.'" This alleged answer was actually a comment by Livingston upon a letter from John Graham at Madrid, and concerned ancient French claims to the Ohio country as part of *Louisiane Orientale*. On the query of the French minister Livingston merely wrote: "You can readily conceive my answer." Where would Adams have been if he had quoted what Livingston wrote only two weeks later on the subject really at issue: "I find all the old French maps mark the river Perdido as the boundary between Florida and Louisiana." Livingston to Madison, July 30, Aug. 16, 1802, *State Papers*, II, 519, 524. (2) "He had himself

All through the controversy over West Florida, Adams supported Spain with a zeal which cannot be accounted for by his conviction that there was no merit in the American position. The glee with which he upheld the foreign side of international disputes was in exact proportion to the opportunities they gave him to pillory Madison and condemn Jefferson. Early in 1804, Congress authorized the President to make Mobile Bay part of a customs district. The Spanish minister, Adams writes, sent Madison "a note so severe as to require punishment, and so able as to admit of none. . . . Madison could neither maintain the law nor annul it; he could not even explain it away. . . . The President came to Madison's relief. By a proclamation," he limited the district to places lying within the United States. The proclamation—which Adams condemned as a perversion of a perverse law—was based entirely on the reply Madison already had written to Yrujo, that Section 11 (on Mobile) was subordinate to Section 4, which set up a more inclusive customs district but contained the limiting words, "lying within the United States." If anybody came to anybody's relief, Madison came to the President's, and in doing so, did just what Adams said he could not do—explained away what Yrujo had objected to.³⁹

My final impression is that Henry Adams did not understand the policies of Jefferson and Madison at all. He saw weakness and national humiliation in their failure to go to war over this or that outrage—to war with England over impressment, or to avenge the attack on the Chesapeake; to war with France because of the Berlin and Milan decrees. Jefferson and Madison saw three choices—war, submission, or economic pressure and negotiation while the fast-growing nation gathered basic strength. They chose this third course,

drafted an article which he tried to insert in Marbois' *projet*, pledging the First Consul to interpose his good offices with the King of Spain to obtain the country east of the Mississippi." The article actually covered all Spanish territory "on the continent of North America laying to the east of the river"—a description which did not make the Mississippi the boundary (Monroe Papers, VII, 1270v). Livingston and Monroe jointly asked aid in obtaining "so much of his [the king of Spain's] territories as lay to the east of the ceded territory . . ." Livingston and Monroe to Marbois, May 2, 1803, Arch. Aff. Etr., Etats-Unis, vol. 55, f. 416. (3) "As late as May 12, Livingston wrote to Madison: 'I am satisfied that . . . if they [the French] could have concluded with Spain, we should also have had West Florida.'" This did not refer to the negotiations of Livingston and Monroe, nor to the treaty they signed on May 2, 1803, but was a speculation about what the French might have been willing to do in the previous year, when Livingston made a bid for West Florida and the country above the Arkansas River.

³⁹ Adams, II, 257-63; the marquis of Casa Yrujo to Madison, Mar. 7, 1804, National Archives, General Records of the Department of State, Notes from the Spanish Legation, II; Madison to Yrujo, Mar. 19, 1804, Monroe Papers; *Annals of Congress*, XIII, col. 1253 (the "Mobile Act"). Adams' methods of creating adverse impressions find an illustration (II, 262) in the way he quoted from Madison's letter to Livingston, March 31, 1804, about the belatedness of Yrujo's protest: "The Act had been for many weeks depending in Congress with these sections, word for word, in it; . . . it must in all probability have been known to the Marquis d'Yrujo in an early stage of its progress." The statement would have sounded less like an unsupported conjecture if Adams had not omitted part of it: "as two copies are by a usage of politeness always allotted for each foreign minister here it must in all probability" etc.

well knowing that war was the ultimate and probable alternative. Adams and a host of other writers have construed this course as submission, and have treated the War of 1812 as evidence of its failure.

Go back ten years. Go back to July 7, 1802, and read what Pichon wrote to Talleyrand on that day about the purposes of Jefferson and Madison: "They fear exceedingly to be forced to war, as they go on the principle that they ought not to try their strength within ten years, by which time they count on diminution of debt, growth of population and riches."

This was said in telling of an interview in which "Mr. Madison talked to me with much coolness, much method, and as if he had been prepared." The subject was Louisiana. It should be recognized, said Madison, "that France cannot long preserve Louisiana against the United States." As for other colonies of the European powers—in South America, the West Indies—the United States had no desire to possess them. But, said Madison, by joining England in the next war, they could throw all these distant territories into her hands, and "could without difficulty, in ten years, divide with her . . . all the export and import trade of these colonies."⁴⁰

He was saying, in effect, that England and the United States could handle France at any time, and that in ten years the United States by itself would be strong enough to compel England to abandon its system of colonial monopoly.

For two reasons, and two only, the compulsive system which Madison threatened against both France and England was put into operation against England alone. France escaped it by ceding Louisiana. England brought it on by the blundering obstinacy of Canning, Wellesley, and Castlereagh. And the war started just three weeks short of the ten years Madison allowed for postponement of a showdown.

There is plenty to criticize in the presidencies of Jefferson and Madison. But their weaknesses were in general the weaknesses of the American people. Their major difficulty was one that we can appreciate today—that of living and working in a power-mad world dominated by lunatics. Study the work of Madison in that light, without the distorting shadows of political prejudice, and you will find the clear-cut lines of greatness in it.

I began writing the life of Madison without the slightest suspicion that the prevailing estimates of him were incorrect. Not in the remotest fashion did I suspect that in their political symbiosis, Jefferson might owe as much to Madison as Madison to Jefferson. My interest was in Madison the political philosopher, the architect of the Constitution, the author of the Bill of Rights

⁴⁰ Pichon to Talleyrand, July 7, 1802, Arch. Aff. Etr., Etats-Unis, vol. 54, f. 410.

—fields in which his primacy was universally acknowledged. Everything after 1789 was expected to be anticlimax. That has not proved true. The ultimate verdict upon Madison depends in part upon the future of the American people—upon their continued devotion to liberty, self-government, and personal honor. But, granted this fidelity, I have no doubt of the final verdict. Madison the diplomatist, Madison the President, will be found to measure up to the father of the Constitution. Washington, Jefferson, Jackson, Lincoln, Wilson, Roosevelt. Move over a little, gentlemen.

Washington, D. C.

Jacques-Louis David, Artist Member of the Committee of General Security*

DAVID L. DOWD

IN reporting to Prince Metternich on the activities of the Jacobins and other dangerous foreign revolutionaries who were then concentrated at Brussels, the Austrian ambassador to The Hague wrote on January 6, 1826: "This reunion of *honnêtes gens* has just suffered a great loss: the famous painter David, the regicide, the intimate friend of Marat and Robespierre is dead."¹ For almost ten years the Austrians had supported the efforts of the French, Prussians, English, and Russians to drive David and other French political refugees from their place of exile in Belgium. Yet David, as artist, had been honored as have few members of his profession. Metternich himself had appointed him to the Fine Arts Academy of Vienna,² the king of Prussia had offered to make David his minister of fine arts at Berlin, and Louis XVIII had continued to purchase the paintings of the exiled artist. But to the end of his life David was regarded as a dangerous revolutionary. The Bourbon government even refused to allow his body to be brought back for burial for fear that his interment on French soil might furnish an occasion for political demonstrations hostile to the monarchy!

Despite all this, David today is regarded as the classic example of a political chameleon who placed his talents at the disposal of succeeding regimes. His contemporaries knew better: friends and foes agreed that David was a partisan of the Revolution from first to last.³ The painter himself remained implacably opposed to the restoration of the Old Regime in France. He never disavowed the principles of 1789, his regicidal vote, or the necessity of the so-called "Reign of Terror." This is clear in the public defense of his own political acts during the Terror which he published during the Thermidorian reaction when silence or evasion might have been more expedient.⁴ In private,

*This study is the result of research in European archives made possible by grants from the American Philosophical Society and the University of Nebraska.

¹ Count Von Mier to Metternich, in Herman T. Colenbrander, ed., *Gedenkstukken der algemeene geschiedenis van Nederland van 1795 tot 1840*, IX (The Hague, 1916), part I, 250. David died December 29, 1825, at the age of seventy-five.

² Richard Metternich-Winneburg, ed., *Aus Metternichs nachgelassenen Papieren*, I (Vienna, 1880), 238-39.

³ See the bibliographical essay and the essay on sources in David L. Dowd, *Pageant-Master of the Republic: Jacques-Louis David and the French Revolution* (Lincoln, 1948), pp. 143-94.

⁴ *Réponse de David . . . aux dix sept chefs d'accusation portés contre lui par les commissaires de la Section de Muséum* (Paris, Prairial, an III [1795], Archives Nationales de France (Paris) (hereafter cited as A.N.), AA 45, plaq. 6, pièce 293.

David always maintained that Robespierre and Marat were "virtuous men."⁵ Though Napoleon attempted and, for a time perhaps, succeeded in fascinating him, the artist refused to accept political office, declining a seat in the Senate, and the title of baron. Finally David signed the revolutionary clauses of the Additional Acts at a time when he already knew that the liberal empire was a lost cause.⁶ All these facts should have made historians more cautious in applying the terms "chameleon" and "weathercock" to the painter of the Revolution.

What then was the real nature of David's role as a political figure? David, the artist, needs no introduction, and the significant part which he played as a propagandist of the Revolution has already been sketched.⁷ His purely political activities, however, have been virtually ignored by his biographers and by historians. David was a political leader of many facets. He was a member of the Jacobin and Cordelier clubs. He had his own professional pressure group, the Popular and Republican Art Society. He influenced the General Assembly and Revolutionary Committee of his ward (Section du Louvre, later du Muséum). He was an elector of the Department of Paris. He had liaisons with the members of the Paris Commune and the Revolutionary Tribunal. Above all he was a member of the National Convention and of several of its component committees and commissions. To study all these activities would transcend the limits of the present essay; only the most controversial aspect of his career, namely, his membership in the Committee of General Security will be attempted here. David's critics refer to the decrees he signed as a member of this committee for evidence of terroristic persecution of professional rivals and personal enemies, and it is likewise to the same source that his apologists point in his defense. However, neither opponents nor defenders actually took the trouble to examine the records to which they so confidently allude.⁸ This essay, based on an analysis of the extant papers of the Committee of General Security preserved in the French National Archives in Paris,⁹ attempts to assess, insofar as these sources permit, David's real role as a member of the committee.

During the Terror, the National Convention, while retaining full legisla-

⁵ Etienne Jean Delécluze, *Louis David, son école et son temps: souvenirs* (Paris, 1885), pp. 203-204, 343.

⁶ E. J. Delécluze, *Journal . . . 1824-1828*, ed. R. Baschet (Paris, 1948), p. 113.

⁷ See n. 3 above.

⁸ Miette de Villars, *Mémoires de David* (Paris, 1850), p. 5, refers to his "*vérification faite de son carnet du Comité de Sécurité Générale*" but obviously never saw the evidence. Jules David, *Le Peintre Louis David* (Paris, 1880), p. 159, has only a vague and somewhat misleading paragraph on the subject. The notes he compiled from the registers of the committee do not entirely agree with his statements. Bibliothèque Nationale, Département des manuscrits (Paris) (hereafter cited as B.N., MSS), Nouv. Acq. Fr., 6606, ff. 63-74.

⁹ A.N., AF II* 224, 254-301; F 7* 1-103, 684, 2201-10; F 7 4386-4824; DXLIII, 1.

tive powers, created a collective dictatorship consisting of three organizations: the Committee of General Security, the Committee of Public Safety, and the Revolutionary Tribunal. The history of the first of these, though essential to and intimately connected with its better-known partners, has never been written.¹⁰ Though the Committee of Public Safety was regarded as the more powerful, it was checked by and forced to co-operate with the Committee of General Security, in which general police powers were vested. While the former committee might formulate general policies, the latter dealt with the persons who implemented these policies and also provided the data on the basis of which its more famous twin made its appointments and administrative decisions. A political police agency is always a power. In this case it was of incalculable importance because it was ordinarily the Committee of General Security which decided who should be sent to the Revolutionary Tribunal for judgment.

When the membership of the police body was reorganized on September 14, 1793, David was among the new members nominated by the Committee of Public Safety. The others who joined the committee at this time were mocking, vindictive Vadier, ex-cavalry officer and lawyer Boucher-Saint-Sauveur, Protestant lawyer Voulland, and paternal old Rühl. Robespierre's compatriots—youthful Joseph Le Bas, ex-Oratorian Joseph Le Bon, and cynical, intriguing Guffroy; the republican writer Lavicomterie; that mild Montagnard Moïse Bâyle; coldly ferocious André Amar, and revolutionary policeman Panis—who had been elected on September 10 were all confirmed on the fourteenth. Shortly afterwards a loyal Jacobin, Barbeau Du Barran, Laloy, a moderate, and the hard-working and conscientious pair Jagot and Louis (du Bas Rhin) were added to the committee. In Brumaire, Le Bon, Boucher-Saint-Sauveur, and Laloy resigned and Elie La Coste, a former physician, entered its ranks. These were the fourteen who, with two minor exceptions, controlled the police committee until 9 Thermidor.¹¹

The appointment of an artist to a police organization was by no means unusual under the circumstances.¹² The reason for David's appointment was probably his prominent position and his political and propaganda experience. First of all David's unchallenged professional position as first painter of France—and probably of Europe—gave him tremendous prestige with his

¹⁰ Georges Belloni, *Le Comité de sûreté générale de la Convention nationale* (Paris, 1924), is merely an analysis of its composition, organization, and functions. Moreover it leaves much to be desired. The writer of the present essay is preparing a history of the committee.

¹¹ Panis resigned in Nivôse when his brother-in-law, Santerre, was arrested and Guffroy resigned in Ventôse after he was purged from the Jacobin Club. See J. Guillaume, "Le personnel du Comité de sûreté générale," *La Révolution française*, XXXIX (1900), 124-51, 219-54, and Belloni, pp. 49-52, 73-74.

¹² This writer is publishing an article on the subject elsewhere.

countrymen. Moreover he had been known since the beginning of the Revolution as a consistent supporter of its principles. He had shown himself a loyal and vigorous Jacobin for the past three years and had lately served as president of the society.¹³ His influence upon the Section of the Louvre, the revolutionary committees, the Paris Commune, the Revolutionary Tribunal, and the popular commissions was probably exaggerated by his enemies¹⁴ but he was not exactly a political cipher.

Moreover, David had a large personal following. His studio in the Louvre was always a gathering place for political as well as intellectual and social leaders of the day. Though many of the pupils of his *atelier* were serving with the army, some of them were jurors of the Revolutionary Tribunal, policemen, national agents, members of surveillance committees, officials of the Paris Commune and other instruments of the revolutionary government. David organized and apparently controlled a patriotic artists' pressure group, the Popular and Republican Arts Society, which included some three hundred members.

It was really not strange then that David had been elected by an overwhelming vote as a delegate of Paris to the National Convention a year before.¹⁵ There, in keeping with his experience, he joined the group which believed that drastic measures were required. Contending political factions had used his salon in the Louvre as a meeting place and one contemporary source credited David with a conscious policy of reconciling Girondins and Montagnards.¹⁶ If this were so, then it was only after reconciliation failed that the artist took his place on the benches of the Mountain. He voted for the death of the king and vigorously supported his co-partisans in their struggle with the Gironde.

Though handicapped by a speech defect (he had a large growth in his left cheek), David spoke about a hundred times on the floor of the Convention. He read more than twenty-five major speeches or reports of which a dozen were considered important enough to be separately reprinted at national expense. David was appointed to more than twenty special commissions and he was one of the leading members of the Committee of Public Instruction. The month before his election to the Committee of General Security, David served as secretary of the Convention during the presidency

¹³ June 16 to July 17, 1793, *Journal des débats de la Société des amis de la constitution*, nos. 435-49, and *Journal de la Montagne*, nos. 17-48.

¹⁴ "Déclarations faites à la Commission des Douzes de la Section du Muséum," A.N., AA 45, plaq. 6, pièces 296 and 297. Section du Muséum, *Pièces à la charge de David* (Paris, 1795), pp. 6-26.

¹⁵ Etienne Charavay, *Assemblée électorale de Paris* (Paris, 1905), III, 160.

¹⁶ [J. Adolphus], *Biographical Anecdotes of the Founders of the French Revolution* (London, 1797), p. 338.

of Danton, and later he was honored with the president's chair.¹⁷ An interesting report of one of the secret agents of the ministry of the interior, indicates that at the time David joined the police committee he was equally prominent and influential with the crowds in the streets of Paris.¹⁸

Finally, besides enjoying a position as a well-known artistic and political figure, David had a keen perception of the ever-changing currents of public opinion. For almost four years he had been using his abilities as an artist to popularize the cause of the Revolution—more particularly the policies of the Jacobins—through his paintings and festivals. As a member of the Committee of Public Instruction of the National Convention he became an official propagandist of the revolutionary government. His efforts had been strikingly successful. It was quite evident that David was extremely sensitive to the fluctuating currents of public opinion. A man with such talents could not fail to be an asset to the committee charged with general police and political security measures of the First Republic.

The headquarters of the police committee were located in the Hôtel de Brionne on the Petit Place du Carrousel in the then closely built up area between the Tuileries—which housed the National Convention—and the old Louvre.¹⁹ Here was the center of an intricate system which covered the whole nation. Dispatches from the Convention, its various committees and deputies-on-mission, from the sections and municipality of Paris and other large cities, from national agents, administrators, and popular societies all over France kept David and his colleagues well informed. More than a hundred office employees were constantly overworked to keep up with the steady flow of business. The members questioned suspected counterrevolutionaries and they also interrogated large numbers of public functionaries and private persons. Crowds of unsummoned petitioners came to denounce or to defend suspected enemies of the Republic. When personal solicitations were forbidden a box was provided for written denunciations and petitions. Needless to say, an unknown number of secret agents and spies reported daily to the committee.

In addition to these "undercover agents," the committee maintained a large corps of its own police officers. Of these dreaded emissaries, the redoubtable ex-sailor Héron, his energetic rivals Sénar and Dossonville, and the smooth and wily Vilate were merely the best known. The committee's law enforcement officers and their numerous subordinates not only executed the orders of David and his colleagues within the capital city but they were also

¹⁷ *Procès-verbal de la Convention nationale* (Paris, 1792-94), Vols. I-LXXII, *passim*.

¹⁸ Police Générale, Seine, an II, "Rapport du 17 Septembre [1793] de Le Harivel," A.N., F⁷ 3688³, liasse 1, pièce 84.

¹⁹ The following account of the committee, based on the papers of the C.S.G., is a condensation of a separate study which the author is preparing for publication.

sent on roving missions to the provinces. Nevertheless, the principal agents of the Hôtel de Brionne were the thousands of local, popularly elected police boards known as "Revolutionary Committees." District administrators and municipal officials were also at the disposal of the committee. "National Agents" provided the committee with direct liaisons with the local officials and outlying communes. Thus the various agencies of the revolutionary government provided the skeleton of a vast police network.

Besides providing the motive power for the powerful revolutionary police force, the Committee of General Security was a clearinghouse for all types of information on the internal security of France. When the evidence was considered and complete in an individual case the committee made its decision as to the innocence or guilt of the suspect. An order was thereupon issued calling either for his immediate release or for the transmission of his case for trial before the Revolutionary Tribunal. The odds against the accused being freed by the Tribunal were only about four to three and he had almost an even chance of escaping the death sentence, but it is obvious that the responsibility of the Committee of General Security was very great indeed.²⁰

What was David's individual share of this responsibility? At the outset it is granted that the very fact of membership automatically gave him a share of the collective responsibility proportionate to the term of his membership. David himself certainly never really denied this type of responsibility. Even when justifying his conduct before a legislative investigating committee he maintained his solidarity with his former colleagues.²¹ Moreover, he never expressed the slightest regret for, nor disavowal of, his role during the terror.²² As an ardently patriotic member of the government he recognized the necessity of ensuring the success of the Revolution by extraordinary means. War and civil revolt called for forceful and vigorous action if the First French Republic was to survive and if the principles upon which it was based were to be preserved. "What could we do," he asked an English critic in 1802, "surrounded by traitors who were paid by Pitt to sap the foundations of the Republic?"²³

The question remains: What was David's exact personal role as a member

²⁰ These figures check with those of the most recent student of the subject, James L. Godfrey (*Revolutionary Justice: A Study of the Organization, Personnel, and Procedure of the Paris Tribunal, 1793-1795* [Chapel Hill, 1951]).

²¹ "Justification de David," A.N., AA 45, plaq. 6, pièce 295, ff. [6-7].

²² This fact is attested by his pupil E. J. Delécluze (*Journal*, p. 294); a fellow Montagnard of the Convention, M. A. Baudot (*Notes historiques* [Paris, 1893], p. 158), an English traveler, H. R. Yorke (*France in 1802*, ed. J. A. C. Sykes [London, 1906], pp. 125-27), a British aristocrat, Sir John Carr (*The Stranger in France, or a Tour from Devonshire to Paris* [London, 1803], pp. 109-10), and a German tourist, F. J. L. Meyer (*Fragmente aus Paris* [Hamburg, 1797], II, 217-20).

²³ Yorke, p. 125.

of the committee? The issue has been obscured by partisan views. In the counterrevolutionary propaganda publications of the artist's own time he was represented as a ferociously active member of the police committee.²⁴ After Thermidor, Vadier, under fire as a leading member of the committee, tried to throw the blame for certain alleged abuses of power upon David alone.²⁵ In rebuttal, the artist denied that he had had any influence on the committee but at the same time declared his solidarity with its work.²⁶ According to his biographers, David's role as a member of the committee was negligible.²⁷ While Jules David admitted that his ancestor performed his police duties with great ardor for the first two months of his office, he maintained that little by little David's other interests interfered and that finally "he left all responsibility for general security" to his colleagues.²⁸ David himself claimed that he had no influence whatever upon the committee, that he rarely if ever attended its meetings, and *that he had never had a single person arrested*.²⁹ These statements were not accurate. The circumstances under which they were made (the artist was under indictment as a terrorist) should have suggested some doubts regarding their literal truth. They have been tacitly accepted, however, by David's biographers and even by professional historians, such as Gérard Walter, who, in the only published study of David's political career, says that he found no orders of arrest signed by the artist. Walter adds that David was "a bad policeman."³⁰

An examination of the unpublished registers of the acts of the Committee of General Security easily resolves the discordant conclusions of royalist propagandists, political rivals, over-indulgent biographers, and others. The committees of Public Safety and of General Security did not keep minutes of their meetings. Opinions and decisions of their various members can be judged only from the resolutions and correspondence which they drafted and signed. Post-Thermidorian testimony of the former members themselves on these questions is, of course, extremely untrustworthy and certainly

²⁴ See Dowd, pp. 144-48.

²⁵ Convention meeting, 13 Fructidor, an II [Aug. 30, 1794], *Moniteur*, no. 345 (15 Fructidor, an II), p. 1415.

²⁶ A.N., AA 45, plaq. 6, pièce 295, ff. [6-7].

²⁷ The most detailed of these, from whom most subsequent biographies have been taken, devotes fourteen lines to David's role as a member of the committee (Jules David, p. 159).

²⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹ "Réponse de David," A.N., AA 45, plaq. 6, pièce 293, pp. 3-4. Letter of David to the Convention, 25 Thermidor [an III (Aug. 12, 1795)], A.N., F⁷ 6711, plaq. 7, f. 585. Letter of David to C.S.P., 27 Messidor, an III [July 15, 1795], "Papiers de David," Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Beaux-Arts (Paris), MS. 316, liasse I, pièce 7.

³⁰ G. Walter, "Un Artiste sous la terreur: le destin révolutionnaire de David," *La Lumière*, no. 588 (Aug. 12, 1938), p. 7, col. 1. Walter is a distinguished scholar employed at the Bibliothèque Nationale. His article, however, was intended for a popular audience and not as a serious contribution to the subject.

should not be accepted at face value. Prosecuted for terrorism and threatened with prison or worse, they exhibited an understandable desire to minimize their personal roles. Carnot's famous *apologia* in which he said that the signatures on the decrees of the governing committees provided absolutely no index of personal responsibility is no longer accepted by serious scholars.³¹ When important matters were considered by the committees, the members could dissent from the collective policy by withholding their signatures. If they signed the decree they accepted full responsibility. David's responsibility, therefore, may be determined by the study of the decrees which he signed.

The record, incomplete though it may be, reveals that of the 315 meetings of the committee during his active membership (September 15, 1793, to July 27, 1794) at least 131, or 42 per cent, were attended by David. Between the dates indicated some 4,737 decrees were promulgated; of these, not less than 406 (approximately 9 per cent) bear the signature of David. During the first months of the new committee's activities the artist was present at 26 out of 30, or 87 per cent of the meetings and he signed 111 out of 367 or about 30 per cent of the decrees enacted. For other periods he was similarly active. For example, the week after the Laws of Ventôse were implemented (March 17-24) David attended 6 out of 7 sessions and signed 35 out of 94 decrees, or 32 per cent.³²

Like various other members of the committees of government, David was absent during periods when other official duties required all his time. Although he was never sent on mission to the departments or to the armies, he was constantly being called upon to employ his talents to glorify the Revolution and to mobilize the arts in the service of the Republic. When his propaganda and other work in the Committee of Public Instruction appears to have been particularly heavy his activity at the Hôtel de Brionne was drastically curtailed. This seems to have been the situation on a number of occasions. It seems likely that David's work as "Pageant-Master of the Republic" was regarded as being more significant than his role as a revolutionary policeman.

Even so, David's record of activity compares favorably with the performance of his colleagues in the committees. For example, his signature appears on almost as many decrees as Robespierre's does for the same period.³³

³¹ Convention meeting, 3 Germinal, an III [Mar. 23, 1795], *Moniteur*, no. 187 (7 Germinal), p. 761, and *ibid.* no. 190 (10 Germinal), pp. 773-74. See F. A. Aulard, "Les responsabilités de Carnot" (1892), *Études et leçons* (5th ed.; Paris, 1909), I, 193; Albert Mathiez, *Girondins et Montagnards* (Paris, 1930), p. 139; J. M. Thompson, "L'organisation du travail du Comité de salut public," *Annales historiques de la Révolution française*, X (1933), 455.

³² These statistics are based on an analysis of registers AF II* 254, 255, 275, 285, 286, 289, 290, 292, 294.

³³ Gérard Walter, *Robespierre* (8th ed.; Paris, 1946), p. 523.

While this writer would not suggest that David's role as a maker of policy is in any way comparable with that of Robespierre, still the painter did appear to enjoy an important position in the councils of the revolutionary government.

When David and his co-workers met together for the first time on September 15, 1793, one of their first objectives was to reorganize completely the work of the Committee of General Security along more rational and efficient lines. David's signature is found at the bottom of the important regulation of September 17 which divided the functions of the committee into several sections, each under the charge of one or more of its members. The artist presided over the Section of Interrogations.³⁴ It was therefore in an official capacity that David witnessed the monstrous testimony of the Dauphin regarding his mother and the resulting questioning of Louis XVI's sister and daughter on October 7-8.³⁵ The papers of the committee contain other evidence of David's activities as inquisitor for the police organization, notable in cases involving the testimony of prominent deputies such as Danton, the investigation of the committee's own agents such as Maillard, and celebrated suspects like Cécile Renault, who was accused of an attempt on Robespierre's life.³⁶ When a second reorganization replaced the divisions according to functions with four geographical "regions" David was entrusted with security measures for the region of Paris.³⁷ Henceforth he shared direct responsibility for interrogations, correspondence, reports, arrests, releases, and so forth for the capital city and its environs.

The Committee of General Security chose a president and other officers, but with two exceptions there appears to be no evidence of the identity of these officials in its subsequent proceedings.³⁸ Interestingly enough, one of these exceptions is a decree of 18 Nivôse of the Year II (January 7, 1794) signed by David as president.³⁹ Thus the artist-policeman seems not only to have shouldered his share of the work but also to have enjoyed a position of some responsibility within the committee, at least for a time.

³⁴ "Règlement du 17 Septembre [1793]," A.N., AF II* 286, f. 72.

³⁵ "Procès-verbaux des interrogatoires subis par Louis Charles, Thérèse Elisabeth de Bourbon au Temple, 6-7 octobre 1792," A.N., Musée des Archives Nationales de France, no. 1381. Duchesse d'Angoulême, *Journal*, ed. Baron Imbert de Saint-Amand (Paris, 1893), pp. 116-19. For an account reflecting credit on David see "Mémoires d'un vieux musicien de l'époque (1793)," Bibliothèque de l'Institut de France (Paris), MS. 3784, pièce 3, f. 16.

³⁶ A.N., AF II* 286, [ff. 72, 68, 82]; AF II* 289, f. 77.

³⁷ "Règlement [undated but originating early in Brumaire, an II]," A.N., AF II* 286, f. [81].

³⁸ Belloni (p. 54 n.) says: "The register of decrees does not reveal by whom these functions were exercised between September 1793 and 9 Thermidor," but Albert Tourner (*Vadier* [Paris, n.d.], p. 105) insists that Vadier was president for this same period.

³⁹ A.N., AF II* 294, f. 31. Another "arrêté du 1 Frimaire [Nov. 21, 1793]" is signed by Vadier as president. A.N., AF II* 290, f. 30.

Lack of space makes it impossible to cite more than a few examples of David's acts as a member of the Committee of General Security. Nevertheless, several cases involving various aspects of his activities should be mentioned. The purpose of the committee, of course, was to insure the security of the state, and for this purpose its jurisdiction included the whole area and the entire population of the French nation. To this end the supreme police organization was provided with far-reaching powers. It could investigate, arrest, imprison, and transmit to the courts for trial any and all persons suspected of working against the Revolution. Moreover, the committee was given control over the dissemination of ideas by means of the censorship, and over the movements of all individuals, whether they were suspects or not.

The essential check upon the movements of all persons within France as well as those who crossed her borders was provided by the passport system. Ordinarily it was the Committee of General Security which issued passports to citizens who were sent to carry out its orders in other parts of the country. The police committee also visaed the passports of travelers who came to or through Paris. Registers were kept in which the passports and visas issued by the committee were copied.⁴⁰ From the signatures in the folios which survive we learn that David regularly signed passports and validated visas for the committee. We know, for example, that the artist obtained a passport for Robert Merry which enabled that radical English poet to get home with his family when France and Britain had been at war for months.⁴¹ Similarly David tried to save General Charles Sériziat by visaing his passport so that he could leave Paris before the police arrested him.⁴² The passport and visa system together with the institution of the "certificate of civism" enabled the police committee and its auxiliaries and agents to exercise a degree of control over the population of the First French Republic which has been surpassed only by the police states of the twentieth century.

The committee also maintained a significant type of control over the movements of the members of the National Convention itself. If a deputy wished to leave Paris, he had to apply for a *congé* or leave of absence from the police committee. David's signature appears on a number of such decrees issued to various deputies of the National Assembly who wanted to absent themselves from Paris.⁴³ The police committee also ruled as to whether or not individual deputies and substitutes should be allowed to resign their posts.⁴⁴

⁴⁰ "Règlement du 20 Germinal, an II [Apr. 9, 1794]," A.N., AF II* 284. E.g., A.N., AF II* 282, 288, F⁷ 4412. The C.S.P. also issued passports, e.g., A.N., AF II* 234.

⁴¹ A.N., AF II* 288, F⁷ 4412.

⁴² "Visa du 23 Floréal [May 12, 1794]," A.N. AF II* 285, f. 77.

⁴³ E.g., A.N., AF II* 275, ff. 217, 221.

⁴⁴ E.g., "Arrêté du 19 Messidor [July 7, 1794]," A.N., AF II* 275, f. 222.

Moreover, the committee investigated and approved or rejected the substitutes for vacancies created by the resignation, removal, or death of deputies to the National Convention.⁴⁵ Thus David and his colleagues exercised a very significant type of control over the movements of their fellow representatives, over their resignations, and over the filling of legislative vacancies which they themselves sometimes helped to create through the application of the "Terror" to the Convention itself.

Of the numerous categories in which the "enemies of the Republic" could be classified, none was more obvious than royalist-minded aristocrats and the relatives, correspondents, and sympathizers of the *émigrés*. Among the former nobles arrested and sent to the Revolutionary Tribunal by order of David were the old peer the duc de Villeroy, the former noble and intendant Terray and his wife, and Louis XV's fading mistress, Madame du Barry, all of whom went to the guillotine.⁴⁶ David signed a warrant for the arrest of Louis de Champcenetz, one of the satirical editors of the notorious and witty royalist sheet the *Actes des Apôtres* and former governor of the Tuileries.⁴⁷ David's name also appears on the act of arrest of Alexandre de Beauharnais. Although the young ex-general and politician from Martinique was condemned to death, his handsome widow survived to wed Napoleon.⁴⁸ David also ordered that the marquise de Crussol d'Amboise should be sent to a regular prison. This old lady had been held under house arrest for corresponding with the enemy but she succeeded in corrupting the two members of the surveillance committee of the section who had been assigned the task of guarding her.⁴⁹ The young and charming Bellegarde sisters from an old Savoyard noble family were also arrested on David's signature.⁵⁰ They were accused of spying for the enemy. The older sister, Adèle, had a husband serving as colonel in the Sardinian army then fighting against France. She had also been Hérault de Séchelle's mistress until the arrest and execution of that handsome aristocrat and worldly revolutionary. Nevertheless the "dames Bellegarde" were released after Thermidor. Their subsequent brilliant, if somewhat flamboyant,

⁴⁵ Thus they approved a substitute for Claude Bazire (1765-94), who was executed on April 5, 1794, with the Dantonists. "Arrêté du 24 Floréal [May 13, 1794]," A.N., AF* 285, f. 83.

⁴⁶ Louis-Gabriel Neuville, duc de Villeroy (1731-94), "Arrêté du 2 Floréal [an II]," A.N., AF II* 254, f. 16. Antoine-Jean Terray (1750-94) and Marie-Nicole Perrenay Terray (1751-94), "Arrêté du 4 Floréal," A.N., AF II* 254, ff. 47-48. Marie Jeanne Vaubernier, comtesse du Barry (1746-93), "Arrêté du 29 Brumaire," A.N., AF II* 290, f. 27.

⁴⁷ "Arrêté du 12 Ventôse," A.N., AF II* 292, f. 50.

⁴⁸ "Arrêté du 12 Ventôse," Musée du Préfecture de Police (Paris), no. 380. "Jugement du tribunal révolutionnaire du 5 Thermidor," A.N., W 429, dos. 965, liasse 2, pièce 89.

⁴⁹ Claude-Louise Angélique Bersin, marquise de Crussol d'Amboise (1730-94), "Arrêté du 1 Floréal," A.N., AF II* 254, f. 87. Three weeks after the incarceration she was sent to the guillotine. A.N., F⁷ 4658, dos. "Crussol."

⁵⁰ Adélaïde-Victoire de Bellegarde (1772-1830) and Françoise-Aurore de Bellegarde (1776-1840), "Arrêté du 4 Floréal," A.N., AF II* 254, ff. 52-53.

careers in the boudoirs and salons of the Directoire, Empire, and Restoration would provide ample material for the historical novelist. Evidently these colorful ladies bore David no ill will for his professional attentions as policeman which kept them three months in prison. Five years later they were frequent visitors at his studio and the ravishing Adèle posed for one of the more seductive figures in David's celebrated painting "The Rape of the Sabine Women."⁵¹ It would appear from the later attitude of these and other aristocrats (including the comtesse de Noailles, the comte de Mainebourg, Baron Denon, the comte de Forbin, and others) that David's attitude toward them and their class was that of a revolutionary security agent who performed the duties of his office in accordance with the law. While there is much to indicate that David did not hesitate to order that suspects be sent to prison or to the tribunal there is no evidence that he engaged in vindictive persecution of the ex-nobles as a group.

The former magistrates who had constituted the "nobility of the robe" were also regarded with suspicion by the revolutionary police. The *parlementaires* were especially notorious since they agitated against the abolition of their own powers and privileges as well as those of the church, the crown, and the nobility. On March 29, 1794, the Committee of General Security finally ordered twenty-four of the former members of the *parlements* of Paris and Toulouse sent to the Revolutionary Tribunal for trial.⁵² During the course of the investigation of the *parlementaires* the committee's agents turned up a mass of treasonous and counterrevolutionary correspondence which implicated half-a-dozen other ex-nobles. These were arrested and brought in for questioning. The warrants for Hocquart, ex-president of the *Cour des Aides* of Paris, and his friend, a retired colonel, the *ci-devant* comte du Nort, were signed by David.⁵³ After an interrogation and an examination of their letters which left no doubt as to where their loyalties lay the two royalists were sent to the Conciergerie to stand trial as accomplices of the *parlementaires*. On the basis of this evidence Hocquart and Nort were condemned by the Revolutionary Tribunal along with the former magistrates. That same spring afternoon (April 20) they were all executed.⁵⁴

⁵¹ Delécluze, *David*, pp. 192-95; Delécluze, *Journal*, pp. 337-38. See also François Vermale, "Les Dames de Bellegarde," *Ann. hist. Rév. fr.*, XIX (1947), 218-56. Aurore ended her days as canoness of the royal chapter of St. Anne of Munich!

⁵² "Arrêté du 9 Germinal," A.N., W 349, dos. 703^{bis}, liasse 3, pièce 35.

⁵³ Antoine-Louis-Hyacinthe Hocquart (1739-94), "Arrêté du 20 Germinal," A.N., W 349, dos. 703^{bis}, liasse 3, pièce 23; AF II* 294, f. 201. Nicolas-Agnès-François, comte du Nort (1726-94), "Arrêté du 20 Germinal," A.N., F⁷ 4693, dos. "Du Nord"; AF II* 294, f. 203.

⁵⁴ "Arrêté du 21 Germinal," A.N., W 349, dos. 703^{bis}, liasse 4, pièce 33. "Acte d'accusation du 29 Germinal," A.N., W 349, dos. 703^{bis}, liasse 5, pièce 91. The incriminating letters may still be read: A.N., W 349, dos. 703^{bis}, liasse 3, pièces 18-21, liasse 4, pièces 36-50. "Jugement du 1 Floréal," A.N., W 349, dos. 703^{bis}, liasse 5, pièce 94.

Among the surviving representatives of the Old Regime perhaps none were more hated than the former Farmers-General. These wealthy financiers who had reaped the profits of the iniquitous system of collecting the indirect taxes were subjected to close scrutiny. The dean of the Farmers-General, the seventy-three-year-old ex-noble, Jean Douet, seemed particularly vulnerable. Long suspected of counterrevolutionary activities, he was placed under house arrest. When the aged financier was denounced for secreting an enormous treasure in his cellar, David signed an order which authorized a thorough search of Douet's home as well as the transfer of the suspect to prison.⁵⁵

Ten days later (November 24, 1793) the Convention decreed that all the Farmers-General should be arrested and held in prison while their accounts were audited.⁵⁶ As a member of this group Douet, too, was accused of "enriching himself with the blood and sweat of the people." Moreover, successive searches of his town house in the Rue Bergère turned up irrefutable evidence of the capital crimes of hoarding, speculation, and corresponding with the *émigrés*. He was therefore condemned to death by the Revolutionary Tribunal on May 14, 1794, and was executed the same day on the Place de la Révolution.⁵⁷ After a thorough investigation of the evidence by the Committee of General Security, twenty-eight more of the Farmers-General were sent to the Tribunal. Following a three-day trial these men, among them the great chemist Lavoisier, were guillotined on May 8, 1794. David's signature is not found on the documents in this case.⁵⁸ Before the Revolution he had painted the magnificent portrait of Lavoisier and his wife which hangs today in the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research in New York. In the spring of 1794 the artist was exempt from the sad necessity of helping to send his distinguished subject to his death.

Refractory clergy were punished in the same way as *émigrés* and other counterrevolutionaries. All former priests were viewed with mistrust. Numerous decrees having to do with ex-clergymen bear the signature of David. One of the earlier of these was a warrant for the arrest of Prince, former rector at Sèvres.⁵⁹ Another resulted in the arrest of the abbé Beaumazo.⁶⁰ It appears that both these churchmen escaped the guillotine. On May 3, 1794, David

⁵⁵ Jean-Claude Douet (1721-94), "Arrêté du 24 Brumaire [Nov. 14, 1793]," A.N., AF II* 290, f. 23; F⁷ 4680, liasse 4, dos. "Douet," pièce 184.

⁵⁶ "Décret du 4 Frimaire," A.N., C 282, dos. 787.

⁵⁷ Large amounts of gold, silver, jewels, and goods of scarce varieties such as coffee and tobacco were discovered. A.N., F⁷ 4680, dos. "Douet." "Acte d'accusation du 24 Floréal" and "Jugement du 25 Floréal," A.N., W 365, dos. 809.

⁵⁸ "Jugement du 19 Floréal," A.N., W 362, dos. 785.

⁵⁹ "Arrêté du 10 septembre [1793]," A.N., AF II* 286, f. [65].

⁶⁰ "Arrêté du 3^e décadi Germinal [Apr. 10, 1794]," A.N., AF II* 292, f. 142.

signed an order for the arrest and transmission to the Revolutionary Tribunal on charges of counterrevolutionary correspondence of two priests, Regent and Simard. The latter was condemned and executed.⁶¹ In the Department of the Orne an ex-curé, Muteau, now *procureur* of his commune, and an ex-canon, Poitevin, now national commissioner, were ordered seized by a decree issued on May 8 and signed by David. These *ci-devant* priests were imprisoned in St. Lazare at Paris and then ordered incarcerated in La Force on May 16. Neither of them was executed.⁶²

By the so-called federalist revolt of the summer of 1793 the Girondins had transformed themselves into rebels against the government. With royalists being condemned to death, "federalists" could not expect mercy from the Revolution. Under popular pressure the Convention voted on October 3 that forty-one of the imprisoned Girondins should be tried by the Revolutionary Tribunal.⁶³ Three days later one of the Girondins, the former academician Jean Dusaulx, wrote from prison to David asking him to intervene in his capacity as member of the Committee of General Security and to save him.⁶⁴ What action David took, if any, we do not know, but Dusaulx did not join the others in the dock of the tribunal on October 15 or mount the scaffold on October 31 with the condemned Girondins. The wife of Louis-Joseph Richou, another of the accused, also wrote to the painter to plead her husband's cause, and Richou too was spared.⁶⁵ On the day of execution of the Girondin leaders David joined his associates on the police committee in a letter to Fouquier-Tinville, public prosecutor of the Revolutionary Tribunal, asking for a report on the surviving members of the Girondin group.⁶⁶ Actual rebels were of course tracked down mercilessly, but the imprisoned deputies were well treated. They were very much alive when they lined the staircase of the Hôtel des Fermes to greet David with ironical politeness when the former policeman entered its doors as a prisoner on 15 Thermidor.⁶⁷

Royalists and "federalists" were not the only individuals to attract the unwelcome attentions of the Committee of General Security. Internal opposition, factional groups, and corrupt deputies were subjected to punitive action by David and his associates. In mid-October, 1793, shortly before the

⁶¹ "Arrêté du 14 Floréal," A.N., AF II* 254, f. 144; F7* 2204, f. 10. Claude Simard (1726-94), "Jugement du 2 Prairial [May 21, 1794]," A.N., W 370, dos. 825, pièces 63, 75.

⁶² "Arrêté du 19 Floréal," A.N., AF II* 254, f. 201; F7* 2204, f. [12]. "Arrêté du 27 Floréal," A.N., AF II* 254, f. 288.

⁶³ "Decret du 3 octobre," *Journal des débats et des décrets*, no. 380 [n.d.], pp. 28-29.

⁶⁴ Letter of Dusaulx to David, Paris, Oct. 6, 1793, A.N., AA 48, plaq. 3, pièce 24.

⁶⁵ Letter of Mme Richou to David, Oct. 17, 1793, A.N., F7 4774⁹², liasse 4, dos. "Richou."

⁶⁶ Letter of C.S.G. to Fouquier-Tinville, 10 Brumaire, an II [Oct. 31, 1793], A.N., W 492, dos. 204, liasse 2, pièce 11; AF II* 286, f. 86.

⁶⁷ P. M. Delafontaine, "Rectifications sur la vie de David," Bibliothèque de l'Institut, MS. 3782, pp. 28-29.

Girondins went on trial, a former poet and actor, the deputy Fabre "d'Eglantine," denounced an enormous foreign conspiracy to the committee.⁶⁸ Fabre's story sounded plausible since the Parisian underworld swarmed with foreign spies and international adventurers who were suspected of trying to subvert the revolutionary government through corruption. The "Foreign Plot" was largely a myth, but behind it lay the sordid reality of factional strife, personal jealousy, intrigue, and graft. Fabre himself was involved in the notorious "Affair of the Indies Company." In this case a group of corrupt deputies falsified a decree liquidating the Indies Company and speculated in its stock. When the thieves fell out Fabre tried to protect himself by secretly accusing his fellow racketeers of conspiring with foreigners. Confident of Danton's protection he smeared the Hébertists. A month later the ex-monk François Chabot and Claude Bazire, who were parties to the Indies conspiracy, denounced their associates, including Fabre, for similar reasons. For the moment Fabre and Hébert were ignored, but the others, accusers and accused, were jailed by the Committee of General Security. David, too, signed the warrant for Chabot's incarceration.⁶⁹

Chabot made the error of trying to implicate David in the *affaire* by linking his name with the grafter Delaunay d'Anger and the latter's mistress; with Benoist, also from Anger, who had married one of David's pupils; and with the Héberts.⁷⁰ When the former Capuchin wrote to David from prison asking for his help, the painter not unnaturally turned a deaf ear.⁷¹ In the meantime David took a special interest in seeing that the case was thoroughly investigated. Benoist, a key figure in the plot, escaped the police, but David denounced his hiding place to the authorities.⁷² The orders for the arrest of the actress Louise Descoings, Delaunay's mistress, and for the seizure of Delaunay's papers were also signed by David.⁷³ Other important witnesses such as Chabot's wealthy Austrian brothers-in-law, the Jewish bankers Junius

⁶⁸ Philippe François Nazaire Fabre d'Eglantine (1750-94). See Albert Mathiez, *Un procès de corruption sous la terreur: l'affaire de la Compagnie des Indes* (Paris, 1921).

⁶⁹ Claude Bazire (1765-94) and François Chabot (1757-94) were both deputies and former members of the Committee of General Security. "Dénonciation de Chabot [au C.S.G.], 24 Brumaire, an II [Nov. 15, 1793]," and "Dénonciation de Bazire," 26 Brumaire, A.N., W 342, dos. 648, liasse 1. See also *Pièces trouvées chez Robespierre*, pp. 26, 46-52. "Arrestation de Chabot du 28 Brumaire," A.N., AF II* 290, f. 25.

⁷⁰ Joseph Delaunay (1755-94), deputy of Anger; Louise Descoings, an actress of the Théâtre de la République was a former mistress of Chabot; Pierre Vincent Benoist (1758-1834); Jacques-René Hébert (1757-94) and his wife Marie-Marguerite Françoise Hébert (1758-94).

⁷¹ Letter of Chabot to David, 23 Nivôse [Jan. 12, 1794], A.N., F⁷ 4637, dos. "Chabot," liasse 1, pièce 143.

⁷² Letter to mayor of Paris, 27 Brumaire [Nov. 17], A.N., F⁷ 4594, dos. "Benoit." See Marie Juliette Ballot, *Une élève de David: La Comtesse Benoist . . . 1768-1826* (Paris, 1914), pp. 101-102.

⁷³ "Arrêté du 1 Brumaire [Frimaire?]," A.N., F⁷ 4672, liasse 1, dos. "Descoing," pièce 17. "Arrêté du 29 Brumaire [Nov. 20]," A.N., W 342, dos. 648, liasse 3, pièce 11.

and Emmanuel Frey, the bookkeeper of the Indies Company, and a certain De Mars, were all arrested on warrants issued by the artist and his associates.⁷⁴

When Delaunay's papers were examined, the Committee of General Security found proof of Fabre's, Chabot's, and Bazire's complicity and evidence involving royalists, *enragés*, de-Christianizers, speculators, foreign agents, as well as corrupt politicians. Eventually both ultra-revolutionaries ("Hébertists") and *modérates* ("Dantonists") were enmeshed in the strands of the *affaire*. In the eyes of the governing committees both these factions were aspects of a common plot to overthrow the government—the one by an excess, the other by a lack of republicanism. Therefore, two great state trials were staged: after the Hébertists (March 15–24) came the turn of the Dantonists (March 30–April 5). Of the warrants issued for the arrest of the accused deputies only that of the elegant and amiable Hérault de Séchelles appears to have been signed by David.⁷⁵ The artist has been blamed for placing his signature on the warrant for Danton's arrest on the night of March 30, and it is said that Robert Lindet and Rühl alone had the courage to refuse to sign. As a matter of fact, the original decree is still preserved in the Museum of the French National Archives and an examination proves conclusively that David did not sign it.⁷⁶ Whatever part David may have played at the trial of the Dantonists, it is clear that nothing could have saved them.

The Revolution placed enormous powers in the hands of the bureaucracy, and so one of the important functions of the governing committees was to watch the vast army of public servants. David and his colleagues were quick to call corrupt, oppressive, and "politically unreliable" functionaries to account. Examples of their vigilance were numerous. Dubois, an unfaithful administrator of the Department of Paris, was dismissed on March 18, 1794, by the Committee of General Security.⁷⁷ On April 22 a warrant was issued for the arrest of Domingeon, an official of the Commune of Ardes (Puy-de-Dôme).⁷⁸ Both decrees were signed by David. The artist and his associates then arrested the terrorist Alexander Rousselin on May 25. This young ex-noble, ex-journalist, ex-Girondin, and ex-Dantonist was accused of atheism, brutality, and graft but was acquitted by the Revolutionary Tribunal on

⁷⁴ "Arrêté du 3 Frimaire [Nov. 23]," A.N., F⁷ 4713, liasse 1, dos. "Fray," pièce [6]. The real name of these brothers was Dobruska or Tropuska. Their sister, Leopoldine, married Chabot. "Arrêts du 27 Ventôse [Mar. 17, 1794]," A.N., AF II* 292, f. 79; AF II* 294, f. 142.

⁷⁵ Marie-Jean Hérault de Séchelles (1759–94) deputy of Seine-et-Oise. "Arrêté du 25 Ventôse, an II [Mar. 15, 1794]"—the copy in the register of the committee (A.N., AF II* 292, f. 74) does not bear David's signature but the original does: A.N., F⁷ 4435, plaq. 3, pièce 81.

⁷⁶ "Arrêté du 10 Germinal," Musée des Archives, no. 1401.

⁷⁷ "Arrêté du 28 Ventôse, an II," A.N., AF II* 294, f. 144.

⁷⁸ "Arrêté du 3 Floréal, an II," A.N., AF II* 254, f. 30; F⁷* 2204, f. 1.

2 Thermidor.⁷⁹ Once acquitted of charges of corruption, however, innocent officials could count on David's signature to free them from further persecution. Thus Charles Chardin was denounced by his section but acquitted by the Tribunal on 24 Germinal (April 13, 1794). When he was rearrested two days later, David ordered his release.⁸⁰

The Jacobin painter and his colleagues appear to have been equally zealous in ferreting out various other kinds of profiteers and speculators. At any rate David's signature appears on a number of warrants such as those for the arrest of the banker Octave Giambonce, the agents of the Cologne lottery and others.⁸¹ David and his colleagues warned the local authorities regarding foreign spies, particularly British agents, who were said to be buying up food supplies with counterfeit assignats in order to sabotage the war effort.⁸² Later they put them on their guard against the smuggling of specie out of France into Switzerland.⁸³ And of course from time to time persons accused of counterfeiting assignats were sent to the Revolutionary Tribunal by the artist and his associates.⁸⁴

One of the more important police powers wielded by the governing committees was censorship of the press. Five and a half months before David joined its ranks the Committee of General Security had requested and the Convention had passed a law imposing the death penalty upon writers and printers convicted of counterrevolutionary propaganda activities. That David approved of this law is indicated by the fact that he proposed an amendment subjecting artists who used their talents to undermine the Republic to the same grim fate.⁸⁵ Thereafter, the police committee took stringent measures against authors, pamphleteers, and journalists who tried to use the press to overthrow the revolutionary government.

On November 20, 1793, for example, David and his colleagues issued a warrant for the arrest of a certain Henri Alexandre Audainel, author of a counterrevolutionary pamphlet.⁸⁶ As has been already noticed David was also responsible for the arrest of the witty Chevalier de Champcenetz, editor of the famous royalist journal the *Actes des Apôtres*. Similarly Lefortier, edi-

⁷⁹ Alexandre-Charles-Omer Rousselin de Corbeau (1773-?), "Arrêté du 6 Prairial," A.N., AF II* 254, f. 346. See A. Ording, *Le Bureau de police du Comité de salut public* (Oslo, 1930), pp. 119-24.

⁸⁰ "Arrêté du 1 et 2 Germinal," A.N., AF II* 292, ff. 87, 88, 91. "Jugement du 24 Germinal," A.N., W 345, liasse 5, dos. 676, pièce 74. "Arrêtés du 26 et 27 Germinal," A.N., AF II* 292, ff. 150, 151.

⁸¹ A.N., AF II* 290, f. 29; AF II* 292, f. 66; AF II* 254, ff. 17-18, 109.

⁸² "Circulaire du 2 Germinal, an II [Mar. 22, 1794]," A.N., AF II* 286, f. [92].

⁸³ "Lettre du 18 Floréal [May 7]," A.N., AF II* 285, f. 61.

⁸⁴ E.g., "Arrêté du 22 Prairial [June 10]," A.N., AF II* 254, f. 451.

⁸⁵ Mar. 29, 1793, *Procès-verbal de la Convention nationale*, VIII, 348.

⁸⁶ "Arrêté du 30 Brumaire, an II," A.N., AF II* 290, ff. 29-30.

tor of the daily *Correspondance politique de Paris et des départements*, was summoned by David and his associates to explain certain statements in the issue of March 14, 1793. He got off with a warning. The royalist propaganda activities of this journalist evidently continued and eventually brought about his arrest after Thermidor.⁸⁷ The order issued on May 8 for the arrest of the printer Crapart, former publisher of the well-known *Ami du Roi*, and for a time editor of that royalist sheet, was also signed by David.⁸⁸ A similar warrant was issued over the artist's signature for the journalist Laveaux, ex-editor of the official Jacobin organ the *Journal de la Montagne*.⁸⁹ While neither of the last two named went to the guillotine, the control of the Committee of General Security over the press was evident.

The theater was too obvious a mold of public opinion to escape the notice of the Committee of General Security and dramatists had to conform to its wishes. This, even the period's most successful playwright, who was also a member of the Convention, learned to his sorrow. In the spring of 1794, Marie-Joseph Chénier, a former associate of David and brother of the great poet André Chénier, tried to revive his own reputation with a neo-classic tragedy entitled *Timoleon*.⁹⁰ This drama, though laid in ancient Corinth, was colored with contemporary overtones, and may have been intended as an attack upon the dictatorship of the Mountain. Warned of the play's political implications by reports from their agents, the governing committees ordered a "preliminary scrutiny" by official experts. Undiscouraged by the jury's unfavorable verdict, Chénier went ahead with his plans for producing *Timoleon*. An officially inspired demonstration abruptly halted rehearsals on May 8, 1794. Fearing arrest, Chénier hurried that night to the Hôtel de Brionne. Here the poet abjectly confessed his errors and thanked his critics for "enlightening" him. Chénier then burned the manuscript of *Timoleon* in the presence of the Committee of General Security, and received a certificate to that effect signed by David and his associates.⁹¹ Although there is no indication that David was personally responsible for the suppression of his play, Chénier never forgave the painter for having witnessed his humiliation.

⁸⁷ Louis-Bon-Benoit Lefortier (1766-?), "Arrêté du 24 Ventôse," A.N., AF II* 292, f. 73. For his subsequent arrest see A.N., F⁷ 4774¹², liasse 4, dos. "Lefortier." This journalist is generally confused with the educator Jean François Le Fortier (1771-1823).

⁸⁸ Jean-Baptiste-Nicolas Crapart, "Arrêté du 19 Floréal," A.N., AF II* 254, f. 204. Crapart escaped the agents sent to arrest him. A.N., F⁷ 4657, liasse 2, dos. "Crapart."

⁸⁹ Jean Charles Thiébault de Laveaux, "Arrêté du 12 Germinal [Apr. 1, 1794]," A.N., AF II* 294, f. 178.

⁹⁰ See Alfred J. Bingham, *Marie-Joseph Chenier: Early Political Life and Ideas (1789-1794)* (New York, 1939), pp. 158-67.

⁹¹ "Déclaration de M. J. Chénier" and "Décret du 19 Floréal," A.N., AF II* 285, ff. 64-65; AF II* 275, f. 62.

This incident contributed, nevertheless, to the growth of the legend that David used his political powers for the purpose of persecuting his professional rivals. After Thermidor, when David's pupils came before the National Convention to ask for their master's release from prison, M. J. Chénier rose to speak in behalf of their petition. However, in the course of his speech the dramatist declared that David had been "unjust toward the artists." "And none perhaps knows better than myself," he continued, "how far he pushed his prejudice." Although he said the great painter was "a fanatic of Robespierre" Chénier concluded that, in the final analysis, David was merely guilty of "an extreme rigor in his functions as a member of the Committee of General Security."⁹² Unfortunately history has chosen to remember Chénier's insinuation that David persecuted his fellow artists rather than his statement that the painter refused to let his personal feelings interfere with his strict performance of his duties as a member of the police committee.

The subject of David's attitude toward and treatment of his professional colleagues during the Revolution lies largely outside the scope of this essay.⁹³ A word can be said, however, regarding his relations with the artists who were directly involved in his police activities. Rumors were circulated by royalist sympathizers to the effect that David had had numerous artists arrested and guillotined because of personal jealousy. When impartial observers such as the German traveler Meyer attempted to verify the fact, no evidence beyond hearsay and innuendo was forthcoming.⁹⁴ On the other hand the records of the Committee of General Security reveal that a number of artists were arrested for specific political reasons. Several of these were former members of that conservative and aristocratic institution the Royal Academy of Painting, which David had had suppressed as an artistic "Bastille." Among the former academicians who were arrested by order of the committee were Restout and Pasquier, who had been friends of Roland, and the royalists Le Roy and Suvée.⁹⁵ The latter was a personal rival of David, who had referred to him as that "horrible aristocrat, that ignoramus Suvée."⁹⁶ Had

⁹² *Moniteur*, no. 72 (Dec. 2, 1794), p. 306. It is evident from his later conduct that Chénier, who had collaborated in the revolutionary festivals produced by David, was motivated by a desire to supplant the painter as "pageant master" of the nation.

⁹³ The writer is preparing a separate study on this subject.

⁹⁴ F. J. L. Meyer, *Fragments sur Paris* (Hamburg, 1798), pp. 207-208. The royalist publicist Baron de Coiffier de Moret (*Dictionnaire biographique et historique des hommes marquans de la révolution française* [London, 1800], II, 388) said, "il seront trop long de nommer tous ceux qu'il [David] envoya à l'échafaud"; so he neglected to name a single victim!

⁹⁵ Jean Bernard Restout (1732-1797), Pierre Pasquier (1731-1806), Joseph-François Le Roy (1768-1829), and Joseph Benoit Suvée (1743-1807), "Arrêté du 30 Brumaire [Nov. 20, 1793]," A.N., AF II* 290, ff. 28-29 and "Arrêté du 14 Prairial [June 2, 1794]," A.N., AF II* 254, f. 393.

⁹⁶ Letter of David to Topino-Le Brun, Paris, Dec. 24, 1792, B.N., MSS, Nouv. Acq. Fr., 6604, pièce 391, f. [1].

David been so inclined, such men as these could easily have become victims of his personal vengeance. As a matter of fact the artist did not sign these particular warrants at all, and not one of the painters in question went to the guillotine. Moreover an examination of the records of the Revolutionary Tribunal in the French Archives reveals that not a single artist was sent to the scaffold during the period of David's functions as a political policeman.⁹⁷ Therefore he cannot be accused of being even indirectly responsible for the death of professional rivals. In fact, the only artists executed during the terror were those who were guillotined as followers of Robespierre after Thermidor and David himself escaped going with them only by a hair's breadth.⁹⁸

As Chénier pointed out, the only valid criticism that could be made of David's conduct was that he was relatively inflexible in the performance of his duties on the committee. The artist generally maintained an attitude of complete impartiality toward those who were arrested as suspects. To have done otherwise would have been immoral and illegal as well as dangerous. Naturally the numerous friends and relatives of imprisoned suspects implored the mercy of the members of the police committee. As has been noticed, such personal solicitations were outlawed and David and his colleagues were expressly prohibited from receiving them. Moreover the committee's regulations made unilateral intervention by its individual members legally impossible. An absolute majority of those present was required for arrests while a majority of six votes was necessary for releases.⁹⁹ For David to have urged clemency on purely personal grounds would have roused the suspicions, if not the hostility, of his colleagues. Once a case was turned over to the Revolutionary Tribunal the police committee was enjoined from attempting to influence the outcome.¹⁰⁰ Finally if the laws of the Republic and the personal principles of its officials were not adequate restraints, there was always the example of the deputy Osselin, who expiated on the guillotine his attempt to extricate an *émigrée* lady friend from prison.¹⁰¹ Under these circumstances and the prevailing atmosphere of war hysteria, revolutionary fanaticism, and intense party strife David's rigorous nonintervention is actually admirable. His austere disinterestedness was, according to contemporary standards of conduct, a mark of virtue.

⁹⁷ The W Series (Papers of the Revolutionary Tribunals) at the Archives Nationales indicates that seventeen individuals who would probably be classified as "artists" today were tried by the Tribunal. Sixteen were acquitted and none was executed. However, eleven artists were outlawed as followers of Robespierre and guillotined without trial after Thermidor.

⁹⁸ A.N., W 434, dos. 975, pièce 9; dos. 976, pièce 3; dos. 977, pièce 5; dos. 978, pièce 5.

⁹⁹ "Règlement du C.S.G.," A.N., AF II* 286, f. 82.

¹⁰⁰ "Réponse de David," A.N., AA 45, plaq. 6, pièce 293, pp. 26-28.

¹⁰¹ Charles-Nicolas Osselin (1752-94).

Nevertheless, it is gratifying to learn that the painter of Brutus, and the friend of Robespierre, was also human. David's inflexible principles apparently did allow him to fight for those suspects whom he believed to be innocent. How warmly and how frequently he defended them at the green baize-covered table in the council room of the Hôtel de Brionne will probably never be known. However, documentary evidence has survived to show that some, at least, owed their liberty or their lives to the fact that the painter had used his influence in their behalf.¹⁰²

In any case David and his colleagues generally showed a commendable impartiality. Neither did they enrich themselves, satisfy their private grudges, nor seize personal dictatorial powers as they might so easily have done. It is refreshing to learn that the political police of the Revolution usually observed the legal safeguards and amenities of arrest, and did not engage in sadistic brutalities such as extracting information by means of torture. The Committee of General Security was extremely well informed, and was reasonably judicious in making its decisions on the basis of the available evidence. Though over-crowded, the prisons of the Revolution were generally much better than most others of the time and the prisoners were usually well treated. The methods of the Hôtel de Brionne and the prisons of Paris in the Year II were a far cry from the calculated bestiality of the Gestapo and the inhuman cruelties of the concentration camps and forced labor gangs of the twentieth century.

David has been defended by some of his biographers and criticized by at least one historian for being a "poor policeman."¹⁰³ Yet in his own time he was denounced more than once as being too rigorous. Actually, as has been shown here, the artist was neither an impotent nonentity nor an implacable and merciless Javert. Probably his greatest contributions during the period were accomplished in the cultural field—as an artist, as a member of the Committee of Public Instruction, and as director of revolutionary pageants—but David did not neglect his more sinister duties as a security agent for the First French Republic. Surely David's role as an active, responsible, and conscientious member of the Committee of General Security deserves something better than the gross distortion or total obscurity which it has received at the hands of many writers. It is perhaps worth remembering that probably a good many of David's fellow citizens agreed with the opinion of the *sans*

¹⁰² Letter of Charles Sériziat, 2 Messidor, an III [June 20, 1795], A.N., AA 53, plaq. 7, pièce 3; cf. A.N., AF II* 255, f. 625; AF II* 285, ff. 77-79, 81. Letter of David, 28 Germinal, an II [Apr. 17, 1794], B.N., MSS, Nouv. Acq. Fr., 28, f. 42. "Observations par Demany du 22 Frimaire, an II [Dec. 12, 1793]," A.N., F⁷ 4443, plaq. 8, pièce 70. "Réponse de David," A.N., AA 45, plaq. 6, pièce 293, p. 45.

¹⁰³ Walter, "Un Artiste sous la terreur," *loc. cit.* (n. 30 above).

The English Mormons in America

M. HAMLIN CANNON

THE Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints in the nineteenth century drew most of its converts not from its native America but from Europe.¹ Between 1840 and 1887 it brought 85,220 European converts to the Mormon settlements in the West.² According to Katharine Coman, this represented "the most successful example of regulated immigration in United States history."³ About half the European Mormon emigrants (43,356) were from the British Isles.⁴ It is highly probable that many of these shared the sentiments attributed to a woman member of the pioneer party at first sight of the Great Salt Lake Valley: "Weak and weary as I am, I would rather go a thousand miles farther than remain in such a forsaken place as this."⁵ However, most of the British Mormons truly felt that they had left Babylon behind and that in the mountain fold they had found Zion.

According to Sir Richard Burton, numbers of the British immigrants crossed the plains unaware that they were in the United States, and many of the Welsh during the journey discarded "their blankets and warm clothing, from a conviction that a gay summer reigns throughout the year in Zion."⁶ Some converts from the metropolitan centers of the British Isles knew little of the western part of America. They had heard that it would be necessary to beat off the Indians and had therefore hurriedly purchased the first firearms they saw. The result was frequently unfortunate, and accidents were not uncommon.⁷

When one immigrant train emerged from the mountains and saw before them the valley of the Great Salt Lake, Burton observed that all were in

¹ The methods employed by the Mormon Church in bringing its British converts to America have been described by this writer in the article "Migration of English Mormons to America," *American Historical Review*, LII (April, 1947), 436-55. I am indebted to Dr. Arthur Ekirch and Dr. Louis C. Hunter for the suggestion that the story of the English Mormons in America should be told.

² Milton R. Hunter, *The Mormons and the American Frontier* (Salt Lake City, 1940), p. 188.

³ Katharine Coman, *Economic Beginnings of the Far West* (2 vols., New York, 1912), II, 84.

⁴ Richard L. Evans, *A Century of "Mormonism" in Great Britain* (Salt Lake City, 1937), p. 245.

⁵ Frank J. Cannon, *Brigham Young and His Mormon Empire* (New York, 1913), p. 143. The woman was Harriet Young, the wife of Brigham Young's brother Lorenzo.

⁶ Richard F. Burton, *The City of the Saints and across the Rocky Mountains to California* (London, 1861), p. 279.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 216.

clean clothes and the men had shaved. They went into the valley singing hymns. As they proceeded, the citizens met them, some on foot, others on horseback, and a few in carriages. The crowd marched through the city streets to the temple square, where the leading dignitaries of the Church welcomed them.⁸ Another English traveler describes the scene when an immigrant train had

just arrived, with sixty wagons, four hundred bullocks, six hundred men, women, and children, all English and Welsh. The wagons fill the street; some of the cattle are lying down in the hot sun; the men are eager and excited, having finished their long journey across the sea, across the States, across the prairies, across the mountains; the women and little folks are scorched and wan; dirt, fatigue, privation give them a wild, unearthly look; and you would hardly recognize in this picturesque . . . group the sober Monmouth farmer, the clean Woolwich artisan, the smart London smith.⁹

Bishop Hunter, who was in charge of the Perpetual Emigrating Fund,¹⁰ met all the trains. It was not uncommon, however, for Brigham Young also to bid them welcome.¹¹

After the reports of the commanding officers of the immigrant train had been given, Bishop Hunter went among the immigrants to see whether they were in need of anything. For some he obtained butter, for others tea, and for those who were ill he procured a doctor.¹² After the new arrivals had had a chance to forgather with old acquaintances, Bishop Hunter set about finding employment for them. At a Sabbath meeting in the Tabernacle he would announce that an immigrant train had arrived in the city and ask the bishops of the wards whether they could employ any of the immigrants. "One bishop said he could take five bricklayers, another two carpenters, a third a tinman, a fourth seven or eight farm-servants, and so on. . . ."¹³

For those who could not obtain employment in this manner and who needed temporary assistance, Brigham Young instituted the "Public Works," which consisted of "work-shops, built on Temple Block, in which various mechanical trades are carried on as systematically as in manufacturing establishments in the States."¹⁴ These shops included a carpenter's shop, a blacksmith's shop, a machine shop, and a paint shop. The wages were very low, and one observer felt that the employees in the "Public Works" were "in a

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 275-76.

⁹ William Hepworth Dixon, *New America* (Philadelphia, 1867), p. 140.

¹⁰ The Perpetual Emigrating Fund was a revolving fund from which worthy but poor Saints might borrow the money for their journey to Utah. The loans were to be repaid, either in money or labor, after the emigrant had established himself in the Great Basin.

¹¹ Jules Remy, *A Journey to Great-Salt-Lake City* (2 vols., London, 1861), II, 218.

¹² Dixon, p. 183.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 177.

¹⁴ Benjamin G. Ferris, *Utah and the Mormons* (New York, 1854), p. 164.

state of almost hopeless servitude.”¹⁵ This judgment, however, appears unfair. For the employment of those who had been farmers, each settlement maintained a “Church Farm.” The one in Salt Lake City comprised eight hundred acres. These farms were also “used as experimental stations where seeds, brought by immigrants from foreign lands, or the mulberry tree, etc., might be raised.”¹⁶

As soon as the newcomers got their “land legs” they were expected to become more independent. Sir Richard Burton asked a Utah acquaintance how the immigrants behaved after they had become somewhat adapted to their new life. The reply he received is illuminating:

All expect to be at the top of the tree at once, and they find themselves in the wrong box; no man gets on here by pushing; he begins at the lowest seat; a new hand is not trusted; he is first sent on a mission, then married, and then allowed to rise higher if he shows himself useful.¹⁷

To all of them, Utah was far different from what they had imagined. Even the food was strange. One new arrival was given a slice of watermelon by Brigham Young, and he “hardly knew how to go to work upon the piece.”¹⁸ William Atkin, another emigrant from the British Isles, tells a delightful story of his first American meal:

At our first dinner there was meat and vegetables, fruit, butter, and everything necessary to make a good common every day dinner, and to this what looked like a very nice yellow cake, and this I noticed some were eating with meat and vegetables, and putting butter on it, and I had heard in the old country how extravagant the American people were in some things and I certainly thought that this was the height of American extravagance in very deed, and they of course, passed it to me. I said nothing but thought in my own mind, a piece of it would be very nice, indeed, for a finish to a good mean [meal]; accordingly when I had eaten all I needed, except as I supposed, a small piece of this nice cake, I then took a piece of it, but lo, my surprise! For what I supposed was a beautiful cake when I tasted, it was rough and course [*sic*] enough to be made out of saw dust and then I saw at [a] glance it needed both butter and meat and all the good things you could get to help it on its downward road. On enquiring afterwards on what they called that sawdust affair, she informed me it was a corn dodger of yellow corn and you can rest assured that I certainly dodged it for a long while after that. . . .¹⁹

Many of the newcomers were sheltered by old friends from the British Isles. Others lived in the wagons in which they had crossed the plains until they could locate a more permanent home. Such was the case of Thomas

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 165.

¹⁶ Kate B. Carter, *Heart Throbs of the West* (Salt Lake City, 1939), p. 230.

¹⁷ Burton, p. 278.

¹⁸ Christopher J. Arthur, “Autobiography,” manuscript, Library of Congress, p. 6.

¹⁹ “Biography of William Atkin,” manuscript, Library of Congress, pp. 18–19.

Briggs, who arrived in Utah in 1864. After living in his wagon for the first two weeks, he rented a one-room house for three dollars a month. He had no furniture, and so his family used the box in which their clothing had been packed as a table. Chairs were provided by boring holes in small slabs of lumber and inserting sticks as legs. The family made their beds on the floor. Briggs's first job was husking corn for a friend, who gave him every sixth bushel as his share.²⁰ Henry Savage, who had obtained a house rent-free from Bishop Hunter, secured his first job helping to dig the foundations of the Salt Lake Temple.²¹ John Hinton rented a one-room house in Salt Lake City in 1861. He was an excellent carpenter and was able to find work immediately with the leading mechanic in the city.²² In his spare time he made all the furniture for the family. He also made a beautiful table which he wished to sell. Although everyone admired it, none could afford it. However, a Colonel Reese, who disbursed "provisions to the soldiers . . . had flour and bacon left, so he bought the table, paying them enough flour and bacon to do them the entire winter of 1861 and 2."²³ Hinton worked in Salt Lake City for a year, but wages were so small and fuel so hard to obtain that he moved to the southern part of the Territory in an effort to better his fortune.

Isaac Hunt, who arrived in the fall of 1852, fell in love with a young lady who had been in his immigrant train. When he asked Brigham Young whether it would be all right if he took a wife, the latter replied, "Yes, two or three if you like." While this interview was taking place, the prospective bride was purchasing household utensils, which "consisted of six tin plates, a stew kettle, and some spoons." Between them the couple already possessed four knives and forks, a bake skillet, a feather pillow, a straw tick or mattress and a straw pillow. The latter was so hard that it made their ears "sore to sleep on it."²⁴

It was not expected that the immigrants should remain indefinitely in Salt Lake City. After they had become somewhat accustomed to life in the environs of the Mormon capital, they were counseled to move to less developed parts of the territory controlled by Brigham Young. The colonies set up by the Church authorities were of two classes. The first group might be considered way stations for the assistance of those who were traveling to Utah. A system of settlements extended from San Bernardino, California, to

²⁰ George C. Lambert, *Precious Memories* (Salt Lake City, 1914), p. 32.

²¹ Nephi Miles Savage, "Memoirs of Henry Savage and Family," manuscript, Library of Congress, p. 25.

²² "Memories of John Hock Hinton and Emma Spendlove," manuscript, Library of Congress, p. 3.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

²⁴ "Biography of Isaac Hunt," manuscript, Library of Congress, p. 3.

Salt Lake City for the benefit of those who traveled by water to California and thence overland to Salt Lake City. Another series of colonies, in reality an extension of the same chain, reached from Salt Lake City eastward to Florence, Nebraska. Many of the settlements in this first class became permanent towns and integral parts of the second class of Brigham Young's colonization scheme. The settlements of the second class were to be "built up" so as to furnish homes and livelihood for those who gathered to Zion, and also to help Zion to become economically self-sufficient—a long-cherished desire of the Mormon leader.

Before sending out a colonizing party, it was Brigham Young's custom first to dispatch an exploring expedition to locate suitable sites for towns. This party would survey the water supply, fertility of the soil, proximity to the timber supply, and various topographical features of the area. The scouting party would then return and make a formal report.²⁵ If the prospectus was deemed favorable, Young organized the areas selected for settlements into large territorial divisions and "placed the responsibility of settlement in the hands of apostles."²⁶

The methods of choosing the colonizers varied. Sometimes President Young would appoint each member of the party. At other times only the leader would be appointed, and he in turn would select the rest of the group.²⁷ The colonizers were considered as missionaries. They were supposed to stay in the place to which they were sent until they received an official release from the First Presidency of the Church.

Pains were taken to make sure that each colonizing company had a proper balance of industrial and agricultural workers, including men skilled in the various crafts that would be needed in the settlement.

In establishing new settlements like Saint George, men were usually selected from nearly every older community in Utah. Then the group was augmented by immigrants who had recently arrived at Salt Lake. This resulted in a mixture of the experienced frontiersmen and a certain number of novices in pioneer life. In this way Brigham was able to take care of the stream of immigrants flowing continuously into Salt Lake and at the same time to assure the success of the colonial projects.²⁸

Only a small minority of those who came from the British Isles knew anything about agriculture. The majority were either miners or factory workers. In a group of 2,282 British emigrants only 173 were farmers, garden-

²⁵ Howard Stansbury, *Exploration and Survey of the Valley of the Great Salt Lake of Utah* (Philadelphia, 1852), p. 142.

²⁶ Milton R. Hunter, *Brigham Young, the Colonizer* (Salt Lake City, 1940), p. 57.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 61.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 61-62.

ers, and shepherds.²⁹ To help take care of the mechanics and artisans who migrated in ever-increasing numbers, and at the same time to advance his dream of making Deseret self-sufficient, Brigham Young devised various schemes. The Public Works has already been mentioned. Another interesting experiment was the "Iron Mission." One of the greatest needs in the Great Basin was for iron, which was required for the manufacture of grist mills, sawmills, and other urgent necessities. An exploring expedition under Parley P. Pratt had discovered iron ore in the southern part of Utah, about 220 miles from Salt Lake City. On July 27, 1850, Brigham Young called for fifty or more volunteers, "full of faith and good works," to found a colony. The settlers, he said, were "to sow, build and fence; erect a saw and grist mill, establish an iron foundry as speedily as possible and do all other acts and things necessary for the preservation and safety of an infant settlement. . . ." The following classes of settlers were desired:

Farmers, blacksmiths, carpenters, joiners, millwrights, bloomers, moulders, smelters, stone-cutters, brick-layers, stone masons, one shoemaker, one tailor and others of various occupations, who have the means and are willing to sacrifice the society of wives and children for one year, (believing that he who forsakes wife and children for the sake of the Kingdom of God shall receive an hundred fold). . . .³⁰

Apostles George Albert Smith and Ezra Benson were selected to head the expedition. They thought that there should be more men than specified in the original plan. In November there was published in the *Deseret News* a long list of applicants who had been accepted, together with the following notice:

Wanted: one hundred men, ready to start on the first day of December, with five hundred bushels of wheat, thirty thousand pounds of bread stuff, or three hundred pounds to each person; 34 plows, 17 drag teeth, one ax, spade, shovel and hoe to each man; one millwright, five carpenters and joiners; two blacksmiths; two shoemakers, and one surveyor, each with tools; 4 top and pit sawyers, with saw, one stone-cutter, two masons, grain and grass scythes, sickles and pitch forks, fifty each, one gun and two hundred pounds [rounds?] of ammunition for each man; fifty horses, twenty-five pair of holster pistols, one gunsmith, one cow to two persons, fifty beef cattle, potatoes and seed of the ball [?]; radish, beets, squash and garden seeds of all kinds; also Henry Miller with his threshing machine next year.³¹

On December 8, 1850, Apostle Smith led the colonizing party of thirty families out of Salt Lake City. It included 118 men with 600 head of stock and 101 wagons. In the following January they "arrived at, and settled the

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 62.

³⁰ *Deseret News*, July 27, 1850, quoted in Gustive O. Larson, *Prelude to the Kingdom* (Francetown, N. H., 1947), p. 171.

³¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 171-72.

county of, Iron, by building a fort at Parowan."³² The settlers then began to build homes and to prepare for farming in the spring. It was not until November that they began preparations for building the iron blast furnace. The first successful run of iron from the furnace was on September 29, 1852—almost two years since the party left Salt Lake City. The Deseret Iron Company was incorporated in England, and the British Saints were urged to buy stock in the new company. The Iron Mission lasted until 1868, but it was never fully successful.³³

As soon as the immigrants reached the valley, they were expected to begin to assist in the building of Zion. "The first duty of a Saint when he comes to this valley," said Brigham Young, "is to learn how to grow a vegetable, after which he must learn how to rear pigs and fowls, to irrigate his land, and to build up his house."³⁴ The new arrivals were also "taught to regard England as Egypt, and their old dwelling-place as exile from a brighter home. America is to them Canaan, Salt Lake City a new Jerusalem."³⁵ In 1855 an army officer formed the opinion that Brigham Young kept the converts in severe subjugation. "The great mass of the people are quiet good men, chiefly foreigners of the lower orders, who *do in all things* exactly as they are told by Brigham Young and his many apostles and elders. . . . The *task masters* . . . are ever on the alert, and give them no rest. . . ."³⁶

There is no doubt that the motives of many of the converts who came to Utah were economic as well as religious. The emigrants from the British Isles were often disappointed in the soil of Utah Territory. They considered it a "mean land," hard and dry.³⁷ Chandless, the British traveler who visited Utah in the 1850's, became interested in knowing what those who had recently arrived in the Territory "thought of the place, and their reasons for having joined Mormonism."³⁸ In the immediate neighborhood of the place where he was staying in Salt Lake City there were a cabinetmaker, a carpenter, a Nottingham stocking-weaver, a Cornish miner, and a Yorkshire tailor, who formed excellent subjects for his study.

"The cabinet-maker had a good opinion of Mormonism, and a better of himself." He had left his wife in the old country because she refused to join the Church. He was a hard worker, not a grumbler, and he spent his leisure time reading. His was "a restless, ambitious temperament, and if he had not

³² George Albert Smith, *The Rise, Progress, and Travels of the Church* (Salt Lake City, 1869), p. 18.

³³ Larson, pp. 176-80.

³⁴ Dixon, p. 166.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 169-70.

³⁶ House of Representatives, *Executive Document* no. 1, 34 Congress, 1 session, p. 167.

³⁷ Burton, p. 343.

³⁸ William Chandless, *A Visit to Salt Lake* (London, 1857), p. 210.

been a Mormon, would certainly have been a Chartist, and an unfavorable specimen of that."³⁹

The carpenter was a "cheerful, honest little fellow," who believed everything about the Mormon religion with childlike simplicity. He had come to the Great Basin because he was told to do so, and "if ordered elsewhere, would go as a matter of course."

The tailor was a Yorkshireman who was more interested in horse racing than in Mormonism. Chandless thought that he "must have become a 'Saint' when oblivious to the outer world, and on that one point remained intoxicated ever since." He professed a great admiration for the Book of Mormon and considered its beauty far superior to that of the Bible. In reality, however, he knew nothing about either book.⁴⁰

The stocking-weaver and the miner were older men who had left their wives and children to wait in the British Isles until they could be sent for. Neither man could find his own kind of work and consequently became very dissatisfied with Salt Lake. The weaver had finally obtained work as a farm-hand at two hundred dollars a year and "found." One of the members of the Church had offered to stand surety for the money necessary to bring his family to Utah, and so that problem was solved.⁴¹

The miner was illiterate. He had been a member of the Church of England but had become embittered when a clergyman of that faith asked for money before reading the services at the funeral of the miner's brother. The brother was buried "without a word said over him." When the miner heard that the Saints charged nothing for their services, he was immediately baptized without knowing anything of Mormon doctrine. His present opinion was that the doctrine was "right enough, but the rate of wages at Salt Lake was all wrong. He would sooner merely keep body and soul together through the winter, than let any one have his labour below its value; he would die sooner than work for his board: d—n the odds. . . ."⁴²

In the main, the British Mormon immigrants found conditions in Utah Territory to be similar to those elsewhere on the American frontier. Those who were already in the Great Basin were having a difficult time conquering the arid country. The adversities the newcomers suffered were common to many of the other settlers of the western regions, but probably seemed more severe to them, coming as they did from the older communities of England, than to those whose former life had been spent in the states bordering the American frontier.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 210-11.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 211.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 212.

⁴² *Ibid.*, pp. 212-13.

Christopher Lester Riding, a British immigrant, went to St. George, in the southern part of Utah Territory, in the year 1862. He built himself a 12' x 15' dugout, which he thatched with a willow roof. This, with a tent and a willow shed, sheltered his first wife with six children and his second wife with two babies. As there was not enough work to be had, he created his own business by procuring a four-wheeled cart and an ox. He loaded the cart with tinware which he had made himself and traveled through the southern settlements, exchanging his wares for flour, butter, cheese, and other commodities. His stock consisted of buckets, milk cans, tin cups and plates, bread cans, lamps, coffeepots, canteens, and washboards. Since sheet tin was scarce, people saved their tin cans and other metalware of all kinds for him.⁴³

In 1855 the crops of many of the settlers were endangered by a grasshopper plague. John Johnson Davies was one of those who suffered. He later recounted the story of those hard times:

Many had to dig roots to sustain life. I had to do that myself. I went to the field to watter my corn I got very week and started for home and when I got to the house I met my little daughter, Martha, in the door and she ask me for some bread and there was no bread in the house. This was a trying time for us. I took a sack and started out and said I will get some flower before I'll come back. I went to Sister Marler all she had in the house was twenty pounds of flower and one lofe of bread she gave me half of what she had in the house and When I got home my wife Smiled. Then we had a good breakfast.⁴⁴

The family of Henry Savage also experienced those hard times. Once when there was no food in the house, the mother borrowed a plateful of flour from a neighbor and made a pancake for a child who was ill. Times eventually grew better, but the memory of the earlier period never left the mother. She would not allow a bit of food to be thrown away that could be eaten by either man or animal, and in mixing bread would not waste a speck of flour or a scrap of dough.⁴⁵

The mother of Kezia Giles Carrol became very sick. In her last illness she used to murmur, "O if I could have just a scrapping of butter on my bread, I might get well," but no butter was to be had.⁴⁶ During those trying times, the husband of Eliza Mathews Smith was trying to build his family a house before the birth of the baby. Only the walls were up when a severe storm came up. During the storm the baby was born. Smith placed a wagon

⁴³ "Life of Christopher Lester Riding," manuscript, Library of Congress.

⁴⁴ John Johnson Davies, "Historical Sketch of My Life," manuscript, Library of Congress, pp. 19-20.

⁴⁵ Savage, "Memoirs of Henry Savage and Family," manuscript, Library of Congress, pp. 26-27.

⁴⁶ "Life of Kezia Giles Carrol," manuscript, Library of Congress, p. 26.

cover over the bed, the only protection he could devise. Mrs. Smith lay ill for days and "never recovered her health again."⁴⁷

Such incidents as the foregoing were not uncommon in Utah Territory up to the time of the coming of the railroad in 1868. For the first two decades of their existence, it was not certain that the Mormon settlements in Utah would become permanent. Although the great majority of the converts adjusted themselves to the conditions they found, some murmured against the iron rule of Brigham Young. The Mormon leader lashed out against these rebels in a sermon on March 23, 1853: "I say rather than that apostates should flourish here, I will unsheath my bowie knife and conquer or die."⁴⁸ It is not known whether Brigham literally meant what he said. At any rate, each spring saw a few of the converts leave the Utah settlements for the gold fields of California or for other western states. An even smaller percentage would head for the east, and of these a tiny fraction returned to the old country.

In 1858 Alfred Cumming, the new governor of Utah Territory, heard that a number of converts were being restrained in the territory against their wishes. He accordingly had the following notice read to the people on a Sunday in the Tabernacle:

It has been reported to me that there are persons residing in this and other parts of the Territory who are illegally restrained of their liberty. It is therefore proper that I should announce that I assume the protection of all such persons, if any there be, and request that they will communicate with me their names and place of residence, under seal, through Mr. Fay Worthen, or to me in person during my stay in the city.

A. CUMMING,
*Governor of Utah Territory.*⁴⁹

Following this announcement, Governor Cumming kept his office open "at all hours of the day and night." As a result, he registered fifty-six men, thirty-three women, and seventy-one children who sought assistance in proceeding to the states. The large majority of them "were of English birth" who stated that they wished to leave Utah in order "to improve their circumstances, and realize elsewhere more money by their labor." Some of the leading Mormons offered "to furnish them flour and assist them in leaving the country."⁵⁰

In the same year that Brigham Young issued his famous statement against apostates (1853), there arrived from England a semiliterate convert named

⁴⁷ "Life of Eliza Mathews Smith," manuscript, Library of Congress, p. 1.

⁴⁸ *Deseret News*, Apr. 2, 1853.

⁴⁹ Governor A. Cumming to Secretary of State Lewis Cass, May 2, 1858, *Senate Executive Document* no. 1, 35 Congress, 2 session, I, Pt. 2, p. 94.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 94-95.

Joseph Morris, who was to arise as a minor prophet in opposition to Brigham. Morris went to San Pete County, where he drifted from job to job. One of his disciples said:

It was difficult for him to procure sufficient means to keep himself respectably clad. He acknowledged himself as a deficient and helpless infant in temporal gifts, and stated that somebody must make the temporal preparation before the people could receive the spiritual benefits of his mission; so he wandered up and down, foot-worn and weary, as a pilgrim and stranger.⁵¹

During 1856 and 1857 the Latter-Day Saints underwent a reformation, a large-scale revival in which every man confessed his sins and was rebaptized into the Church. Morris became deeply immersed in this religious ecstasy and according to his statement "had continual visitations from the Lord."⁵² The revelations which he constantly received he sent on to Brigham Young,⁵³ and he asked to be included in the inner councils of the Church.⁵⁴ According to Stenhouse, Young dismissed Morris with an obscene remark.⁵⁵

For two and a half years Morris continued to pepper Young "with the designs and purposes of the Almighty."⁵⁶ In the fall of 1860 he was on his way to Salt Lake City to deliver two of his latest revelations to Brigham when he met a John Cook, who invited him to visit his home in Weber County. There he met Cook's brother Richard, who was a bishop. The Cook brothers believed Morris to be a man of God and invited others to hear him.⁵⁷ In the next few months Morris preached to crowded congregations. Many believed that he had been called by the Lord to supplant Brigham Young. The sermons of the new prophet emphasized three things—that the second advent of the Lord was imminent, that Brigham Young was a false prophet, and that Morris would lead an armed force against the Brighamites and would emerge victorious. Then this army would conquer Utah, next the United States, and finally the world.

Morris communed daily with the Lord—frequently twice a day. Stenhouse describes the results:

Morris abounded with revelations. His "gifts" exceeded in profusion those of all who had ever gone before him. The founder of Mormonism was nothing in comparison with his disciple from Wales.⁵⁸ The adherents of the new prophet

⁵¹ Joseph Morris, *The "Spirit Prevails"* (San Francisco, 1886), p. 3.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 670.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 671.

⁵⁴ Nels Anderson, *Desert Saints* (Chicago, 1942), p. 223.

⁵⁵ T. B. H. Stenhouse, *Rocky Mountain Saints* (London, [1873]), p. 594.

⁵⁶ Morris, p. 671.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 672.

⁵⁸ Joseph Morris was born at Borswardly, Cheshire, England, and brought up near the border of Wales. Nearly all writers on the Morrisites have mistakenly assumed Morris to be a Welshman.

were perfectly overjoyed at the abundance of light that now shone upon their path, and some very intelligent men gathered to the Weber. Three English and three Danish clerks were daily employed in writing the heavenly communications from the mouth of the new prophet. Brigham had been barren—Morris was overflowing.⁵⁹

The revelations, which were generally two or three pages long, reek of blood and thunder. The following, which is fairly typical, is chosen because of its brevity:

An Expression from the Army of Heaven,
WEBER, UTAH, February 4th, 1862.

We are coming! we are coming! we are coming to war! We shall make a slaughter. Therefore, look out for us. We are the warriors of heaven, the sons of the Eternal Father, whose right it is to reign. We understand your feelings, and we will speedily put them at rest. Look out for us, for lo, we come, we come, we come quickly—even the warriors of heaven. Even so. Amen and Amen.⁶⁰

From September, 1860, to June, 1862, Morris had about three hundred revelations from God. At least, that number have been preserved. According to one of his disciples, there were many others which the scribes failed to record.⁶¹ One revelation stated that the believers should gather at the mouth of the Weber River, and as a result many of Morris' followers began to assemble there. John L. Bear, one of the disciples, described the group: "The majority of us . . . came to Utah in 1860 and 1861 from the British Isles, Scandinavia, a few Germans and Swiss, quite a number of Danes. . . . Yet there were some who had lived in Utah quite a number of years and were born Americans."⁶² One of the most noted of the group was John Banks, who had been a prominent missionary in England and at one time was president of the Edinburgh Conference.⁶³ Approximately five hundred followers of Morris gathered on the bottom lands of the Weber River.⁶⁴ Their leader was acclaimed as a true prophet of God and His personal representative on earth. John Banks and Richard Cook were appointed counselors to Morris.

The site selected for the gathering was far from choice. There was practically no unoccupied farming land in the vicinity; however, there is no indication that the disciples of Joseph Morris intended to farm. They built

⁵⁹ Stenhouse, p. 594.

⁶⁰ Morris, p. 403.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

⁶² "Autobiography of John L. Bear," *Journal of History*, IV (1911), 199.

⁶³ Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of Utah* (San Francisco, 1890), p. 409.

⁶⁴ The exact number is not known. John L. Bear states that there were 525. Mrs. C. V. Waite, in *The Mormon Prophet and His Harem* (Cambridge, Mass., 1866), estimates that there were between 300 and 500. Bancroft (p. 616) gives the number as 500; and *The "Spirit Prevails"* shows the total as 425.

themselves brush huts and, except for a few household chores, did nothing but await the coming of the Lord, which they believed to be imminent. Their dwellings were arranged in a quadrangular area in the manner of a fort. In the center were a schoolhouse and a tent which was used as a meeting place.⁶⁵

The Morrisites held all their property in common, and the supply of foodstuffs daily decreased. Morris continued to prophesy that the Second Advent was nigh, "but the Lord tarried."⁶⁶ Meanwhile Morris organized the men into a military unit which would be ready to fight for the Lord upon His appearance.⁶⁷

Brigham Young sent Wilford Woodruff and John Taylor to visit the settlement. After their inspection all members of the Weber community were excommunicated from the Church.⁶⁸ Some of Morris' followers became disaffected and wished to withdraw and take with them what they had put into the common fund. It was decided to let the dissenters depart, but some of them took the best cattle and seized the wagons of the other brethren which were on their way to the mill laden with wheat. Three erstwhile members were seized and taken to the "fort."

Appeals were unsuccessfully made for their release. The friends of the prisoners thereupon secured warrants for the arrest of Joseph Morris, John Banks, and other Morrisite leaders. The sheriff of Salt Lake County, Robert Burton,⁶⁹ was ordered to enforce the writs. With a posse of three or four hundred men and five pieces of artillery, he went to the settlement and demanded the surrender of the leaders, warning them of the consequences of refusal. Morris withdrew to his dwelling and after a few minutes reappeared with a revelation to the effect that his followers would remain unharmed. Colonel Burton's demand was refused.⁷⁰ A few moments later, Burton answered with artillery fire. For three days the posse besieged the settlement, wounding some of the Morrisites and killing others. The only defenses the Morrisites had were some shotguns and a few Mexican firelocks. Throughout the engagement Morris continued to tell his people that he was in constant communication with God and that He would assist them. On the third day he announced receipt of the following revelation:

My faithful people have nearly spent their physical strength, and used up their ammunition, and when they have done so, and are not able to defend them-

⁶⁵ Orson F. Whitney, *History of Utah* (4 vols., Salt Lake City, 1892-1904), II, 49.

⁶⁶ Bancroft, p. 616.

⁶⁷ Morris, p. 6.

⁶⁸ Whitney, II, 50.

⁶⁹ He was also a prominent member of the Nauvoo Legion, the Mormon army.

⁷⁰ Bancroft, pp. 616-17.

selves against their enemies any longer, they will have done their own part and will be pronounced faithful before me, having done their duty. Until my people have come to this point, I cannot lawfully come to their release. A people must spend their own strength and means before they have a lawful claim on me for assistance, and when they have done so, I am compelled by law to come and assist them. If I should fail to do so at that time, I should break the law, and that a celestial messenger cannot do, if he could, he would be a sinner, and no sinner can exist in heaven. . . .⁷¹

Despite Morris' pleading, his followers believed that their cause was lost, and on the evening of the third day raised the white flag of surrender. After the surrender, their weapons were taken from them and the men were separated. Thereupon the posse killed Morris and Banks, as well as two of the women who tried to protect them. Ten of the Morrisites and two of the posse had been killed. The remaining Morrisite men were taken to jail.⁷² Seven of them were found guilty of second degree murder, and sixty-six were fined one hundred dollars and committed to jail until the fines were paid. Two were acquitted.⁷³

The Morrisite settlement was broken up and the membership became scattered. General Patrick Connor, who was in command of the Federal troops in Utah Territory during the Civil War, invited them to settle near Soda Springs in Idaho, where they might have protection of the Army. Accordingly, about forty families settled there and built a small community which they called Morristown. Crops were bad and the settlers gradually drifted away. By 1891 there were only about six Morrisite families in the area, and in 1930, none of the original families was left.⁷⁴

Although the story of the Morrisites is a tragic one, it should be remembered that the followers of Joseph Morris were but a small percentage of the Mormons who came from Europe. The others were better able to adapt themselves to the conditions in Utah. Many of them rose to high positions in church and state, and all of them contributed to the culture of Utah.

It is of interest to note that Brigham Young, although anxious to unify the diverse peoples who made up his empire, did not make much use of education as a unifying force. It must be recognized that Young had little respect for men with an intellectual background. On one occasion he said:

⁷¹ Morris, pp. 629-30.

⁷² "The male Morrisite Saints were marched into Salt Lake City, and were about the most forlorn, mud-bespattered procession that ever tramped the earth—the wretched victims of maximum faith and minimum brains." J. F. Gibbs, *Lights and Shadows of Mormonism* (Salt Lake City, 1909), p. 245.

⁷³ Bancroft, p. 618.

⁷⁴ Andrew Jensen, *Encyclopedic History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints* (Salt Lake City, 1941), p. 541.

Professor Orson Pratt has told you that there are many books in the world, and I tell you that there are many inhabitants in the world; he tells you that there is something in all these books, and I tell you that each of these inhabitants has a name; he tells you that it would be well for you to learn this something, and I tell you that it would be quite as useful for you to learn the names of these inhabitants. Were I to live as long as Methuselah, and were I to learn every hour of my life something new from these books, and were I able to remember all that I had learnt, I should not after all know as much as I could learn in five minutes from revelation.⁷⁵

However, there were a few adult schools in the Territory in which qualified men "who . . . exercised the vocation of teachers in England" gave instruction on the arts and sciences.⁷⁶ In addition, there were many institutes, generally very short-lived, in which the new arrivals were instructed in the cultivation of the soil and other agricultural pursuits.

The meetinghouse in each ward served as a focal center. Here the assimilation of the immigrants was best accomplished. The bishop of the ward was in a very real sense the shepherd of his flock. He looked out for both the spiritual and temporal wants of his congregation. At least once a month each family was visited by one of the "ward-teachers" who inquired into its affairs. If help was needed, the teacher reported to the bishop, who saw that aid was forthcoming. If the members were remiss in their religious duties, the bishop came to urge them back into the fold.

In addition to religious services, the meetinghouse was frequently used as the schoolhouse and recreational center of the community. For the very young there was a primary school as well as classes in religion, where the children received instruction and played together. For the older children the Mutual Improvement Associations served the same purposes. Women belonged to the Relief Society—a remarkably efficient Ladies' Aid. For the men there were the meetings of the Priesthood. In addition there were choir practices, genealogical meetings, and other meetings of like nature. Being a good Mormon was a full-time job. It is not surprising then that the assimilation of the foreign converts was quickly and efficiently completed.

The British converts had many contributions to make to Mormon culture. In the realm of the arts, their greatest contributions were in the fields of music and drama.⁷⁷ The best-loved hymn of the Mormons, "Come, Come Ye Saints," was written by William Clayton, a British convert who was the amanuensis of Brigham Young. The early British immigrants "developed an

⁷⁵ Remy, *A Journey to Great-Salt-Lake City*, II, 176-77.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 182.

⁷⁷ William J. McNiff has discussed the cultural aspects of the Mormon society in his *Heaven on Earth* (Oxford, Ohio, 1940), pp. 59-194.

interest in worthy music among the Mormon people which has persisted to the present."⁷⁸ The well-known Tabernacle Choir of Salt Lake City was started and furthered by the converts, many of whom were from Wales. Most of the Mormon hymns were composed by British converts.

The influence of the British proselyte was also felt in the field of drama. Phil Margetts, a British immigrant of the 1850's, organized the Mechanics Dramatic Association without the prior approval of Brigham Young. There was no reason to believe that Young would be opposed to the dramatic society, but Margetts, wishing to avert any disapproval on the part of the Mormon dictator, invited him to attend one of the performances. Brigham came and liked it so well that he accepted an invitation to return with his family and that of Heber C. Kimball on the following evening. "The next night the two families . . . arrived,—*ninety* in all, and although they crowded the little theater beyond its capacity they managed to squeeze them in."⁷⁹ Brigham Young became a convert to the drama, and shortly afterward, in 1862, built the Salt Lake Theater, which until its destruction in 1929 was host to the leading theatrical artists of the United States and Europe, as well as home talent.⁸⁰

One of the most bitter of the anti-Mormon writers, John H. Beadle, thought that the English Mormon emigrants to America lived "quite well" and that the majority of the American-born Mormons failed "to come up to the English standard."⁸¹ A British traveler computed that in September, 1879, of Mormons holding Church office, at least forty-two presidents, counselors, and bishops in eleven of the stakes were British born. In Salt Lake Stake, which embraced Salt Lake City, thirteen of the twenty-one bishops had been born in Great Britain.⁸²

In spite of the strong contrast to their former way of life, the British Mormons, on the whole, seem to have adjusted themselves reasonably well to their new environment. Undoubtedly the possession of a common religion and a common language with others in Utah Territory, combined with the daily paternalistic supervision of their Church leaders, made their adjustment easier.

Washington, D. C.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 169.

⁷⁹ George Pyper, *The Romance of an Old Playhouse* (Salt Lake City, 1928), pp. 77-78.

⁸⁰ The theater was torn down in 1929 to make way for a filling station.

⁸¹ J. H. Beadle, *Life in Utah: or, The Mysteries and Crimes of Mormonism* (Philadelphia, 1870), p. 269.

⁸² W. G. Marshall, *Through America, or Nine Months in the United States* (London, 1881), p. 228.

* * * *Notes and Suggestions* * * *

Simeon E. Baldwin and the Clerical Control of Yale*

FREDERICK H. JACKSON

THE late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries brought a number of far-reaching changes to American colleges and universities. Important among these was the shift in the control of many institutions from the clergy to the laity.¹

Until the middle of the last century higher education in America was almost completely in clerical hands. Only one college from the colonial period, Franklin's College of Philadelphia (now the University of Pennsylvania), was controlled by laymen.² The number of secularly dominated institutions coming into existence during the national period to 1850 was small, while the denominationally sponsored and controlled institutions multiplied rapidly.³

Although many of these had originally been conceived primarily as theological schools, by the middle of the century (and sometimes much earlier), the ministerial students of most had become a minority. At Yale it was no longer true as early as 1745 that a majority of its graduates became clergymen.⁴

Among the factors leading to the secularization of American higher education was the expanding influence of the large and ever-growing nonclerical alumni body of the colleges. This group increasingly resented the clergy's dominance of the institutions and demanded a share in the control of their *alma maters*. In the post-Civil War period alumni pressure helped produce significant changes in the structure of the governing bodies of some colleges.

Another force in this revolutionary change in the control of American higher education was the financial assistance contributed to it by the rising industrial aristocracy in America. After the northern victory in 1865 the age was dominated by the entrepreneurs of the Northeast. Every other aspect of American life receded in importance before the nation's rapidly multiplying

*I am indebted to Professor G. W. Pierson of Yale for several suggestions relating to this paper and for generously supplying information from his studies in Yale history.

¹ An editorial in the *Nation*, no. 1046, July 16, 1885, p. 47, comments at length on this trend.

² Charles F. Thwing, *A History of Higher Education in America* (New York, 1906), pp. 112-13.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 231 ff.

⁴ Simeon E. Baldwin, "The Ecclesiastical Constitution of Yale College," *Papers of the New Haven Colony Historical Society*, III (1882), 419.

industrial machine. With the growth of large fortunes incident to this development the American colleges turned increasingly to their wealthy alumni for sustenance. The growing dependence upon the purses of prominent laymen made the colleges more vulnerable to the demand that they be controlled and in some cases actually headed by members of the new industrial aristocracy.⁵

Still another factor in the shift of control was the defensive position Protestant orthodoxy found itself in as a result of the attack on it brought forth by the publication of Darwin's *Origin of Species* in 1859. Men were doubting the faiths of their fathers, some turning away from religion altogether. The clergy, especially that portion of it which refused to make any concessions to Darwinism, was more and more looked upon as hopelessly antiquated and unfitted to set policy for institutions of higher learning.

Representative of the trend toward secularization of control are the developments at Yale. The Corporation of that institution before 1872 consisted of the president, ten clerical Fellows, the six senior state senators, and the governor and lieutenant governor of Connecticut, both *ex officio*. The president and the clerical Fellows had always been Congregational ministers who resided in Connecticut. The principal changes by which the president and a majority of the Corporation became laymen took place during the forty years between 1870 and 1910.

The first step in modifying the composition of the Corporation was the substitution in 1872 of six elected alumni Fellows for the six senior state senators. The latter with the governor and lieutenant governor had sat on the Yale Corporation since 1792 in consequence of the university's receiving some financial assistance from the state.⁶ The senators had proved in many instances to be unacquainted with and uninterested in the affairs of Yale, their attendance at Corporation meetings fell off, and it was generally acknowledged that their presence on the college's governing body was not beneficial. It was their seats which became the first target of the Yale alumni when, after the Civil War, they became more insistent that they be given a voice in basic college policy.

Before the Corporation acceded to the demand for alumni representation, at least one unsuccessful sortie was made by the alumni. This took place in 1870, and on the day after commencement Simeon E. Baldwin, a graduate of the class of 1861, wrote that the movement to put the election of a part of the Fellows of the college into the hands of the alumni had come to an

⁵ An editorial in the *Nation*, no. 1046, July 16, 1885, p. 48, treats of this movement.

⁶ Franklin B. Dexter, *Sketch of the History of Yale University* (New York, 1887), pp. 44-46.

end for the present. The oldsters, he observed, were satisfied with things as they were.⁷

A year later the Corporation capitulated, and at its request the Connecticut general assembly in 1871 and 1872 altered the Yale charter so that six alumni Fellows might be elected in place of the six state senators. With the enactment of this legislation the first major modification in Yale's governing body since 1792 was consummated. This action was greeted with almost universal satisfaction. It placated the advocates of moderate reform and relegated the proponents of more radical change to the position of a small minority for the time being.⁸

But if the liberals won a victory in the matter of alumni Fellows, they suffered a defeat when a new president of Yale was elected in 1871. The two foremost candidates were Noah Porter and Daniel Coit Gilman, both excellent representatives of "old Yale" and "young Yale," respectively. Sixty at the time, Porter was a Congregational minister and a professor of philosophy and theology. Gilman was forty, a professor of geography, and the favorite of the younger Yale alumni and faculty. Porter was chosen by Yale, but in the following year Gilman became president of the University of California and soon thereafter the first president of Johns Hopkins, which he succeeded in making one of America's great universities.⁹ There were many Yale men who believed that had Gilman been chosen Yale would have become the foremost university in America in the late nineteenth century. Under Porter it continued to hold to the ways of the past and to make innovations with reluctance.

After the 1872 changes, the Yale Corporation was composed of the president, the governor and lieutenant governor, the six elected alumni Fellows, and the ten self-perpetuating clerical Fellows. It was generally believed by the Corporation that the charter of Yale made it mandatory that both the president and the permanent Fellows be chosen from Congregational ministers residing in Connecticut. In view of this, suggestions that the Corporation be further secularized were always met by the objection that it would be impossible without a further amendment of the charter by the state legislature.

This was the state of affairs in 1881 when Simeon E. Baldwin, prominent New Haven attorney, professor of law at Yale, and historian by avocation,¹⁰

⁷ Simeon E. Baldwin to his mother, Emily P. Baldwin, July 22, 1870. Manuscripts cited are from the Baldwin Collection, Yale University Library.

⁸ Dexter, p. 80. See also the section on the institution's history in the annual catalogue of Yale University.

⁹ Morris Hadley, *Arthur Twining Hadley* (New Haven, 1948), pp. 102-103.

¹⁰ Baldwin was one of the principal founders and president of the American Bar Association. He was also president of the American Historical Association, American Political Science

read a paper before the New Haven Colony Historical Society on April 25, 1881, entitled "The Ecclesiastical Constitution of Yale College."¹¹ This proved to be a bombshell, for in it Baldwin maintained that after carefully examining the Yale charter and other fundamental acts he could find no necessity for either the president or any other member of the Yale Corporation being a clergyman.

While the act of 1701, under which Yale was founded, and a supplementary one of 1723 clearly provided that the ten Fellows be ministers residing in the colony, the revised charter of 1745 was silent on these matters. The mid-eighteenth century was a time of much religious controversy in Connecticut, and in order to secure the granting of the new charter by the legislature, the petitioners at Yale, Baldwin surmised, decided to say nothing about religion. With its governing body composed solely of ministers who were self-perpetuating, the college probably felt it could afford to leave to its own discretion all questions of succession.¹²

After tracing the changes of 1792 and 1871-1872 in the composition of Yale's governing body, Baldwin summarized his findings:

No qualifications, as respects eligibility to the presidency, are, so far as I can see, imposed by the existing laws, nor any for the position of Fellow, except as to the six elected by the graduates of the university, who must themselves be graduates of one of its departments.

The original Trustees were necessarily ministers of the gospel, living in Connecticut, by the express terms of the Acts of 1701 and 1723; though they were not required to be of the Congregational faith. Any Protestant minister could have been elected to the board, and Rector Cutler [the president was called rector prior to 1745] evidently did not deem his own intention to take orders in the Church of England, as incompatible with his right to remain in office.

But after 1745 there were no longer any Trustees. At the request of those then holding that position, the office was abolished, and replaced by that of Fellow of a corporation, clothed with different powers and limitations. The religious qualifications attached only to the Trustees, and when they disappeared, that, in my opinion, disappeared with them.

The same, of course, would be true, also, as respects the President.¹³

That Baldwin was writing to help clear the way for liberalization of the Corporation while at the same time not arousing the enmity of the ministerial Fellows is indicated by the concluding sentences of his article.

Association, Association of American Law Schools, and the International Law Association. He wrote voluminously on historical, constitutional, legal, and current problems. He was chief justice of Connecticut's Supreme Court and twice governor of the state.

¹¹ *Papers New Haven Colony Hist. Soc.*, III, 405-22.

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 418-19.

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 424-25.

But while to constitute a Christian College it is necessary that it be controlled by Christian men, it is not necessary that they be also Christian ministers. In 1792, the eleven ministers then constituting the corporation introduced eight new Fellows into their number, who were to be annually selected by the accidents of politics and official seniority. The possibility that they might, some day, be deists or "Indifferentists", as President Stiles' diary shows us, was fully considered, in admitting them. If, at any meeting, all of these State Fellows had been present, and a less number of the clerical corporators, the whole course of instruction and the whole faculty of instruction could have been revolutionized, had the politicians seen fit to use their majority, as politicians often do.

If the present ministerial Fellows should elect a layman of suitable qualifications as one of their associates, or a clergyman of another denomination, or another State, they would deviate far less from ancient precedent than did their predecessors in 1792, when they opened their doors to the representatives of the State government.¹⁴

Almost at once Baldwin began to receive congratulatory letters from alumni who wanted to see Yale more completely in secular hands. The managing editor of the New York *Evening Post*, for example, wrote asking that Baldwin summarize his address in an article to be published in that paper.¹⁵ Baldwin agreed to do so, and the article appeared on May 7, 1881.¹⁶

Another letter on the subject came from Richard D. Hubbard, Yale 1839, former governor of Connecticut.

I was right glad to see your paper in print. I thank you for having broken ground in that direction. The commons of the University are with you. The House of Lords has to give way to the Commons in the long run. I think 'twill be so in the matter of this old prescription. Hurrah for the Commons!¹⁷

Baldwin's brother, George W. Baldwin, Yale 1853, wanted to know if it was a desire for truth or a fondness for amusement that led him to cast a stone into the tranquil waters of Yale College corporate law.¹⁸

In a more serious vein James Hammond Trumbull, librarian of the Watkinson Library of Reference in Hartford and authority on Connecticut history, wrote that he had no doubt of the soundness of the ground Baldwin had taken regarding the constitution of Yale. He had become convinced twenty years before that the Fellows were free as far as the charter was concerned to name laymen to fill vacancies on their board and to elect a layman president of the college. The restriction imposed by the founding fathers was removed, Trumbull believed, with the tacit assent of the president and Fellows by the enlarged charter of 1745.¹⁹

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 442.

¹⁵ Watson R. Sperry to Simeon E. Baldwin, Apr. 28, 1881.

¹⁶ New York *Evening Post*, May 7, 1881, p. 5.

¹⁷ Richard D. Hubbard to Simeon E. Baldwin, May 11, 1881.

¹⁸ George W. Baldwin to his brother, Simeon E. Baldwin, May 15, 1881.

¹⁹ James Hammond Trumbull to Simeon E. Baldwin, July 9, 1881.

Besides congratulatory letters Baldwin received several containing explicit plans for further liberalization of the Yale Corporation's membership. One of these, from Henry Robinson, Yale 1853, a prominent Hartford lawyer, suggested that a vacancy be filled by the appointment of an out-of-state minister, preferably one of another denomination than Congregational.²⁰ Robinson and Baldwin worked together in the 1880's to try to draw new and forward-looking blood into the Corporation of Yale and to this end corresponded with several clerical Fellows, including Rev. Joseph Anderson, Rev. Joseph H. Twichell, and Rev. Joseph W. Backus.²¹ Rev. Anderson replied that he had no objection to appointing non-Connecticut men to the Corporation and had not known it was possible to do so until he had read Baldwin's article. He observed, however, that if President Porter were averse to such a change the Fellows would probably oppose it also.²² Two other clerical Fellows exhibited interest by requesting copies of Baldwin's article.²³

It is beyond question that Baldwin's paper created quite a stir both in alumni and Corporation circles at Yale. But, in spite of these and other efforts, the several vacancies among the clerical Fellows during the 1880's continued to be filled by Congregational ministers resident in Connecticut.

In the fall of 1885 it was announced that President Noah Porter would resign the following June. Once more the contest between the old guard and the moderns for the control of Yale was joined with renewed vigor. An editorial in the *Nation* in November, 1885, aptly summed up the two opposing bodies of ideas regarding the nature and purpose of Yale which were contending for mastery in the choice of the new president. The first of these stemmed from Yale's origin as a training school for ministers. The curriculum was designed to train clergymen, and the college was primarily a theological seminary.

The modern theory, on the other hand, held that a college should ground young men in the elements of an education which would prepare them for any pursuit. Harvard with its elective system represented the new; Yale with its fairly rigid curriculum leaned toward the old. In the *Nation's* words:

Yale College has greatly modified its course, and has given considerable scope to the elective principle; but it has clung pretty stoutly to the original theory of its establishment. It is still an institution practically governed by a few clergymen of a single denomination in a single State. It is still insisted by the believers in

²⁰ Undated letter from Henry Robinson to Simeon E. Baldwin, *ca.* July 16, 1885.

²¹ Henry Robinson to Simeon E. Baldwin, July 20, 1885.

²² Rev. Joseph Anderson to Simeon E. Baldwin, Aug. 31, 1885.

²³ Rev. Joseph H. Twichell to Simeon E. Baldwin, July 27, 1885, and Rev. Nathaniel J. Burton to Simeon E. Baldwin, July 21, 1885.

the old theory that the first requisite for a President is that he shall be a clergyman of the "orthodox" church. The conservative party may carry their point in the election of a new President, but they will only postpone the inevitable. A great modern college cannot be permanently conducted upon the same lines as a colonial divinity school.²⁴

The author of this editorial proved correct in his surmise that the conservatives would win the contest for the presidency in 1886. Timothy Dwight succeeded Noah Porter, and the unbroken line of Congregational minister-presidents continued until the turn of the century. Dwight, however, proved to be the last of the clerical heads of Yale.²⁵ Commenting on the Corporation's decision in 1886, Morris Hadley, son of the next president and the first layman to head Yale, said:

It was once again not a case of the Corporation choosing an inferior candidate as against a better one, for the new president was an outstanding man of great ability. It was a case of a choice between two different futures for Yale. The new president was Timothy Dwight, Yale 1849, grandson of the Timothy Dwight who had built so wisely in 1795. Nearly sixty when elected, he had been professor of New Testament criticism and interpretation. Like his grandfather, he was a Congregational minister. He worthily carried on the traditions established by that grandfather, but the direction which Yale took was once more determined by the wisdom of the past rather than by the possibilities of the future.²⁶

The pressure of the proponents of change continued and grew stronger as the passing years diminished the number and the strength of the aging conservatives. The occurrence of a vacancy among the clerical Fellows in 1889 provided the occasion for a resurgence of alumni effort to fill it with someone other than a Connecticut Congregational minister. Buchanan Winthrop, Yale 1862, a New York attorney who served from 1891 until his death in 1900 as an alumni Fellow,²⁷ wanted to make a test case at once regarding the legality of having a layman sit upon the Yale Corporation in place of a clerical Fellow. His plan was to persuade the Corporation to appoint a layman, have the latter's right to his seat challenged, and then carry the question up through the courts until a definitive answer was obtained. Winthrop suggested that Baldwin was the man most suitable to be the challenged layman.²⁸ Baldwin, however, rejected this plan and proposed a more moderate one. First, the Corporation should be persuaded to elect a Congregational minister from outside Connecticut. Even this

²⁴ *Nation*, no. 1064, Nov. 19, 1885, p. 419.

²⁵ *Historical Register of Yale University, 1701-1937* (New Haven, 1939), p. 33.

²⁶ Hadley, p. 104.

²⁷ *Obituary Record of Graduates of Yale University Deceased during the Academical Year ending in June, 1901*, pp. 62-63.

²⁸ Buchanan Winthrop to Simeon E. Baldwin, Apr. [8, 1889].

could not be done, Baldwin believed, unless President Dwight were convinced that the material interests of the university demanded it. If he led the way, the rest of the Corporation would follow.²⁹

Criticism of the university's conservatism and proposals for change reached the editorial pages of two important metropolitan dailies at this time. The *New York Times* printed on April 14, 1889, and the *Boston Herald* on April 20, editorials very similar in tone and content. Both were written by Julius H. Ward, Yale 1860, an editorial writer for the *Boston Herald*,³⁰ and were suggested by an article in a Hartford paper³¹ which represented Baldwin as the head and front of the movement to reform the Yale Corporation.³²

Pointing to the substitution of the alumni Fellows for the senators as a step in the right direction, the *Herald* lamented that this was not sufficient:

The hitch is in the corporation, whose ten self-appointed ministers have a controlling vote and are able to keep the alumni from ever having a representative majority in the board. Yale has always been loaded down with its conservatism, and this is the source from which it comes. Its trustees should be fairly representative of the position of the institution in the educational direction of the country.³³

That the editorials were written to arouse support among the Yale alumni of Boston and New York for Corporation reform was made clear by the recommendation in both that the next vacancy among the ministerial Fellows be filled by a layman or an out-of-state minister. Following such action a friendly suit should be brought to determine whether the Corporation had exceeded its powers. The situation would thus be clarified and possibly a more representative board be secured.³⁴

The time had not come in 1889, however, for the conservative forces to yield. President Dwight was apparently unconvinced that the material welfare of the university was suffering under the present dispensation, and not until after his retirement in 1899 did changes come.

As late as 1898 a prominent Yale alumnus, Daniel H. Chamberlain, one-time governor of South Carolina, wrote to Simeon E. Baldwin, "I suppose Yale is following the even tenor of her way, undisturbed and unaffected by anybody's criticisms, strong in her self-complacency, and firm in her rejection of all *outside* advice and suggestion [*sic*]!"³⁵

²⁹ Draft of a letter from Simeon E. Baldwin to Buchanan Winthrop, Apr. 9, 1889.

³⁰ *Obituary Record of Graduates of Yale University Deceased during the Academical Year ending in June, 1891*, pp. 466-67.

³¹ A search has not yet revealed this source.

³² Julius H. Ward to Simeon E. Baldwin, Apr. 20, 1889.

³³ *Boston Herald*, Apr. 20, 1889.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, Apr. 20, 1889; *New York Times*, Apr. 14, 1889.

³⁵ Daniel H. Chamberlain to Simeon E. Baldwin, Oct. 30, 1898.

That fall the announcement was made that President Dwight would retire the following June. Baldwin's nephew, Roger Foster, a New York attorney, thereupon wrote his uncle that Judge Henry E. Howland, an elected Fellow of Yale from 1892 to 1910, had told him that no clergyman would be chosen to replace Dwight.³⁶ This proved to be a correct prediction, for Dwight's successor was Arthur T. Hadley, a professor of political economy at Yale and a layman. Even then, as Hadley's son has pointed out, . . . it was not easy for the Yale Corporation to bring itself to entrust a forty-three-year-old professor of political economy with the charge of a college that had been governed by venerable clergymen . . . and it was not offered to him until the Corporation had considered several ministers, none of whom was willing to stand.³⁷

Summing up the action of the Corporation the *Yale Alumni Weekly* said after the choice had been made:

The attitude of Yale men toward his [Hadley's] candidacy was one of the controlling features in the final crystallization of opinion in his favor in the Corporation. The interviews and letters by which the *Weekly* sought to gauge Yale sentiment in this matter showed, according to a careful estimate in this office, that it would be safe to say that three-fourths of the Yale men in the country who had seriously considered the problem were more in favor of Professor Hadley as the best possible choice than of any other man. Besides all this, a representation was made to one or more individual members of the Corporation by no less than fifty full professors in Yale, giving it as their opinion that Professor Hadley had eminent qualities for this high office. This combination of graduate and Faculty sentiment, together with the strikingly unanimous feeling of undergraduate Yale, was perhaps the final force which removed all doubt as to his choice.³⁸

Yale College, the undergraduate liberal arts school, dominated the other branches of the university at this time. The college in turn was controlled by its faculty, which had considerable influence with the Corporation. In view of its power and ability to control the destiny of Yale under the administration of a clerical president, it was an event worthy of note when so many of the faculty³⁹ supported such an apparently radical innovation as the election of a layman. Actually the transition from the regime of Dwight to that of Hadley did not bring very drastic changes. Hadley's childhood in a Yale faculty family, his education at that institution, and his many years as a professor there imbued him sufficiently with Yale traditions that

³⁶ Roger Foster to Simeon E. Baldwin, Nov. 21, 1898.

³⁷ Hadley, p. 105.

³⁸ *Yale Alumni Weekly*, June 7, 1899, as quoted in Hadley, p. 229.

³⁹ The fifty professors seem to have included members of the Law, Divinity, and Scientific School faculties as well as that of the College.

he made changes gradually. He was a layman, nevertheless, and this fact had important consequences for the long-range future of Yale.

Control of Yale's governing body continued in clerical hands a few years longer. Following Hadley's election, however, the Corporation took deliberate steps toward liberalizing its composition. When the next vacancy among the permanent Fellows occurred in 1902, it was filled with Charles Edward Jefferson, a Congregational minister, but one from outside of Connecticut. A bolder step was taken in 1905 when another ministerial Fellow resigned. He was replaced by Payson Merrill, a layman. In the following year still another precedent was established with the election of a Presbyterian clergyman, William Rogers Richards, of New York. Finally, in 1910 the next two vacancies were filled with laymen, and the clergymen lost their majority.⁴⁰ There were then ten laymen to seven clergymen on the Corporation (not counting the governor and lieutenant governor, who were prohibited from voting for successors to the clerical Fellows). Commenting on this change Morris Hadley paid tribute to the attitude of the clergymen:

It was thought that the provision made in 1872 for six representatives of the graduate body would give sufficient opportunity for outside viewpoints to be presented. But the growth of new problems, educational, financial, and administrative, made the continuance of a large clerical majority an anomaly; . . . To the credit of the ministers be it said that they recognized this fact and abandoned the old usage, not as a reluctant concession to public opinion, but as a result of their own personal judgment as to what was right.⁴¹

With these appointments the revolution which had begun in 1872 with the replacing of the six state senators by elected graduates was complete. Yale had now joined the lengthening list of institutions which had made or were making similar changes during the past several decades. Every president since Hadley has been a layman, and the number of clerical Fellows has continued to decline until in 1952 there are only three.

University of Illinois

⁴⁰ *Hist. Reg. of Yale University, 1701-1937*, p. 37.

⁴¹ Hadley, p. 229.

American Urban History Today

BLAKE McKELVEY

IT is less than two decades since Professor Arthur M. Schlesinger, in *The Rise of the City, 1878-1898* (New York, 1933)¹ first revealed the dominant role played by urban developments in late nineteenth-century America. Few historians had previously included the words "urban" or "city" in their indexes, and even Charles A. Beard, who had himself written a book on municipal government, devoted but three paragraphs in his *Rise of American Civilization* to the influence or existence of urban life. Only Edward Channing gave as much as a chapter to this subject, and a remarkably good chapter for its date.² More surprising than the wide neglect of America's urban growth by the general historian was the dearth of specialized studies. To quote the first sentence of Professor Schlesinger's bibliographical note on urbanism, "The American city has not yet been studied generically, nor do there exist any adequate social histories of particular cities."

The awakening of scholarly interest which soon occurred in this field is evidenced by the publication since 1930 of forty volumes of what might be called urban biography—all works of a creditable scholarly character dealing with specific cities—plus another dozen good books of urban history on a broader scope. Able articles on cities have appeared in several historical journals, and Professor Bayrd Still, who is preparing a comprehensive bibliography on the subject, has listed twenty-five titles of Ph.D. theses on urban topics now in preparation or recently completed in various graduate schools throughout the country.

It must be admitted that many of these books have been indicted, in more than a few reviews, both for too much and too little generalization, too many and too few facts and personalities, too little wit and too much local pride. This is a healthy situation—the active criticism, that is, not the defects whatever they may be—and urban historians are fortunate in having attracted the skeptical interest of other historical specialists, surprised perhaps at the rich vein of history here uncovered, and of the sociologists who began to work the contemporary outcropping of urban society several decades before the historians.

Critical standards are needed, for urban historians, particularly those

¹ See pp. 448-50 for a helpful guide to urban sources in this period.

² *A History of American Life* (6 vols., New York, 1905-25), V, chap. III.

who deal with specific cities, face new problems as well as new opportunities. Vast stores of daily records³ must be sifted and the significant separated from the purely antiquarian details without sacrificing the human quality which a community's story reveals more often than others. A few students have tried to simplify the procedure by following the historical novelist and some sociologists into fictional abstraction, though the result is not history.⁴ That method is of interest, however, as George A. Dunlap reveals in *The City in the American Novel, 1789-1900* (Philadelphia, 1934), which traces urban influences through a surprisingly large number of novels. Another approach which appeals to the reader is that of the journalists, who in increasing numbers are exploiting the colorful lore of many cities. Some of them have produced recognizable likenesses, or suggestive interpretations of the community's character, and their popular success proves the existence of a public eager to read a human account of its past, eager to feel more at home in its setting. This is a worthy market and urban historians need have no qualms about writing local history, provided they can really put it together and put it across.

At this point the sociologist is likely to ask: What are you trying to put across? What in other words do you mean by urban history? Students of contemporary urban society have in fact spent much time in an effort to define what they mean by the city, and historians can profit by their analysis, as summed up by Louis Wirth a dozen years ago in his article "Urbanism as a Way of Life."⁵ But the historian is more concerned to trace the forces and directions of human social movement through time and place than to define inflexible patterns.

The task of urban historians is to chart the interrelated streams of life active in a specific community at a given period, or to weigh the cumulative effect in time of the problems and achievements of many cities within a given society, and in both cases to measure the extent to which the ideals and aspirations of that society found expression, growth, or rebirth in urban centers.

Indeed an understanding of America's urban history would be inconceivable without a time scale. Thus Professor Schlesinger in his seminal essay "The City in American Civilization,"⁶ which admirably performs the

³ Fortunately indexes to newspapers are increasing in number. See Herbert D. Brayer's incomplete "Preliminary Guide to Indexed Newspapers in the United States, 1850-1900," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XXXIII (September, 1946), 237-58.

⁴ Angie Debo, *Prairie City* (New York, 1944); William Lloyd Warner, *Democracy in Jonesville* (New York, 1949).

⁵ *American Journal of Sociology*, XLIV (July, 1938), 1-24.

⁶ Arthur M. Schlesinger, *Paths to the Present* (New York, 1949), pp. 210-33. This essay

second task listed above, discusses urban influences and contributions in America during each of four historic periods. And two years ago, in another approach to this problem, Miss Bessie L. Pierce, Frederick D. Kershner, and Joe L. Norris read papers before the Mississippi Valley Historical Association in which they traced the development of midwestern cities through successive stages.⁷

It may be appropriate, in this survey of urban historical writings since 1930, to explore the possibility of correlating these periods and stages of urban growth, to note some of the respects in which cities have reflected or given creative expression to the important national trends of each successive period, and finally to suggest where advances can still be made in the study and interpretation of urban history.

Thanks to several able books by Carl Bridenbaugh,⁸ the urban developments of the colonial period fall more clearly into focus than do those of any other era. The first two books of James D. Phillips on Salem in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries,⁹ although prize examples of meticulous detail, help to fill in the picture on one of the ports Bridenbaugh omits. The study of colonial Williamsburg is going forward, now under the direction of Lyman H. Butterfield. Dr. Bridenbaugh, who has transferred from Williamsburg to the University of California, is writing another volume that will pick up the threads traced in *Cities in the Wilderness* and carry them along to 1776. Already that first book and his report of Philadelphia's "rebels and gentlemen" suggest a fundamental antithesis of the period, as the colonial ports were torn between their dependence on and respect for the mother country and a new feeling of independence and self-reliance, and self-expression too, especially in the work-a-day crafts, as Bridenbaugh's most recent and fascinating study, *The Colonial Craftsman*, reveals. Special studies, for example Frederick P. Bowes's *The Culture of Early Charleston* (Chapel Hill, 1942), Thomas J. Wertenbaker's *The Golden Age of Colonial Culture* (New York, 1949),¹⁰ and several other books¹¹ further illuminate the period.

amplifies an earlier article, "The City in American History," *Miss. Valley Hist. Rev.*, XXVII (June, 1940), 43-66.

⁷ Bessie L. Pierce, "The Changing Urban Pattern in the Mississippi Valley," *Illinois State Historical Society Journal*, Spring, 1950; F. D. Kershner, "From County Town to Industrial City: The Urban Pattern of Indianapolis," *Indiana Magazine of History*, December, 1949; Joe L. Norris, "The Country Merchant and the Industrial Magnate," a paper on Detroit, not yet published.

⁸ *Cities in the Wilderness* (New York, 1938); *Rebels and Gentlemen: Philadelphia in the Age of Franklin* (New York, 1942). See also his *Peter Harrison: First American Architect* (Chapel Hill, 1949) and *The Colonial Craftsman* (New York, 1950).

⁹ *Salem in the Seventeenth Century* (Boston, 1933) and *Salem in the Eighteenth Century* (Boston, 1937).

¹⁰ See also Michael Kraus, *Intercolonial Aspects of American Culture on the Eve of the Revo-*

Although many historians have written of urban developments during the early national period, its limits and character have not been clearly defined. Charles M. Gates, in his recent paper on "The Role of Cities in the Westward Movement,"¹² stressed the vital relationship between urban growth and agricultural expansion and suggested the need for a more intensive study of the shifting urban-rural balance at successive stages in the westward movement. Yet a geographic approach is not of itself sufficient, for the cities—large and small, young and old, of any period or region—were but parts of the nation as a whole, influencing and reflecting in varied ways the broader national trends. Thus in the early national period, when the westward movement was breaking through the Appalachian passes and spreading out over the first great West, boom towns located at strategic migration points set a dominant urban pattern.

Some of the details of this development may be found in Leland D. Baldwin's *Pittsburgh: The Story of a City* (Pittsburgh, 1938), Robert W. Bingham's *Cradle of the Queen City* (Buffalo),¹³ Frederick Clever Bald's *Detroit's First American Decade, 1796-1805* (Ann Arbor, 1948), and in an able article by F. P. Weisenburger, "Urbanism in the Middle West: Town and Village in the Pioneer Period,"¹⁴ not forgetting the early chapters of Bessie L. Pierce's *Chicago*,¹⁵ and Blake McKelvey's *Rochester*.¹⁶ Moreover a glance at the histories of the older port cities will reveal that they likewise (some of them at least) were in the throes of booming developments, often of a crude and reckless character not unlike those in frontier towns. Sidney I. Pomerantz, in his study *New York: An American City, 1783-1803* (New York, 1938) finds, for example, that the most important center of social life in that old but rapidly growing city was the tavern, as it certainly was in all boom towns. Ralph Weld's *Brooklyn Village, 1816-1834* (New York, 1938) describes an eastern example of the new boom town, with some suburban variants of course, but all towns had their variants. Energetic community efforts to open new turnpike and canal routes into the West, and bold specula-

tion, with Special Reference to the Northern Towns (New York, 1928), a pioneer study of urban manifestations.

¹² Oscar T. Barck, *New York City during the War for Independence* (New York, 1931); Robert A. East, *Business Enterprise in the American Revolutionary Era* (New York, 1938); Ernest S. Griffith, *History of American City Government: The Colonial Period* (New York, 1938); Virginia D. Harrington, *The New York Merchant on the Eve of the Revolution* (New York, 1935); Thomas J. Wertenbaker, *Father Knickerbocker Rebels* (New York, 1948).

¹³ Read at the 1950 meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association and summarized in the *Miss. Valley Hist. Rev.*, XXXVII (September, 1950).

¹⁴ Buffalo Historical Society Publications, XXXI (1931).

¹⁵ *Indiana Mag. Hist.*, XXII (March, 1945), 19-29.

¹⁶ *A History of Chicago*, I (Chicago, 1937), II (New York, 1940).

¹⁷ *Rochester, the Water-Power City, 1812-1854* (Cambridge, Mass., 1945).

tive enterprise that sent clipper ships to India and China, as well as barges and steamboats up coastal and interior rivers, fill many pages of Robert G. Albion's volume *The Rise of New York Port, 1815-1860* (New York, 1939), James W. Livingood's more limited study *The Philadelphia-Baltimore Trade Rivalry, 1780-1860* (Harrisburg, 1947),¹⁷ and the latest book by James D. Phillips, *Salem and the Indies* (Boston, 1947) where the drama does sustain the detail. Instances of inadequate enterprise or unfavorable circumstances are treated in T. J. Wertenbaker's *Norfolk*¹⁸ and in an excellent article by Bernard Mayo, "Lexington: Frontier Metropolis."¹⁹

Although boom towns continued to spring into existence as population and trade moved across the continent, the urban era they dominated came to an end about 1835. The depression that followed sobered most of the older cities and stimulated the development of a more stable urban pattern. The urban period from 1835 to 1870 might be characterized as one of Yankee cities—if that adjective may be used in its broadest sense. The enterprise and ingenuity and capital of old Americans developed more efficient trade facilities, transformed earlier handicrafts into factory industries and exploited the labor of hundreds of thousands of newcomers from across the Atlantic. Yet this Yankee materialism, if not yet leavened by the spirit of charity, cherished a cultural mission, and it was in the cities, large and small, that the richest flowering of the religious, educational, and artistic life of the period found expression.

Numerous recent volumes support this analysis. Ralph Weld's suggestive *Brooklyn Is America* (New York, 1950), which surveys the growth there of many ethnic groups, declares that leadership at this time came from New England Yankees and other older Americans. Oscar Handlin's scholarly study, *Boston's Immigrants, 1790-1865* (Cambridge, Mass., 1941) devotes major attention to the Irish, who, arriving by the ten thousands, were still content with modest tasks. Robert Ernst's *Immigrant Life in New York City, 1825-1863* (New York, 1949) and scattered articles and chapters add additional evidence of the immigrants' subordinate role, though their initiative in labor unionism and in certain art fields was already significant.

That Yankee leadership was likewise triumphing over the crudities of frontier towns is evident in F. Garvin Davenport's *Cultural Life in Nashville, 1825-1860* (Chapel Hill, 1941), in Randolph C. Downes's, *Lake Port* (Toledo),²⁰ and less clearly in Paul M. Angle's *Here I Have Lived: A History*

¹⁷ See also Catherine E. Reiser, *Pittsburgh's Commercial Development, 1800-1850* (Harrisburg, 1951).

¹⁸ *Norfolk, Historic Southern Port* (Durham, 1931).

¹⁹ *Historiography and Urbanization*, ed. Eric F. Goldman (Baltimore, 1941), pp. 21-42.

²⁰ Lucas County Historical Series, III (Toledo, 1951).

of *Lincoln's Springfield* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1935). Yankee-like enterprise marked the growth of Memphis in the decade before the Civil War, as appears in an able volume by Gerald M. Capers,²¹ and may even have penetrated to New Orleans,²² though more studies of southern cities are needed to clarify developments there. Several new New England towns, where absentee Yankee capital promoted sudden industrial growth, present an interesting situation, but here also, as Mrs. Constance M. Green's *Holyoke* and her more recent *Naugatuck*,²³ and Vera Shlakman's *Economic History of a Factory Town*²⁴ show, Yankee ideals were maintained. A more indigenous flowering of Yankee culture can be seen in McKelvey's two volumes on Rochester,²⁵ in three booklets by Elbert J. Benton on Cleveland,²⁶ in Miss Pierce's thorough analysis of Chicago,²⁷ and in the first chapters of Bayrd Still's full-length biography of Milwaukee.²⁸ Even across the border in Toronto, Donald C. Masters finds the influence of old American Tories dominant at this time.²⁹ Further evidence may be found in able articles, such as Charles R. Wilson's "Cincinnati, a Southern Outpost in 1860-61?" answered in the negative,³⁰ Ollinger Crenshaw's "Urban and Rural Voting in the Election of 1860,"³¹ and Frank L. Mott's "Facetious News Writing, 1833-1883"³² in which he discovers the roots of Yankee humor in the "local" editors of urban journals of this period.

The host of new boom towns that sprang up further west during these decades has yet to receive intensive study. While their history as cities belongs chiefly to the next urban era, it is interesting to note here a scholarly article by Lynn I. Perrigo, "Law and Order in Early Colorado Mining Camps,"³³ in which the long-prevalent belief that reckless elements dominated these communities is challenged. More facts are needed over a wider area, but here at least is evidence of the sturdy determination of church folk and other

²¹ *The Biography of a River Town: Memphis, Its Heroic Age* (Chapel Hill, 1939).

²² Harold Sinclair, *Port of New Orleans* (New York, 1942), is one of the best of the popular "Historic Port Series"; see also the more scholarly but more restricted study by Howard P. Johnson, "New Orleans under General Butler," *Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, XXIV (April, 1941).

²³ *Holyoke, Massachusetts* (New Haven, 1929); *History of Naugatuck, Connecticut* (New Haven, 1948).

²⁴ *Smith College Studies*, XX (Northampton, 1935).

²⁵ Note 16 above, and *Rochester, the Flower City, 1855-1890* (Cambridge, Mass., 1949).

²⁶ *Culture Story of an American City, Cleveland*, Western Reserve Historical Society (Cleveland, 1943, 1944, 1946).

²⁷ See note 15 above.

²⁸ *Milwaukee: The History of a City* (Madison, 1948).

²⁹ *The Rise of Toronto, 1850-1890* (Toronto, 1947).

³⁰ *Miss. Valley Hist. Rev.*, XXIV (March, 1938), 473-82.

³¹ *Historiography and Urbanization*, pp. 43-66.

³² *Miss. Valley Hist. Rev.*, XXIX (June, 1942), 35-54.

³³ *Ibid.*, XXVIII (June, 1941), 41-62.

conscientious representatives of eastern and Yankee culture to dominate the new towns. Somewhat the same rapid transformation occurred on the west coast, as Remi A. Nadeau's stirring but well-grounded account of the pioneer "City Makers" of Los Angeles reveals.³⁴ One expression of what might be described as Yankee enterprise appears in most of the new towns as in many of the rising cities—a vigorous co-operative effort within each town to outdistance its special rivals, witness Wyatt Winton Belcher's study of the St. Louis-Chicago trade rivalries.³⁵

Another closely related aspect of the urban developments of the period is brought out in Bayrd Still's penetrating article "Patterns of Mid-Nineteenth Century Urbanization in the Middle West."³⁶ "With striking similarity," he declares, "they all limited themselves to those duties of the urban community which were common to eighteenth century cities." His study of the charters and municipal activities of western cities reveals a progressive adoption of established eastern urban practices. There was here, as there, a relaxation of eighteenth-century regulations over some trades, and a much more democratic electorate held sway.

That last point could be greatly expanded. All the literature supports the accepted view of the rise of the common man.³⁷ But it is worth noting that the chief cultural advance (ruling out for the moment some fundamental cultural changes) made over the cities of the late colonial period was this democratic diffusion of privileges and opportunities previously reserved to the few. And by no means the least of these was the opportunity now enjoyed by more city dwellers than ever before to own and occupy a separate family home. The tavern was no longer the center of social life, and, except in Boston, New York, and a few other large cities, the growth of large slum areas was still in the future. Some new cultural elements were of course developing, notably the singing societies and other contributions of the Germans; and Yankee culture had mellowed, or, as many of these books phrase it, matured; but with all its new urbanity it was still old-American in essence. Evidence of the "Emergence of Modern America" was appearing in the late sixties particularly in the largest cities, as Allan Nevins has shown in his excellent volume by that title,³⁸ but few suspected the urban rebirth destined to occur in the next period.

³⁴ *City Makers* (Garden City, N.Y., 1948). See also George D. Lyman, *The Saga of the Comstock Lode* (New York, 1934).

³⁵ *The Economic Rivalry between St. Louis and Chicago, 1850-1880* (New York, 1947). See also David M. Ellis, "Albany and Troy—Commercial Rivals," *New York History* (1943).

³⁶ *Miss. Valley Hist. Rev.*, XXVIII (September, 1941), 187-206.

³⁷ Carl R. Fish, *The Rise of the Common Man, 1830-1850* (New York, 1927).

³⁸ Vol. VIII of *History of American Life*, ed. Arthur M. Schlesinger and Dixon R. Fox (New York, 1927).

The fourth major era in America's urban history, which might be termed that of cosmopolitan cities, or of corporate enterprise, stretches roughly from 1870 to 1915. Recent books and articles dealing with this period are not so numerous, but Professor Schlesinger's *Rise of the City* greatly illuminates the increasingly dominant urban role throughout this period. Yet not only was a new surge of urban growth redirecting the nation's history, it was at the same time transforming many old Yankee cities into budding metropolises and confronting them with a host of problems for which adequate solutions had still to be found. Moreover, the more recent immigrants and their children were now participating more widely and effectively in city affairs, displaying leadership in trade and industry as well as labor, and in politics too, enriching the social and cultural life of many cities. Weld's *Brooklyn Is America* is again of interest, also Still's *Milwaukee* and McKelvey's *Rochester* (II).

A few of the larger cities had encountered some of the new problems a decade or more before, as Harold C. Syrett's study of politics in his *City of Brooklyn, 1865-98* (New York, 1944) reveals, but it was not until the need for street improvements, water works, and sewers called insistently for huge outlays during the seventies, and the street car, telephone, gas, and electric utility corporations, with large favors to ask and to offer, reached monopoly proportions in the eighties and nineties, that the old Yankee pattern of municipal democracy suffered a breakdown in most large cities. Clifford W. Patton's study, *The Battle for Municipal Reform, 1875-1900* (Washington, D.C., 1940), ably describes this situation, which appears in part in Roy Ellis' *Civic History of Kansas City* (Kansas City, Mo., 1930),³⁹ William P. Lovett's *Detroit Rules Itself* (Boston, 1930), Harold Zink's *City Bosses in the United States* (New York, 1930), and in special chapters in some of the urban biographies, notably Still's *Milwaukee*, where the outstanding experiment in municipal socialism is described, and McKelvey's second volume on Rochester, which studies a more typical urban response.⁴⁰ Mrs. Green's *Holyoke* deals with these problems, too, and Edgar B. Wesley's able history of Owatonna, Minnesota, shows how even a small and young community had to face the new problems if it hoped to survive in this era.⁴¹

Other responses to urban problems characteristic of this period include the substitution of corporate enterprise for the older Yankee individualism about which little need be said here, and the less well known but widespread

³⁹ See also Henry C. Haskell, Jr., *City of the Future: The Story of Kansas City* (Kansas City, 1950).

⁴⁰ *Rochester, the Flower City*, pp. 257-83.

⁴¹ *Owatonna: The Social Development of a Minnesota Community* (Minneapolis, 1938).

growth of charity and welfare agencies. This has been treated in the biographies just mentioned and also with discernment in Charles Hirschfeld's *Baltimore, 1870-1900* (Baltimore, 1941). Additional case histories of urban social work are required for safe generalization, but fortunately it was at this point that a number of probing social surveys of a contemporary character began to appear.

While mounting problems characterized this urban era, they did not completely obscure the many new opportunities cities offered. The rise of sports, the provision of parks and playgrounds, the emergence of women, and the development of a wide variety of clubs and societies (taking the place of an earlier neighborliness) may be traced in a few books, and so also may the deepening of social and economic fissures.⁴² Each of these and several other developments merits the kind of analysis Aaron I. Abell has given to religion during this period in his study *The Urban Impact on American Protestantism, 1865-1900* (Cambridge, Mass., 1943). Some of the chapters in Harvey Wish's *Society and Thought in Modern America* (New York, 1952) are of interest here.

Historians have done little as yet with the last period of urban development, characterized by the emergence of metropolitan areas and core cities, from 1915 to the present. Only a few biographers have brought their subjects up to date, notably Still and Mrs. Green, while two co-operative volumes on New York deal with a unique city.⁴³ It is already clear that in this period also cities present antitheses as the opposing tendencies of the day find their most striking expressions in urban life: diffusion versus centralization, heterogeneity versus standardization, expressionism versus planning, to mention only a few. And now, more than ever before, uniquely urban problems, such as slum clearance, have become crucial national issues.

Fortunately students in other social sciences, notably sociology, anthropology, and government, have been working diligently on contemporary studies in this field throughout the last era. William Diamond's provocative essay "The Dangers of an Urban Interpretation of History"⁴⁴ not only warns of the limitations of an urban thesis but tells much as well about the sociological literature. Lewis Mumford's caustic and wide-ranging volume *The Culture of Cities* (New York, 1938) relates varied features of some American

⁴² George R. Leighton, *America's Growing Pains: The Romance, Comedy, and Tragedy of Five Great Cities* (New York, 1939); originally published under the title *Five Cities: The Story of Their Youth and Old Age*.

⁴³ Cleveland Rodgers and Rebecca B. Rankin, *New York: The World's Capital City* (New York, 1948); Allan Nevins, John A. Krout, and others, *The Greater City: New York, 1898-1948* (New York, 1948).

⁴⁴ *Historiography and Urbanization*, pp. 67-108.

cities to urban trends as he sees them in Europe. It is time that a skilled historian undertake the job of integrating these findings with facts from other sources so that the multiple urban developments of this period may be seen not simply as details of a pattern, or as signs of progress or decay, but as elements in a historical process which man's understanding may conceivably influence.

The literature on urban history includes many scholarly books and articles not mentioned in this brief survey, which of course does not attempt to cover all the contributions even these works have made. There are in addition many factual compilations of great use, such as the numerous city guides brought out by the W.P.A. writers' project⁴⁵ and a few extensive urban annals such as that published by William G. Rose of Cleveland.⁴⁶ At least a half-dozen city historical societies publish creditable volumes.⁴⁷ Histories of urban newspapers have appeared in great number.⁴⁸ Economic historians are writing good histories of specific industries.⁴⁹ Railroad historians have been reconstructing the trade setting so fundamental to urban developments of the last century, and a few have endeavored to tell the regional history of railroads and cities together.⁵⁰ The histories of unions in specific cities,⁵¹ of universities, libraries, galleries, churches, theaters, ball clubs, etc., are all beginning to appear, though few of them give much attention to the specific urban setting.

The task that remains is more than one of mechanical integration. As Ralph E. Turner suggested several years ago, in a stimulating paper read before the American Historical Association entitled "The Industrial City: Center of Cultural Change," the city is a pregnant cultural milieu.⁵² Fully to grasp its significance will require an equally creative scholarship. It is to this task that the seminars of Professors Schlesinger, Nevins, Holt, and Pierce, among

⁴⁵ See especially *Boston Looks Seaward: The Story of the Port, 1630-1940*, W.P.A. (Boston, 1941); *Catalogue: W.P.A. Writers' Program Publications* (September, 1941).

⁴⁶ *Cleveland: The Making of a City* (Cleveland, 1950).

⁴⁷ See especially the publications of the New York, Chicago, Rochester, Buffalo, and Atlanta historical societies. Many other large cities shelter state historical societies which do not, of course, give as much attention to city history. Note, however, the Northwestern Ohio Historical Society, which is recording the growth of Toledo's metropolitan area in its six-volume "Lucas County Historical Series" (Toledo, 1948—).

⁴⁸ J. Eugene Smith, *One Hundred Years of Hartford's Courant* (New Haven, 1949), is a recent example.

⁴⁹ Thomas C. Cochran, *Pabst Brewing Company: The History of an American Business* (New York, 1949), is noteworthy.

⁵⁰ Glenn C. Quiett, *They Built the West: An Epic of Rails and Cities* (New York, 1934); Edward C. Kirkland, *Men, Cities, and Transportation: A Study in New England History, 1820-1900* (Cambridge, Mass., 1948).

⁵¹ Frederick L. Ryan, *Industrial Relations in the San Francisco Building Trades* (Norman, Okla., 1936); Charles R. Walker, *American City: A Rank-and-File History* (New York, 1937).

⁵² Published in *The Cultural Approach to History*, ed. Caroline F. Ware (New York, 1940), pp. 228-42.

others, have for many years been directing graduate students. More recently Professor Bayrd Still at New York University and perhaps a few others have scheduled lecture courses in urban history as well as seminars. And Mrs. Constance M. Green last year gave by invitation a series of lectures on American cities at the University College in London.

Thus the contours of this recently discovered historical valley begin to take form. But, as these pioneers know and as many reviewers have said, we need new efforts to see our subject whole and in successive periods of development; new efforts to relate the growth of urbanism to other phases of American history; new efforts to appraise the role of cities as crucibles of culture (to borrow a Wertenbaker phrase); new efforts to understand the vital relationship between man's independent, free-venturing spirit and the urban environmental setting.

Rochester, New York

General History

THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE ENLIGHTENMENT. By *Ernst Cassirer*. Translated by *Fritz C. A. Koelln* and *James P. Pettegrove*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1951. Pp. xiii, 366. \$6.00.)

AT long last Cassirer's famous study of the Enlightenment comes to the English-reading public and in an excellent translation that calls for high praise. Here is a remarkable synthesis of the multiple and variant expressions of eighteenth-century thought; here is intellectual history at its most penetrating and profound. Certainly, the exposition makes demands on the reader's concentration, for the task of illuminating each facet of thought and at the same time correlating the particular with the basic unitary concepts presents fine problems. But clarity is never lacking, and the application required to follow the closely knit argument brings high rewards in understanding.

There is no doubt that the informed student could have or perhaps has already reached from monographic studies or from his own independent inquiries conclusions which in many instances parallel the revisionist judgments that Cassirer makes concerning specific aspects or particular spokesmen of the Enlightenment. Perhaps, too, he has unwittingly profited from the presentation of Cassirer's basic ideas in the writing of a first generation of the author's American admirers. In any case, while there is wide learning and deep understanding, there is still no absolute novelty in his chapters on such aspects or problems as the methodology of the Enlightenment or the place that the natural sciences held at the inner core of its thought. Nor does he break new ground with his convincing correction of the still widely held error that the Enlightenment lived uniquely and aridly by a philosophy of sensation; or even with his refutation of the venerable Romantic misconception that the Enlightenment was unhistorical-minded. Eloquent, too, is his affirmation that the Enlightenment had as its source and inspiration a positive religious mood, that not through disinfectants but by faith did the men of the Enlightenment strive to reform the world.

One should hasten to add two observations. First, whether novel or no, there is much for all readers to gain from the reading of his chapters, in particular from his magnificent appraisal of Diderot's towering stature and his elaboration of the significant contribution that Leibniz made to eighteenth-century thinking with the new, dynamic concept of substance. Second, there is both illumination and originality, and also poetic feeling and beauty, in his discussion of the century-long effort to correlate philosophy and aesthetic criticism. In that discussion Cassirer holds that a constantly evolving conception of interdependence and unity explored and fought over the definition of the relations between reason and imagination in the letters and the arts, between genius and the rules, and that this search and

inquiry eventuated in a new pattern of aesthetic philosophy and in a new form of artistic creation.

To discuss Cassirer's study in terms of the aspects of the Enlightenment, however, is to distort the intentions animating its writing, and even more to obscure the uniqueness of his contribution. His intention was to study the Enlightenment not in its breadth but in its characteristic depth, in the light of the unity of its conceptual origins and of its underlying principle. And the uniqueness of his contribution lies precisely in the accomplishment of his aim. One best gets the measure of his interpretation of the Enlightenment as a unified movement that marked a new departure in philosophical thought by comparing his study with other works that examine the period or some part of its expression: with Morner's bookish volume on the intellectual antecedents of the French Revolution or with Lovejoy's magnificent but linear examination of the great chain of being; with the valuable but unco-ordinated volume by Preserved Smith or the learned, charmingly phrased, and niggardly hostile volumes of Paul Hazard. What emerges from this work is the author's fervid conviction that the Enlightenment was indeed what d'Alembert and Diderot wished it to be, no eclectic mixture of diverse and contradictory thought elements, but a unity dominated by a few fundamental ideas expressed with strict consistency and in exact arrangement. It was, he maintains, not only a culmination but a new form of intellectual activity in which philosophy, ending its long separation from science, history, jurisprudence, ethics, and politics, represented a totality of intellect in its investigation and inquiries, methods and processes. It was a great moment of intellectual self-confidence and self-consciousness, when to thought was attributed demiurgic power and to it assigned the task of shaping life itself.

Since it lay outside Cassirer's intention to fix the social setting of the Enlightenment or to examine the mediums by which its outlook and values were diffused, the reader will look in vain for discussion of these forces and instruments. It is regrettable nevertheless that the author does little more than intimate the intellectual and emotional dislocation that the Enlightenment wrought among the last generation of its devotees, especially in Germany. Regrettable too that in the main the searching treatments of the new concepts, such for example as he finds in Montesquieu's *Esprit des lois*, are not linked pragmatically with the actual historical moment of their appearance. This may be asking too much, but the regret lingers. This reservation apart, Cassirer has written by all odds the most masterly and the most significant account of the Enlightenment in any language. His pages glow, for the style is integral with his understanding and his humanity. Diderot, the nature-drunk, exuberant Diderot, would have hailed it rapturously and found in it much of the ardor, the affection, even the reverence that he saw in and gave to the emancipating movement. Happily, too, he would not have found any of his own turgid extravagance in Cassirer's wise and critical judgments of its greatness.

A HISTORY OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS. Two volumes. By F. P. Walters, formerly Deputy Secretary-General of the League of Nations; Honorary Fellow of University College, Oxford. [Published under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1952. Pp. xv, 463; viii, 465-833. \$11.50.)

THIS book is definitive as an over-all narrative of the political accomplishments, frustrations, and failures of the League of Nations. No one is likely to improve its record of the interplay of the policy—or impolicy—of states acting as separate entities and of their action—or inaction—as members of the international organization under the steady impact of the Covenant. Its system of multilateral standards created a “gravitational force” which profoundly changed the conduct of international relations. For the most part the initiative rested with the great states, but the more numerous, largely inarticulate, small states were now provided with a forum whence their influence became a new element on the international scene. The story is illumined with a complete understanding of the League and a full comprehension of the national policies and desires.

In quite a real sense the book is the autobiography of the institution. During three years of work reviewing the 150,000 dossiers that constitute the League archives, Walters could also draw on the most intimate memories and experience. For he was Cecil’s assistant at the Paris Peace Conference when the Covenant was made; Sir Eric Drummond’s assistant during his thirteen years as secretary-general; and he was himself a deputy secretary-general in charge of political affairs thereafter.

The story is told in sixty-seven compressed but comprehensive chapters with the interpretive detail that only one who was a part of the undertaking could muster and master. The flow of the narrative deceives the reader as to the solidity of its historical accuracy. Chronology is generally followed, from the antecedents of the Covenant to the dissolution of the League which, phoenix-like, died in the holocaust of the Second World War only to be resurrected in the United Nations. The story falls into five stages. The making of the League was completed by January 10, 1920, when the Covenant entered into force. In the years of growth, till September, 1923, the structure and methods of the institution were established. Years of stability, till September, 1931, saw steady and successful functioning, execution of duties imposed by the Covenant and other treaties, the slow extension of authority over all the international aspects of human affairs. In the years of conflict, till July, 1936, Japan, Germany, and Italy exerted themselves to destroy the Covenant and dislocate the unity of peaceful purpose under it; how hard they had to work to defeat the League was a tribute to it, if not to its members. The period until the dissolution on April 18, 1946, Walters flatly calls years of defeat.

Much attention is paid to nonmembers—the Soviet Union which entered and was expelled; Germany (belatedly admitted), Italy and Japan, which withdrew

to gain freedom of action; and the consistently aloof United States, whose relations with the League were darkened "by a fog of doubt, hesitation, even mistrust." The United States participated in the communications conference of 1923, "the State Department having discovered for such cases a formula which made the best of both worlds. Her chief delegate was a diplomatist, authorized only to follow the discussions and keep his government informed; but he was accompanied by a group of experts who were able to influence events behind the scenes, if American interests were involved." By 1931 the United States was willing to "endeavor to reinforce what the League does," but there it halted.

The emphasis of the book is on the political developments, incidents, questions which occupied the Assembly and Council, recorded with the insight from the inside derived from a full knowledge of the structure and of why the spokesmen for member states did what they did. The economic, social, humanitarian undertakings of the League are not much more than accounted for, though their influence in the multilateral pattern of the League era and continuation as specialized agencies of the United Nations are made plain. Aside from a chapter reprinting and commenting on the "plain common-sense intention" of the Covenant, no document is reproduced. The political scientist will find little on structure of the League's machinery, except as procedural operations are a phase of a political problem.

A review cannot even list the matters dealt with in the League, but the reader can be assured that a balanced perspective marks their treatment. The sixty pages devoted to Italy's attack on Ethiopia and the resulting sanctions, for instance, is the best-rounded account extant. Perspicacity prevails throughout these pages. To quote a few such remarks: "Criticism of the victim was, in part, effective in justifying the illegal action of the aggressor." "Political prejudice proved, as usual, more powerful than social progress"—this of blocking the Health Organization by the United States. "It was characteristic of the League of Nations that it was never ready to confess to defeat in any important purpose. This characteristic was a joy to its critics, an embarrassment to its friends, a problem to its servants." The tendency "to adjourn debates and never close them was both inevitable and right."

"The League is dead, long live the United Nations," said Viscount Cecil in the last Assembly. Walters shares that view and hope, and in his book has demonstrated that the viability of the United Nations springs largely from League of Nations experience.

Washington, D.C.

DENYS P. MYERS

THE ORIGINS OF TOTALITARIANISM. By *Hannah Arendt*. (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. 1951. Pp. xv, 477. \$6.75.)

HERE is an undertaking to disclose the "hidden mechanics" of moral anarchy in our time. Two thirds of this book is devoted to an analysis of the preconditions

of totalitarianism as seen in anti-Semitism and imperialism. The political framework is the decline of the nation-state during the past century, as a consequence of imperialist and Pan-nationalist pressures, and the emergence of a new tribalism of international character. The Jews, having already lost the protected status which eighteenth-century courts had commonly vouchsafed, were further to lose the benefits of emancipation, and in increasing numbers become stateless. Anti-Semitism became the "catalytic agent" in producing the Nazi movement, World War II, and the totalitarian world of the mid-twentieth century. Without distinguishing between liberal and integral forms of nationalism, the author insists that totalitarian movements are unnationalistic. Their aims are global, and require global organization, apart from utilitarian requirements of national interests. Anti-Semitism prepared the emotional climate wherein the "mob," the "masses," and the "élite" found opportunities to exploit the death-wish of a sickened society. The *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* established in many minds an image of the supranational Jew, conspiring to master the world. Those who credited the pseudo-protocols could take their cue therefrom and, conceiving world mastery as an organizational possibility, hope to replace the Jew in his own game (pp. 349-50).

While the description of totalitarian forms contains little that will be unfamiliar to readers of the *Review*, the author's emphasis should be noted. Only Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia (where, it is stated, "governmental antisemitism" now prevails) are to be considered totalitarian regimes. Mussolini's Italy is spared this indictment (pp. 258, 277), and Japan of the "New Order in Asia" receives no attention.

With repeated didacticism the need is stressed to feel far more deeply than common sense is inclined the enormity of totalitarianism as radical evil, beyond comparison with any system of tyranny hitherto known. This radical evil has created an unprecedented crisis in the human condition. The author categorically declares that the "whole" of Western civilization has broken down. We can no longer fall back on tradition, and "though we are saturated with experience and more competent at interpreting it than any century before, we cannot use any of it" (p. 434). Rejection of history as a directive value for our time would appear to be final.

Disregard of the concept of historical continuity may well be accountable for a persistent tendency toward overstatement. Trained in philosophy and theology, the author is inclined to cast judgments in absolute and categorical forms. In part brilliant and suggestive, the work as a whole conveys an impression of miscarriage. A general neglect of economic forces gives imbalance and an air of unreality to discussion of modern developments. Imperialism is treated too often as "mere expansionism." The special and tragic career of Lawrence of Arabia is cited as an illustration that imperialism was a game played apart from self-interest and economic motives. Power is portrayed as "dematerialized mechanism." To totalitarian leaders, the reader is misinformed, "the power of material possessions [natural resources] is negligible and only stands in the way of the development

of organizational power" (p. 397). The analysis of Sovietism draws heavily from Kravchenko and Souvarine. Minor use is made of Deutscher, and the writings of E. H. Carr are unmentioned. Virtually no attention (save in respect to minority treaties) is accorded to diplomatic and strategic considerations in twentieth-century world politics—matters not unrelated to the background of totalitarianism.

Whatever value this study may possess for the historian is likely to lie in the author's profound sensitivity to imponderables in the totalitarian atmosphere and her penetration into the general mood which pervaded European society in a "time of troubles."

Queens College, New York

C. H. VAN DUZER

THE ANTARCTIC PROBLEM: AN HISTORICAL AND POLITICAL STUDY. By *E. W. Hunter Christie*. Foreword by Sir Reginald Leeper. (London: George Allen and Unwin; New York: Macmillan Company. 1951. Pp. 336. \$6.00.)

THIS book is concerned with the history of exploration and politics of that part of the Antarctic continent south of South America lying between the meridians of longitude 20° and 80°W. The most prominent feature of this segment of the mainland of Antarctica is the long peninsula of Palmer Land, as it is called here in the United States by our Geographic Board, and Graham Land, as it is designated by the British. The difference in nomenclature stems from a difference between British and American authorities as to who discovered the mainland of Antarctica. American investigators believe it was Palmer. This is, however, a minor point.

Mr. Christie has given a careful and exceptionally good account of the history of the exploration of this particular area of Antarctica, but the chief interest in his book derives from its consideration of the political claims by Great Britain, Argentina, and Chile. Mr. Christie gives various criteria for the establishment of political claims but points out that effective measures of administration or colonization after the making of a claim are surely the most legitimate from the standpoint of acknowledged practices of international law.

Although Mr. Christie has taken considerable pains to present fairly the supposed claims of Chile and Argentina, it seems to this reviewer that neither country has legitimate claims to any part of the mainland as compared with those long established by the British. To invoke the principle of contiguity for either Chile or Argentina is absurd. Both countries are separated from the nearest Antarctic lands by hundreds of miles of oceanic water. Furthermore, the official British attitude that it would willingly have the matter of conflicting claims weighed before the permanent Court of International Justice at The Hague is evidence of its sincerity. Neither Chile nor Argentina is willing to submit its claims to the court. The author himself points out with considerable wisdom that the maintenance of these claims by Chile and Argentina gives these countries the

opportunity to drum up a kind of nationalistic patriotic fervor and thus deflect attention from troublesome internal problems.

Our Department of State does not substantiate any of the claims made by various American explorers in Antarctica and does not recognize the claims of any other nation. In a paper "Strategy and Politics in the Polar Areas" published in the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, January, 1948, I pointed out that from the American standpoint Antarctica is still *terra nullius* and that the best solution would be to place the entire Antarctic region under the administration of the United Nations in accordance with provisions of Articles 77 and 81 of the Charter. Mr. Christie recognizes the possibility of internationalization of Antarctica as one means of solving the knotty problem of claims in the area which he discusses. However, he believes that Russia's recalcitrant attitude in other areas of the world would make such an approach untenable. Perhaps he is right.

Whatever the outcome may be, every student of Antarctic history and politics should read this excellent book. It is the most thoroughgoing survey yet made both of the explorations and of the problems in Antarctica represented by conflicting claims of Argentina, Chile, and Great Britain.

Carleton College

LAURENCE M. GOULD

HISTORY OF SYRIA: INCLUDING LEBANON AND PALESTINE. By Philip K. Hitti, Professor of Semitic Literature on the William and Annie S. Paton Foundation, Princeton University. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1951. Pp. xxv, 749. \$10.00.)

WHEN I agreed to review Professor Hitti's book for the *American Historical Review* I made it clear that, not being trained in the art and science of writing history myself, I was not competent to review it as a historian. I would not know whether a certain date was accurate, whether the treatment of a certain period was adequate, or whether the sources used were primary or secondary, and in either case whether they were reliable at all. The standpoint of my appreciation is primarily philosophical. I happen also to be at present in the foreign service of one of the countries, Lebanon, covered by Professor Hitti's sweep. Since, however, the peoples and events studied in the present tome, besides belonging to the background from which I spring, raise the deepest issues, my interest in this matter cannot trail behind that of any technical historian.

The first sentence of the preface tells us that "Syria" is to be understood "in its geographic meaning." This meaning covers "the area between the Taurus and Sinai, the Mediterranean and the Iraq desert" (p. 58). The investigation then deals for the most part with the fortunes and vicissitudes of the peoples who, down the ages, lived within these delimited confines. The basic determination of the *History of Syria*, then, is not political, nor cultural, nor even ethnic: it is primarily geographical. This raises the tremendous problem of the meaning and unity of

history; but there is nothing about Syria that does not raise tremendous problems. The poignancy of this problem would have been largely (though not wholly) mitigated if the book were called "The History of the Peoples of Syria," a phrase actually used on page 57. It is clear that geography alone cannot determine history, the unity of history being always the unity of some human will. There is no work so far on the history of Syria in Professor Hitti's sense; but is it an accident that one of the "oldest histories" has waited until now to be written?

The work falls into five parts:

(1) The so-called "Pre-Literary Age"—treating such topics as stone and metal implements and other human relics, all dating to "pre-historic" times, the conjectured life of man then, and the fundamental physical, nonhuman conditions of the land. (It is clear that chapter I should be lifted out of this part altogether and made into an introduction to the whole volume, and chapters IV and V should be either fused or differently organized and entitled, since obviously what is examined under chapter IV belongs also to the "physical environment.")

(2) The ancient Semitic period, extending for about two millennia, from 2500 B.C. to 500 B.C., and covering the histories of the Amorites, the Phoenicians, the Aramaeans, and the Hebrews, including the interactions of these peoples with the Egyptians, the Mesopotamians, the Hittites, and the Persians.

(3) The Graeco-Roman period, extending for about 1,000 years, and covering the great impulse of Alexander and his successors (the Seleucids), and the subsequent Roman and Byzantine eras.

(4) The Arab-Moslem period, lasting about 900 years, from about 635 A.D. to 1516, and including that great East-West drama: the crusades.

(5) The Ottoman period, lasting 400 years, until the end of the First World War.

An interesting task would be to work out Professor Hitti's fundamental pre-suppositions. This would be a lengthy undertaking, but I shall here merely touch upon five points. There is first the basic scientific method of being as precise as your material allows you. This sends you as much as possible to original and primary sources and requires that you support every assertion with a footnote or a reference. Enormous questions of interpretation, of authenticity of sources, and of the nature of historical truth, here arise. (I am thinking in particular at this point of Nietzsche, Dilthey, and Croce.) Despite the fact that Professor Hitti, in his characteristic modesty, lays no claim to "originality" and "definiteness," and to having mastered all the necessary apparatus for his task (p. vii), yet, so far as a layman can judge, he is most conscientious and scientific in his method. It is true we are presented in many instances with conclusions without the process of intellectual wrestling, of reasoning and debating, which led up to them; but every scholar reaches a stage when he must take lots of things for granted, and allow himself the perfectly natural right of setting forth his ultimate conclusions, leaving it to other scholars to test or contend his point of view.

Secondly, a basic evolutionism is evident throughout, especially in Part I where

many significant discoveries are understood as having arisen merely by accident (see especially pp. 13, 16, 17, 19, 20, 23). This accidentalism raises the question of whether there is creation *ex nihilo*; viz., a new state of consciousness out of absolute darkness. (On the presupposition of progress, see especially pp. 3, 14, 17, 23, 103.)

Thirdly, there is the structure of interacting, influencing, borrowing, transmitting, causing: nature giving rise to man by evolution, Arabia overflowing periodically into Syria ("the surge and resurge of the desert"), the Phoenicians influencing the Greeks and transmitting the East to the West, Egypt and Syria mutually interacting, the Jews borrowing from the Aramaeans, the Syrians from the Romans, the Arabs from the Greeks, etc. This raises the question of the transmissive mode of being: that of the channel, the passageway, the vehicle, the merchant.

Fourthly, it is a recurring thesis with Professor Hitti that there has always been in Syria what might be called a basic Semitic constant (see especially pp. 59, 61, 62, 64, 115, 135, 137, 144, 256, 284, 285, 289, 417, 671) to which Hellenism, Romanism, the Turkish influence, and all other non-Semitic influences were always essentially alien; a constant which may be submerged for a while but which, whenever the opportunity presents itself, will rise to the surface of historical action. This raises profound issues as to the nature of truth, of the Semitic genius and of the relationship between East and West; and opens up the question of how it was precisely people like Paul, Chrysostom, Lucian, Porphyry, and Damascenus (and one might add Professor Hitti himself) whose great contributions were possible only because they did not stick to their basic Semitic constant. When the Semites are jolted out of their Semitism (e.g., the universalism of Christ), then they begin to "contribute."

Fifthly, there is the doctrine of contribution: what this or that man or people or culture or period contributed to "civilization." This obviously raises the question of what is civilization, which civilization is meant, and the criterion by which a contribution is measured. Professor Hitti, supported by Toynbee, refers specifically to three contributions which Syria made: the alphabet and the discovery of the Atlantic by the Phoenicians, and monotheism by the Jews (pp. 103, 109, 216, 330). If history must have some distinctive origination, and if these were the three contributions of Syria, then the history of Syria must have ended with the Phoenicians and the ancient Jews. The treatment of the religious contribution (chapters xv and xxv) suffers, in my opinion, from a fundamental ambiguity. The question is not just the unity of God (monotheism), but the nature of God and what He authentically declares Himself to be. As regards this latter point, it can be shown that He declares Himself to be quite different from many judgments in chapter xxv.

Professor Hitti has rendered a great service to the historian, the student, the general reader, and the native of Syria (in the geographical sense). There is now for the first time within the compass of one book a connected authoritative story

of five millennia of events—and some of them, what events!—of one of the most important lands in the world, a land destined perhaps to assume increasing importance in the days to come. Every statesman dealing with the Near East must ponder deeply the contents of this book. The East-West relationship is once again entering a critical stage; there is no better guide to the understanding of the present crisis than the wonderful background afforded by this book: Phoenicians and Aramaeans mediating between East and West; Rome versus Carthage; Alexander and his successors Hellenizing the East; Roman legions in Syria; the Christian reaction; Syrian emperors and popes in Rome; the Moslem-Arab reaction against the West; the West's return in the crusades; Asia hailing once again through the Turks; modern westernization. Who can fail to draw from the profound meditation upon this rhythmic beat the surest guidance for the future?

For a forthcoming new edition one would venture to make the following suggestions:

(1) As one finishes reading each part, one distinctly craves for a general interpretative chapter, summing up on the profoundest plane possible the significance, meaning, achievement of that period. If such five chapters are written, then together with the present first chapter they may be printed apart, and in that case I would urge that their contents be memorized by every youth in geographic Syria.

(2) Surely the greatest achievement of St. John Chrysostom (p. 356), the Greek Orthodox liturgy, should be mentioned. Every Sunday for 1,500 years, the intercession of Chrysostom, "the author of this holy service" (and what a magnificent service it is), is sought in every Greek Orthodox church in the world.

(3) Pseudo-Dionysius who exerted a tremendous influence upon Christian theology and art, and upon German mysticism and idealism, should (though shrouded in mystery) also be mentioned.

(4) Owing to its very great importance in the history of thought and of the relations between East and West, stoicism (p. 258 f.) should be treated more fully.

(5) Nothing is more important for the understanding of Islam than an adequate account of the relations between heretical Syrian Christianity and Islam (p. 406). This link should be supplied.

(6) I think Carthage (p. 108) should be treated more fully.

(7) The following entirely minor matters may also be noted: the map on page 33 is not quite adequate to the text it is designed to illustrate; the explanatory material for the illustration on page 69 is the same as that for the colored plate facing it, and the last sentence does not apply; one cannot speak of the withdrawal (*jald'*) "of foreign troops, mainly French" as "expulsion" (p. 134, n. 2).

Professor Hitti's fascinating story—told so lucidly, so engagingly, so authoritatively, so comprehensively—touches upon the ultimate tragedies of human existence. Nothing is more painful, for instance, than what a Roman historian, speaking of Caracalla, called "the craftiness of Syria" (p. 342), a trait that repeatedly reveals itself in the conduct of the inhabitants of Syria throughout the ages (see especially pp. 71, 74, 132, 284, 301, 375, 389, 640, 665, 684, 686). This

is a terrible judgment. Another is the tragic discontinuity of the country, the absence of linkage and cohesion: historically (eras, periods, endless conquerors), socially (layers upon layers of peoples: pp. 26, 75, 146, 251, 268, etc.), geographically (never-ending struggle with the desert: pp. 42, 44, 61, 64, 377, 382, 396), culturally (never quite one homogeneous culture), linguistically (pp. 113, 257, 369), politically (see especially p. 57). A country so situated and so burdened cannot but have despaired of man and his possibilities. The last word about the history of Syria is not political, not cultural, not intellectual, but religious: a radical reaching-out beyond all life and all history. It was not an accident that God had to come there, and had to suffer. Nothing throws me back more surely and more trustfully upon Him who is alone the light and the hope of the world than the contemplation of the ultimate truth of the land and people to which I belong.

New York, N.Y.

CHARLES MALIK

[Dr. Malik is Minister of Lebanon to the United States and chairman of the Commission on Human Rights of the United Nations.—Ed.]

GREECE: AMERICAN DILEMMA AND OPPORTUNITY. By *L. S. Stavrianos*. (Chicago: Henry Regnery Company. 1952. Pp. ix, 246. \$3.25.)

Mr. Stavrianos here attempts the thankless task of deciphering the intricacies of the perennial Greek political imbroglio and makes a serious effort to provide an informative and scholarly survey of the pivotal points in the recent developments in Greece, developments which have brought forth new problems without solving the old ones. The book opens with a brief sketch of modern Greek history, with special reference to the period immediately preceding World War II. For the causes of the Civil War, the author says, one should look more to Athens than to Moscow. Much of the trouble is due to "a hundred and twenty-five years of wars and poverty, of misrule and misfortune." The governments of Greece, he says, have lacked energy, foresight, and a sense of social responsibility to adopt a program for national reconstruction.

Mr. Stavrianos compares the British policy in 1945 to our present-day policy in Greece. The British missed a chance and the author asks if the United States will also miss its opportunity in Greece. Despite the millions of dollars Britain and America poured into Greece, that country is still in economic straits; there is still poverty and large-scale unemployment. The administrative apparatus is loosely organized and overstaffed. In 1949 Louis C. Wyman, counsel to the Joint Congressional Committee on Foreign Economic Cooperation, characterized the Greek government as "incompetent, reactionary, and obstructive," and two years later (May 20, 1951) the right-wing newspaper *Kathimerini* (Daily) suggested that Greece was "a small-scale model of Chiang Kai-shek's China . . ." (pp. 4-5).

Although the Civil War is over and the Communist threat is checked, the Communists remain "a major force in Greek affairs" (p. 226). This is serious,

especially since the political situation remains unstable. The United States from time to time has pressed "half-heartedly" for reforms, but the situation in Greece today is no better than it was four years ago (p. 207). The United States has an opportunity to see that a popular government is set up in Greece. But can such a government be set up at present? The basic reforms of Greek society, the author recognizes, would produce a turmoil which at present would certainly not serve the purposes of the democratic world.

Mr. Stavrianos finds the United States facing a dilemma. Should we, he asks, concentrate on the immediate needs of the cold war strategy or on the long-range basic needs of Greek society? "We have made intermittent efforts to do the latter but we are now shifting to preparedness." Any other policy at present might not be sound. Since we are already involved in Greek affairs through the Truman Doctrine, the principal problem is to have a clear aim. In the war, should it become hot, we might find that "our ally is a Government rather than a people." Perhaps the Centrist element might form a reforming party, but the author argues that this group lacks a solid and organized mass basis and has little representation in the state apparatus. Since the weakness of the center is obvious, there is little else we can do but support the rightist regime. Yet it is very doubtful if the right could maintain itself in office for any length of time without establishing an authoritarian regime disguised as a "strong-man government to curb the Communists." Should we refuse to support such a government, it would be replaced by another authoritarian regime disguised as a "people's democracy" (p. 229). This indeed is a dilemma, and Mr. Stavrianos, an able diagnostician, fails to prescribe a cure. His book is an implicit appeal that in our shift toward the policy of preparedness and our support of the right we do not drop completely from sight the "long-range basic needs" of Greece. For, as he justly claims, only a democratic Greece can be a reliable ally.

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WAYNE S. VUCINICH

Ancient and Medieval History

TROY: THE THIRD, FOURTH, AND FIFTH SETTLEMENTS. Volume II, Part 1: Text; Part 2: Plates. By *Carl W. Blegen, John L. Caskey, and Marion Rawson*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press for University of Cincinnati. 1951. Pp. xxii, 325; xxiii, 318 plates. \$36.00.)

THE casual (but not necessarily illiterate) visitor to the site of Troy beside the Dardanellés has in the past struggled with the famous Doerpfeldian plan of many colors and, having identified the easily recognizable Roman Troy IX and distinguished the spectacularly fortified Troy VI from the deeper lying Troy II, has usually had only indifferent success in sorting out the intervening "cities" in the mound. With what feelings of despair will he return to the site, having learned from this latest volume of the Cincinnati publication that the first five of Schlie-

mann's superimposed "cities" have now been subdivided into no less than thirty "phases," that although Rossetti sang truly, "O Troy's down, Tall Troy's on fire!" it was only Troy IIg which was burned in a great conflagration long, long before Achaean Agamemnon, and that Troy IV, the "wretched village" of Doerpfeldian tradition, actually spread over the entire mound, was defended by a circuit wall, and lived through five distinguishable (though perhaps not entirely distinct) "phases"! He will also learn with interest that although Troy III was a poor effort compared with proud Troy II, it distinguished itself by being the first settlement to build house-walls of solid stone instead of raising mud brick on a stone socle. (But probably it was the abundance of stone available from the burned second settlement which made this an easy luxury.) If the visitor is professionally read, he will recall that, as recently as 1948, Claude Schaeffer, the genial excavator of fabulous Ras Shamra on the Syrian coast, in his overwhelming survey of Anatolian and other Near Eastern excavations under the disingenuous title *Stratigraphie comparée et chronologie de l'Asie occidentale*, sought to reverse Schliemann's vacillating decision about the famous treasure of Troy and reassign it to Troy III instead of the more obvious Troy II. The controversy is of considerable importance for Bronze Age chronology throughout western Asia, but it is too intricate for general discussion. The new publication here under review politely but firmly decides against Schaeffer; and the fact that only such meticulous digging and recording as that of the Cincinnati Expedition could ever have marshaled the evidence to make any categoric decision possible, goes far to justify the pitiless professionalism of this monumental report.

Nonetheless the professional student who consults this publication has a right to expect that the diggers, who alone know their way amid these complexities, should offer him more enlightenment about Troy, over and above the detailed catalogue of their stratified finds. M. Schaeffer is relegated to a footnote; yet the questions which he raises are of very great interest. Out of three hundred pages of text, less than thirty contain readable general discussion, while all the more significant observations could be condensed into a few paragraphs. By leaving to outsiders or posterity the evaluative rewriting of their magnificently precise campaigns, the compilers maintain their professional integrity and set themselves apart from controversy and provable error; but they decline the burden of making archaeology a humanistic pursuit.

Perhaps a mere reviewer should not complain, since this concentration on the material evidence and avoidance of extraneous speculations enables him to pass on to his readers the following *multum in parvo*:

By publishing all the finds from Troy III, IV, and V the present volume completes its survey of the Early Bronze Age remains of Hissarlik. In spite of the greatly increased disintegration into "phases," no important change of culture or population has been detected, and no striking catastrophes except the bad conflagration of IIg. Nor does the final settlement of this long period, Troy V, seem to have gone down in bloodshed betokening extraneous conquest or spoliation.

And yet Troy VI (with which the next volume of the series will deal) belongs to a different world. At Troy, as everywhere else in the ancient Near East, the distinction between Early and Middle Bronze Age does not reflect a merely modern convenience of nomenclature but betokens a great, though hitherto undefinable, change. On the other hand, the settlements of Troy III–V appear to assert a rather continuous decline from the high level of prosperity of Troy II (unless a slight improvement may be noted in Troy V as opposed to Troy IV); so that the final history of the Early Bronze period suggests the running-out of a cultural tide which had long been ebbing. The absolute chronology remains vague; but it is seemingly the final centuries of the third millennium before Christ to which Troy III, IV, and V must be attributed, making them contemporary with the decline and collapse of the Old Kingdom in Egypt. Direct cultural connections with Egypt do not exist; but Aegean and mainland Greek (Helladic) contacts are demonstrable. However, it would be incorrect to term Troy an outpost of Helladic culture at this time. Troy II–V are essentially Anatolian settlements, even though rather isolated by their peripheral geographic location.

The accompanying volume of 182 quarto pages of "plates" comprises several thousand separate illustrations well photographed or drawn, and cleanly printed. Particularly useful are the numerous diagrammatic plans and the clearly intelligible sections through the several scattered areas of digging which Schliemann had left undamaged. It would be difficult to imagine excavational material more fully and accurately recorded or more adequately presented. Yet for all its excellence, *Troy* is an inhuman book because it takes such pride in displaying excavation as a science instead of as a humanity and is guilty of making archaeological exploration unappealing for fear it should fail to maintain a rigorously scientific manner.

Bryn Mawr College

RHYS CARPENTER

STUDIES IN ROMAN ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL HISTORY IN HONOR
OF ALLAN CHESTER JOHNSON. Edited by *P. R. Coleman-Norton*, with
the Assistance of *F. C. Bourne* and *J. V. A. Fine*. (Princeton: Princeton Uni-
versity Press. 1951. Pp. xiii, 373. \$5.00.)

LONG in preparation and long awaited, this book, produced with devotion and care by the editors with the co-operation of friends eager to pay tribute to Allan C. Johnson, is a dedicatory offering of twenty-three articles on subjects more or less related to the work in which Professor Johnson has been engaged—constitutional history, papyrology, economic and social studies. Professor Johnson, for thirty-seven years a beloved teacher and scholar at Princeton University, is still resident at Princeton. The anniversary year was 1949, which means that the articles in the book were in the mill about that time and that consequently they had perhaps best be read as though 1949 were the date of publication, although several articles refer to works which appeared in 1950.

The authors are drawn from several countries and represent many fields of classical antiquity: literature, religion (Greek, Roman, Christian, Egyptian), drama, art, Greek epigraphy, papyrology, demography, numismatics, constitutional history—all of these are comprehended under the general title of the book—and, for good measure, a paper on thirteenth-century Byzantium adds a field a little removed in time from classical antiquity. Four of the papers (chapters iv, viii, xiv, xx) are illustrated, but the plates, alas, are lumped together between pages 310 and 311.

Although every one of the contributions has something fresh and new for the student of antiquity, I may be pardoned if I make my point chiefly from the six numismatic papers. J. G. Milne and A. R. Bellinger draw on their long and rich experience with coins to give us much-needed general and comprehensive articles on particular areas of coinage. In the course of his article on Augustan coinage, M. Grant makes some pertinent suggestions and sounds warnings on the study of dies and mints. L. C. West and H. Mattingly continue, in different directions, to work toward the solution of the baffling monetary questions of the late third century A.D., and A. Alföldi, with his customary broad sweep and keen observation, discusses anew the early use of the Christian monogram on certain coins in a paper which is a study of mints, as well as of art, history, and religion. As examples of the fresh approach in the rest of the papers, J. Day, in a careful analysis of evidence for the economy of Euboea under the Roman Empire, debunks a previously accepted view of that subject resulting from the misuse of a literary passage. H. Youtie employs his papyrological acumen to make clearer a document providing "our first intimate contact [in papyri] with a boy's work and play and tribulations in the days of his apprenticeship." Likewise, A. E. Raubitschek applies his special knowledge of Greek epigraphy to the search for the nature of an Athenian festival devoted to a Roman general and dictator. These are examples of the variety and briskness of the scholarship to be found between the covers of this *Festschrift*, learned fare from which we may long feast with pleasure.

American Numismatic Society

ALINE ABACHERLI BOYCE

CHRISTIANITY AND PAGAN CULTURE IN THE LATER ROMAN EMPIRE, TOGETHER WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF JOHN CHRYSOSTOM'S ADDRESS ON VAINGLORY AND THE RIGHT WAY FOR PARENTS TO BRING UP THEIR CHILDREN. By M. L. W. Laistner, John Stambaugh Professor of History in Cornell University. [James W. Richard Lectures in History for 1950-1951, delivered in the University of Virginia on October 24-26, 1950.] (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press. 1951. Pp. vi, 145. \$2.50.)

THE main text of this book, as indicated in the bibliographical data above, is based on three lectures given at the University of Virginia in 1950. The exposition is necessarily brief, but it is at once sufficiently comprehensive and concrete to do

justice to its central theme. The retention of the direct, lively tone of the lecture style makes the book unusually attractive to the general reader as well as to the specialist. Discussion of points of detail and problems is available in some closely packed pages of notes at the end of the book.

In chapter I, "Pagan Culture in Its Decline," the author gives an excellent sketch of Greek and Roman education in its main features from the close of the silver age to the end of antiquity. While recognizing the all-pervading influence of rhetoric, he rightly points out the good as well as the bad in late Roman education and its adequacy as a basic general training for a career in the imperial administration. Chapter II, "The Training of the Christian Convert," is primarily concerned with Christian catechetical instruction in East and West in the period after Constantine. It may be recommended as a short, but clear, accurate, and up-to-date presentation of the subject. The title of chapter III, "The Higher Education of Christians," hardly indicates its full scope. The chapter actually deals with the attitude of the Christians to pagan higher education, the practical compromise which was reached, and the special program of scriptural and theological studies developed by the Christians themselves. The author discusses all these matters with his usual competence and good sense.

The translation of St. John Chrysostom's homily or treatise, which appears as an appendix, constitutes in some respects the most original and valuable part of the present book. This little masterpiece in the field of Christian education is distinguished for its sound moral teaching in theory and practice, for its deep psychological and pedagogical insight, and for its charming style. Yet, owing to the disputes over its authenticity—the question was settled only in 1907—it was not included in the great collections of Chrysostom's works and has remained largely unknown, especially in the English-speaking world. Laistner's translation is the first in English since the incomplete and inaccurate version of John Evelyn in 1659.

A few critical comments may be offered: On page 46, the *De Sacramentis*, which most scholars now regard as genuine, should be listed along with the *De Mysteriis* of St. Ambrose. On page 52, reference should have been made to the example of Moses and Daniel, which is so often cited in patristic literature as an argument in favor of attending pagan schools and employing pagan learning. On page 53, the use of *philosophia* in the meaning given occurs before Chrysostom, e.g., in Gregory Nazianzen. On page 129, note 45, it might be remarked that Dom Morin, in an article published in 1928, claimed Ambrosian authorship for the *Explanatio symboli* mentioned here.

Catholic University of America

MARTIN R. P. MCGUIRE

EUROPA IM MITTELALTER: ALTE TATSACHEN UND NEUE GESICHTSPUNKTE: EINE EINFÜHRUNG MIT BESONDERER BERÜCKSICHTIGUNG DER NICHTDEUTSCHEN STAATEN. By *Justus*

Hashagen. [Weltgeschichte in Einzeldarstellungen.] (Munich: Verlag F. Bruckmann. 1951. Pp. vii, 519. Ln. DM 22.)

WRITTEN in the spirit of Ranke by a quondam pupil of Lamprecht, this excellent survey of the Middle Ages reflects in title and content post-World War II ideals of Western European union. It is not another of those so-called medieval histories that turn out to be the story of medieval Germany, with some incidental remarks upon other contemporary nations revolving on her periphery, but a sound, comprehensive account of all the peoples between the Atlantic and the Dnieper who contributed to the founding of the European world. To be sure, the approach remains basically German: the Middle Ages begin not with Roman decline but with the *Völkerwanderungen*, the German aspects of the latter being viewed through Dopschian spectacles; they end with the German Reformation, not the Italian Renaissance; and the Holy Roman Reich and internal German politics occupy a disproportionate amount of space. But the treatment of German and non-German subjects is objective; regions such as France, England, and Slavdom receive full attention; and, on the whole, the European as against the national standpoint is successfully maintained.

Although modestly styled an introduction, and capable of serving effectively as such, the book is well above the level of an elementary manual. Its lucid, intelligent summaries of many controversial questions, its constant citation of much recent (chiefly German) periodical literature and its generally discerning interpretations make it valuable for all students of medieval history. Hashagen divides the subject into four periods, the limits of each of which will certainly be questioned by many: a preparatory period before 700 A.D.; the early Middle Ages, running through the eleventh century; the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, defined as the culmination of the typically medieval; and the later Middle Ages. The latter three periods receive substantially equal coverage, material being presented within them largely according to country. Introductory and concluding chapters discuss in nonmetaphysical fashion the broad problems of historical interpretation, of sources, and of the over-all characteristics and significance of the medieval phase of European history.

Political history is given major emphasis, often to excess. Medieval culture fares not too badly, but (even allowing for limitations of space) institutional, social, and economic questions, e.g., manorialism, the urban revolution, the conciliar movement, are treated primarily in terms of their political consequences. Territorial expansion is emphasized as one of the two dominant features of the Middle Ages—the other being the formation of a distinctive, consciously European civilization—but except for the German East and the crusades medieval frontier expansion is not well covered, notably in the cases of Spain, Portugal (before 1400), England, and Russia. Implicitly throughout, and at many points explicitly, Hashagen demolishes two decades of Nazi distortion of medieval history; on topics such as Charlemagne, the Saxons, medieval Jewry, the Teutonic Knights, the

Drang nach Osten, the primitive Slavs, and others similar, he represents a return to historical sanity and balance. Indeed, the work as a whole so successfully clears the ground of ultranationalist rubbish, so stoutly reaffirms the finest German traditions of historical scholarship, and so effectively presents an informed, trustworthy review of the creation of Europe in the Middle Ages that one can only hope that the book may serve as the training ground of the new generation of German medieval historians.

University of Virginia

C. J. BISHKO

LES NORMANDS EN MÉDITERRANÉE. By Jean Beraud Villars. (Paris: Editions Albin Michel. 1951. Pp. 361. 750 fr.)

THIS penetrating work traces the course of the Normans from their appearance in Europe at the beginning of the ninth century to the end of the Norman kingdom of Sicily and the death of Tancred at Palermo in the year 1194. Book I opens up the Scandinavian and Normandy background of the Mediterranean ventures and makes a number of fresh observations on Norman history. In Book II Normans from *La Basse Normandie* put their oars into the troubled political and social waters of southern Italy. The personality and activities of Robert Guiscard as free lance, as duke of Apulia, conquerer of Sicily, and ally of Gregory VII are well delineated. Book III details, sometimes at a snail's pace, the activities of the Norman-French kingdom of Sicily from the days of Roger de Hauteville, brother of Guiscard, through the one hundred eventful years ending with the death of Tancred.

The book contains a dozen excellent full-page reproductions of the best Norman remains in southern Italy and Sicily such as mosaics of Norman rulers from the cathedral of Montreale and churches in Palermo, the unique tomb of Bohemund and clear reproductions of manuscript sources together with maps and genealogical charts. The author has walked over the territory with a camera and with a keen eye for relationships between terrain, architecture, and history, best illustrated perhaps by his excellent chapters on the Sicily of Roger II (1095-1154). These chapters also demonstrate that most of the policies often thought of in connection with Frederick II had deep roots in the Norman kingdom which had itself inherited not a few practices from the Greeks and Saracens in the area.

About sixty pages, divided between the beginning and the end of the book, provide a good synthesis of Norman history. The question is taken up as to why the Normans, so profound in their influence upon a broad medieval world stretching from Russia to America, from Greenland to Africa, passed away almost as mysteriously as they came without leaving behind them a culture, a language, or an empire. Vigorously foremost in all European movements from the ninth to the thirteenth centuries (conquering England, helping reconquer Spain, dominating the middle Mediterranean for a century, surging east to spark the crusades and

the beginnings of Russia, sweeping west over Iceland and Labrador to a premature discovery of America), Villars thinks they muffed their vast and almost unparalleled opportunities. The marvel is not that they did so much but, with Europe and half the world lying impotent before them, that they actually accomplished so little of a permanent nature. He thinks this was because they had no steady objective, no patriotism, no motives but plunder and selfishness, and an exuberant, fierce materialism. They blended quickly with other peoples because they came as men and almost universally took wives from among the indigenous population.

Interesting contrasts are drawn between the easy penetration of the Normans into the interior of northern Europe and England and their comparatively unsuccessful attempts to crack the coastline of powerful Moslem Spain. Moslem chroniclers and historians like El Nowair and Ibn Khaldun are quoted to show how different the story was in Spain where the heads of two hundred trespassing Norsemen were sent as presents into Africa and quantities of Norse prisoners were crucified in Lisbon. Large Saracen fleets met the Norsemen with machines that threw Greek fire into their long Norse craft and they soon contented themselves with passing through the Straits toward the weaker lands of the central Mediterranean.

The author makes extensive uses of the historical sources but he has apparently made little effort to employ recent editions or to take advantage of the latest scholarship in the field. The bibliography is poor (twenty-eight items of mostly out-of-date works with "etc., etc." at the end) and thrown carelessly into a format that would be unacceptable from an American college freshman in his first course in history. Annotation is virtually nonexistent. Nothing indicates that Villars consulted M. Cahen's *Le régime féodal de l'Italie normande* (Paris, 1940), which summarizes previous work in the field and shows more conclusively than Villars that in Sicily the Norman feudal institutions formed a superstructure which in the long run had little effect upon the territory or the people of the realm. Nor is there mention of the authoritative works of the active Neapolitan scholar, G. M. Monti, *Il regno normanno-svevo di Sicilia* (Bari, 1930), *Il Mezzogiorno d'Italia nel medio evo* (Baro, 1930), and *Lo stato normanno-svevo* (Naples, 1934), who revived Norman-Italian studies in our time. German scholarship could have enriched Villars immeasurably, but he did not consult Scheffer-Boichorst or Karl Andreas Kehr, the fathers of the study of Norman Sicily. Villars, leaned heavily upon Aimé's *Ystoire de li Normant* without consulting the recent critical study of Aimé by Wilhelm Smidt (in *Studi Gregoriani*, III [1948], 173-231). Perhaps some day some ambitious scholar in the field will bring up to date Jules Thieury's old *Bibliographie Italico-Normande* (Paris, 1864).

State University of New York,
Champlain College

OSCAR G. DARLINGTON

THE ABBEY AND BISHOPRIC OF ELY: THE SOCIAL HISTORY OF AN ECCLESIASTICAL ESTATE FROM THE TENTH CENTURY TO THE EARLY FOURTEENTH CENTURY. By *Edward Miller*, Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. [Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, New Series, Volume I.] (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1951. Pp. xii, 313. \$5.00.)

As should be evident from what precedes, this is not a book designed for popular reading. The author could easily have inserted much legendary detail and imaginative description to enhance, superficially, the history of so famous a church. Instead he gives us a scholarly essay based on careful study of the relevant sources—not at all exciting but, in my opinion, fundamentally sound.

Mr. Miller begins by stating:

It is impossible to obtain any comprehensive view of the lands of Ely abbey or of the inhabitants of those lands, until we come down to *Domesday Book*. At the same time a proper understanding of the information given there calls for some attempt to get behind *Domesday*, in fact (if this is possible) to go back to the beginnings of the abbey's history [p. 8].

With regard to this early history, he finds, we may be sure of only a few conclusions: that St. Etheldreda founded the monastery in the seventh century; that, in the tenth century, King Edgar refounded it with greatly enhanced liberties; and that all such liberties were confirmed by Edward the Confessor and William the Conqueror.

In chapter III ("The Old English Estate and the Norman Conquest") Mr. Miller comes to a subject that seems more to interest him: the lands held or claimed by the abbot of Ely in 1086 and their status as described by *Domesday Book*, the *Inquisitio Eliensis*, and related documents. This is a tough subject, as I know from the little study I have made of it. Even to summarize Mr. Miller's conclusions would lead to a technical discussion entirely out of place in a brief review. I merely say that he has taken into careful account much that has more recently appeared on the problem of manorial origins, especially the work of Marc Bloch.

In later chapters (IV-VIII) Mr. Miller shows how Henry I established a bishopric of Ely and how this establishment tended to revolutionize the monastic system of administration. No previous essay, to my knowledge, has given us so clear a picture of such transformation. Much else in these chapters must here be passed over: thus the precise nature of the "honour" and the "liberty" of St. Etheldreda under the Angevins, together with interesting details concerning military and agrarian tenants of Ely in the later Middle Ages. All students of medieval society and institutions are advised to read this book.

Two queries remain. On pages 27ff. Mr. Miller seems to imply that "immunity" meant the right to hold a court. This was certainly not true on the Continent during the earlier Middle Ages. On page 56 he remarks that "com-

mendation may easily have shaded off into homage for land once the abbots had asserted a superior dominion over the land." The statement shows a clear understanding neither of commendation nor of homage. But I still say that Mr. Miller has given us an excellent bit of work.

Cornell University

CARL STEPHENSON

THE HUNDRED YEARS WAR. By *Edouard Perroy*, Professor of Medieval History at the Sorbonne. With an Introduction to the English Edition by *David C. Douglas*, Professor of History in the University of Bristol. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1951. Pp. 376. \$6.00.)

In his volume *The Feudal Monarchy in France and England*, Petit-Dutaillis introduced us to the idea that a parallel study of these countries revealed a symbiosis, which made their individual histories more comprehensible. Professor Perroy's volume serves, in many ways, as a sequel to the earlier work and, by the nature of his subject, emphasizes and elaborates in similar fashion the interaction of events upon both kingdoms. Such an approach requires not only familiarity with a very wide field of scholarship but it also calls for a well-developed philosophy of human affairs. The student of politics as well as of history will find this book rewarding. Presumably also this may be regarded as an intellectual *tour de force* since the author explains that he wrote in 1943-44 while enjoying "the precarious leisure granted . . . during an exciting game of hide-and-seek with the Gestapo." Certainly participation in recent events has helped him to understand the disasters of the past, although only occasionally is this indicated in words. But how pregnant is the single sentence, "Let us not cast the first stone at Joan of Arc's contemporaries: we have seen worse since." By treating the Hundred Years' War as a topic in itself, instead of a chapter in French or English history, the contemporary developments in both countries can be pictured as part of the story of the war and effective contrasts observed and explained. Institutional developments are thus shown to be, as of course they were, adaptations to the exigencies of war and not intentional preliminaries for later constitutional growth.

For teachers and students in American universities a book such as this should excite enthusiasm. It offers in readable form a synthesis of a half century of scholarship with corrections for the older, conventional stereotypes adequately noted. We may hope that from such an attractive presentation as this these corrections will get into future textbooks. This reviewer welcomes such dicta as, "Unlike our modern imperialisms, the medieval monarchies did not go to war to create outlets for their trade or to gain markets. We cannot speak, before the second half of the fifteenth century, of any economic policy on the part of the sovereigns which took precedence over their dynastic dreams and their projects of conquest." It is also refreshing to find a work with a broad sweep completely free from assumptions about inevitable trends. Possibly the Hundred Years' War offers particularly effective examples of the play of accident and the opportunistic and

personal character of what passed for policy. Addicts to the Whig interpretation of history will find the author's comments on the Estates General unsympathetic, and his assertions about Lancastrian "constitutionalism" little to their liking. Only a writer confident of his mastery would deal boldly with the traditional heroes. He presents Du Guesclin as some one who "enjoyed a popularity out of all proportion to his talents and exploits." He offers a truly realistic and balanced presentation of Joan of Arc in which he concludes that it is permissible to doubt that she exercised "that essential influence on the course of events which is always attributed to her," and asserts that the effect of her fervor "scarcely went beyond the limited circle of those who had the privilege of approaching her or living with her." At the end is a useful, selective, critical bibliographical note which, among other good things, warns that few in the overwhelming mass of books on Joan "are of any use to the historian." We should be grateful to the translator for making this work available to American readers, and to Professor Douglas for his stimulating, interpretive introduction.

Williams College

RICHARD A. NEWHALL

THE HEROIC AGE OF SCANDINAVIA. By *G. Turville-Petre*, Vigfusson Reader in Ancient Icelandic Literature and Antiquities in the University of Oxford. [Hutchinson's University Library.] (New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1951. Pp. viii, 196. Trade \$2.25, text \$1.80.)

LES PEUPLES SCANDINAVES AU MOYEN AGE. By *Lucien Musset*, Agrégé d'Histoire et de Géographie, Professeur au Lycée de Caen. (Paris: Presses universitaires de France. 1951. Pp. viii, 342. 1,000 fr.)

IN scope and purpose these books are similar. Each begins with primitive life in Scandinavia as a whole; each carries the story down through the life of St. Olav (d.1030), then Musset in his longer book continues to the sixteenth century and the break that came with Protestantism. Each, from a scholarly background, interprets Scandinavia to a general audience. There similarity ceases, for in style and method and outlook the differences are great.

Turville-Petre is concerned primarily with "the tangled web of history and fiction" in the eddas, the scaldic poetry, and the sagas. His knowledge and his judgment create confidence. He is well aware of the mysteries and contradictions in his literary sources; he sprinkles his text with doubts and with phrases like "if the sources can be trusted"; and he checks the northern legends with the records of the English, Germans, and French. He emphasizes the positive half of the half-truths in the warrior legends: "If we ignore such tales . . . we are left with a poorer appreciation of the age" (p. 154). He compares the historic record with the Beowulf story, but adds nothing new. He contributes a nice piece of analysis on the dating of Harald Hårfagr (whom he calls Finehair), concluding that the battle of Hafrsfjörd came about 885 instead of about 872 as has been commonly

accepted (pp. 115-17). The significance of the later date is to lessen the importance of the strong man in Norway as the cause of the settlement of Iceland, for the migration had begun well before 885.

The major concern of the author with literature per se is emphasized by the last two chapters on "Scaldic Poetry and History," and "The First Icelandic Historians," both of which are useful epitomes. In essence Turville-Petre depicts the public history of the northern peoples as evidenced in their literature, with a resultant bias toward personalities and genealogies.

Professor Musset has done much more. Not only is his book 500 years and 146 pages longer. It is also richly documented with footnote references that serve as good guides to the recent and often controversial writings of Scandinavian, German, and English scholars. The French author is not as original as the English, but his reading has been wide and wise and his presentation is well balanced and readable. No better over-all summary is known to the reviewer.

Most important of all is that Musset, while being careful with the facts and probabilities of history, also considers the causes of events as any real historian must do. In the later centuries it is easier to treat of economic conditions and social structure because materials are more ample, but even with Vikings this author makes clear the distinction between the Vikings as pirates in the west and as merchants in the east, and at least partially explains why this is true. He pays attention to the noble ships of the Vikings as well as to their chieftains. He deals with agriculture, justice, slavery. His treatment of the slow and confused expansion of Christianity into the North shows the stimulating effect of the southern impact; Scandinavian culture was not destroyed but revived by improved contacts and by the introduction of a system of writing that improved upon the runes.

The contrast between the two books is that Turville-Petre wrote about what he wanted to write, yet his book is narrow in scope and heavy in style; Musset wrote about what he thought needed to be written and produced a book broad in scope and beautifully clear in style.

Northwestern University

FRANKLIN D. SCOTT

Modern European History

SOME MODERN HISTORIANS OF BRITAIN: ESSAYS IN HONOR OF R. L. SCHUYLER BY SOME OF HIS FORMER STUDENTS AT COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY. Edited by *Herman Ausubel*, *J. Bartlet Brebner*, and *Erling M. Hunt*. (New York: Dryden Press. 1951. Pp. xiv, 384. \$5.00.)

THE readers of this interesting collection of essays should keep two things in mind. In the first place, as the editors point out, the book is about "some" modern historians of Great Britain; the choice of names has been to a certain extent haphazard, or rather it has been determined by the special interests of the

contributors. No one would dispute the place given to three living British historians, though an English selector, if he were considering contemporary contributions to English history, and not limiting himself to British-born historians, would probably have given one of these three places to an American. On the other hand the book would have been more comprehensive if the contributors had found it possible to include among historians of the last three generations any of the following in the places of Goldwin Smith, Leslie Stephen, Lord Morley, and A. P. Newton: Clapham, Cunningham, Freeman, Pollard, Stubbs, and Tout. (Macaulay, J. R. Green, and Maitland have been omitted because Professor Schuyler himself has published essays on them.)

It is also necessary to remember that the contributors to a book of this kind cannot easily "place" the subjects of their several essays in the general setting of the development of historical studies in Great Britain. The essays are about individuals, not about "tendencies" or the development of any one school of historical writing. Thus each of the twenty-two studies has a special and "enclosed" interest but does not necessarily link up with the other studies. English historians, for that matter, worked, especially in the nineteenth century, in an individual way, and were, if one likes so to put it, as "amateur" as most English viceroys of India. Even Acton, who preached—too often and too loudly—the superiority of German methods was himself unmethodical to such a lamentable extent that he never finished—and in some cases did not even begin—his larger projects.

The essays are full of acute comment and valuable material, and it is not easy to single out any one of them for special mention. Among the earlier historians Lingard and Hallam are excellently done. Four essays are about my older contemporaries. In each case the writer seemed to me to have summed up most accurately the men as well as their work. Professor Brebner's account of Halévy is admirable; so also is Miss Rex's essay on Firth. If I were to add one sentence it would be to mention the generosity and friendliness which these two scholars always showed to their younger colleagues; Halévy at his house outside Paris, or on his many visits to England, or Firth at dessert in an Oxford Common room, talking about the lesser-known figures of the seventeenth century just as though they were members of a neighboring College. Holdsworth, again, was a man of immense industry who did not waste an hour, yet he would never leave an undergraduate's question unanswered. (Holdsworth, alone among his colleagues, told the members of the last University Commission at Oxford that in his opinion professors should do more, and not less, undergraduate teaching.)

Mrs. Sims, writing on Namier, has produced the best essay on a living historian; I should want to add to it that there is a nobility about Namier's work not commonly found in English historical writing since Acton. I should disagree with a good many of Professor Hurwitz's judgments on Mr. Churchill; it seems to me that he has allowed his opinion of Churchill as a politician to infiltrate too much into his judgment on Churchill as a historian, and even that he has failed to keep in mind the statements in the preface of every volume of "The

Second World War." Above all, from my own experience in working over a great deal of the same documentary material for the history of the Second World War, I should dissent strongly from the view that Churchill "fails to recreate the past." Professor Nelson, on Tawney, has a good subject and treats it well, though I doubt whether Tawney himself would agree that "there used to be only Whig historians" or that until the Hammonds, Cole, and a few others (not, incidentally, including the Webbs), "the affairs of the peasants and workers" had been largely excluded from English historical writing.

Finally, this book, as the contributors intended, does signal honor to the master to whom it is presented. It can be taken for granted that a historian would never have held the position occupied by Professor Schuyler if he had not been a fine scholar. These essays also show how well he has taught his pupils, and how they have learned from him, a broad and humane approach to their subjects, quietness in writing, and sympathy as well as critical skill in judging the work of others.

Institute for Advanced Study

E. L. WOODWARD

IRISH NATIONALISM AND BRITISH DEMOCRACY. By *Eric Strauss*. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1951. Pp. x, 307.)

"THE subject of this book," according to the author's preface, "is neither the history of Ireland nor that of Great Britain but the nexus between the two countries particularly during the time of the Legislative Union of 1801-1921" (p. v). It is far more than this! It is a sympathetic study of Irish insurrections. It extols the use of violence and seeks to explain why so many rebellions failed. Disdainful of scientific objectivity as a cloak for moral cowardice, the author assumes the role of judge and critic of groups and individuals—but not from a national or party point of view. His standards of judgment and criticism are the Marxian standards of economic determinism and class conflict.

His *a priori* assumptions distort both English and Irish history. He greatly exaggerates Irish influence in English social and political development during the nineteenth century. The Irish question, as he sees it, was as important in English history as the Industrial Revolution, and the most important question in the imperial parliament during the first half of the nineteenth century. "It set in motion," he says, "the train of events which culminated in the great Reform Bill of 1832 and it was the proximate cause of the crisis which ended in the Repeal of the Corn Laws . . ." (p. 116).

An even greater distortion results from the author's efforts to force Irish history into the Marxian mold of class conflict. According to his version of Ireland, religion and patriotism cease to be the major dynamic forces; rather, "social interests" become the determining factors. The class concept transmutes the Roman Catholic Church into an agency to subordinate the masses to middle-class leadership. (p. 93). Even Daniel O'Connell ceases to be the great Liberator, for he pur-

chased the victory of Catholic Emancipation "at the expense of Ireland's political future" (p. 95).

A note of lamentation runs throughout these pages because the Irish rebels never grew into full-bodied revolutionaries and because the fires of insurrection never blazed into a conflagration to destroy the old order. The author engenders little enthusiasm for the early patriotic rebels. Not until he reaches the Fenians does he find a group worthy of his admiration. He considers them to be "the cream of the Irish people" (p. 150). His greatest admiration goes to Michael Davitt, "the Lancaster mill hand who had to sacrifice one arm to the Moloch of capitalist industry when he ought to have been in school, and who underwent years of penal servitude for his participation in dangerous but futile dynamiting activities of the Fenians" (p. 156). He admires the Fenians, for they understood the concept of force as the only effective weapon for the overthrow of English rule.

The author's narration moves swiftly from epoch to epoch and event to event. Occasional interspersed chapters, reflecting on the course of events, attempt to summarize and interpret. Two chapters, describing economic conditions resulting from the famine, emigration, and the repeal of the Corn Laws, are especially instructive. In the writing of this history he has utilized many printed source materials and substantial secondary works; his strong Marxian bias, however, has made his selection of materials more eclectic than synthetic. A work so discursive and dogmatic will serve the historian very little. Its antireligious bias will certainly offend the Irish Catholics. It will please chiefly those who have already accepted the Marxian view of history and whose sympathies warmly identify them with the "oppressed masses" of Ireland.

Lehigh University

RAYMOND G. COWHERD

PHILOSOPHICAL FOUNDATIONS OF ENGLISH SOCIALISM. By *Adam B. Ulam*. [Harvard Political Studies.] (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1951. Pp. 173. \$3.75.)

THE author of this valuable study has turned his eyes aside from his principal preoccupation with the Russian Research Center of Harvard University for a glance at another revolution which, in the long run, may be far more important for the political and institutional life of the Western world than its more violent cousin of the East. Since "socialism is the prevailing political philosophy of our age" (p. 96) there is everything to be said for an examination of its origins wherever, and in whatever guise, it may appear. This is particularly true when a form of socialism grows from the root system of political democracy and spreads its foliage—which is to shade so many from the fierce heat of the sun—from the intellectual trunk and branches of the liberal state. Accepting the Labor government that came to power in 1945 as the outward and visible substance of revolution, the author is concerned with discovering and describing the portions of English political thought that gave philosophical content to the socialist move-

ment before it reached office and some measure of intellectual acceptability to its program in office.

This has been done with skill and clarity. There has been, moreover, a wise insistence upon keeping speculative thought as closely related to political reality as possible through the admission that great political movements do not depend upon philosophical justification nearly so much as upon the emotional satisfaction of ethical and moral aspirations. "The power of a philosopher lies in that he can stir up great waves of feeling and agitation," while his lasting value resides in "what is left of his meaning and insights in the presence of today's problems."

Within these limitations, the contribution of the idealists—T. H. Green, Bradley, and Bosanquet—to socialism is the concept of an enlarged role for the state loosed from the confining embrace of liberalism and laissez-faire. Theirs was a defense of the state as it intervened with positive measures for the moral advancement of the citizen. In the Fabians the author sees a political staff dedicated to the mission of providing good works for the state to accomplish and to the persuasion of "a large part of the nation that socialism is a refinement and the logical conclusion of democracy."

Pluralism takes its place as an interesting attempt to limit the scope of a state suddenly grown great, while gild socialism is a wedding of socialism and pluralism celebrated in the nostalgic hope of recapturing the securities of an earlier, and less strident, age. While idealists, Fabians, and gild socialist each contributed something, the theme must come to rest upon its modern position which leaves rather more to practical politics than to moral exaltation. This position is that the state may do what the majority desires; socialism thus appears as the rational and logical development of political democracy.

It is no light accomplishment to have found one's way so deftly along an uneven and treacherous path. Other paths remain to be explored—the religious basis of English socialism comes most readily to mind—and it is to be hoped that other lines of advance will be pushed into the target area of the most pressing political problem of our time. The example here set deserves to be emulated.

University of North Carolina

JAMES L. GODFREY

THE EMERGENCE OF THE GREAT POWERS, 1685-1715. By *John B. Wolf*, University of Minnesota. [The Rise of Modern Europe.] (New York: Harper and Brothers. 1951. Pp. xv, 336. Trade \$5.00, text \$3.75.)

WITH the publication of his *Emergence of the Great Powers*, Professor Wolf has added another valuable work to the major co-operative series which American scholars have produced in the field of European history. As an effort to synthesize much of the complex history of a relatively neglected period, the volume will be welcomed by teachers and students of early modern European history and should appeal to certain sections of the general reading public. In accordance with

the plan of the series of which it is a part, Professor Wolf's study gives extensive and detailed consideration to the political, economic, intellectual, and cultural achievements of the age, on both the national and international levels. Within this framework, certain fields are especially well handled, particularly those which the author believes to provide the dynamic elements in society: international wars and diplomacy, and related administrative developments. Throughout the volume, the general theme is that indicated by the title: the rapid emergence of the major European powers as the predominant factor in human experience. These powers are seen to take the form of increasingly efficient bureaucratic units within their borders and aggressive military states in international affairs, with the result that the Europe of this period rapidly assumed many of its "modern" characteristics. This theme accounts for the structure of the volume and the relative weight which the author gives to its various portions.

A careful analysis of Professor Wolf's study will readily indicate that he has read very widely in the secondary sources of his complex period. The volume is essentially a restatement, and in part a reinterpretation, of previously known information regarding those developments which the author considers significant in the many fields of human activity. Ideas and materials are presented from a large and generally well-selected body of historical literature, often in a very provocative manner. And in shaping up his interpretations, Professor Wolf acknowledges the help of numerous aides. The bibliographical essay at the close of the volume will serve as an adequate introduction to the literature of any subject which is treated at length in the body of the work, and will provide a serviceable instrument for advanced students of the period. As for matters of style, Professor Wolf expresses himself with considerable vigor and succeeds in conveying to the reader what is apparently a large measure of genuine interest in a wide variety of topics. The volume has the very considerable advantage of the clarity and directness of a forceful prose style, and carries the reader along at a rapid rate through a highly varied subject matter. Occasionally, Professor Wolf's flair for turning a phrase and making an apt generalization will present the reader with statements which are patently half-truths, for example: "European governments were assuming a characteristically modern shape and thereby rendering dynastic politics altogether anachronistic"; or "Louis [XIV] was evolving a modern state, but he ruled it in the spirit of a Renaissance prince." However, in view of its scope and general level of performance, the volume must be regarded as the best available work on the subject in English.

Since this volume treats a large variety of topics within the limits of a thirty-year period, Professor Wolf is forced to evaluate the relative importance of the many forces in European society and to stress those which he believes underlie and explain the crucial developments of the age. Such an approach necessitates a large measure of historical interpretation, and at the same time subjects the author to the risk of overemphasizing the importance of this generation relative to others in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. As is indicated by the title,

the major significance of the period for its author and the main theme of the book are found in the emergence of the great powers and the appearance of many identifiable features of modern Europe. The framework within which Professor Wolf views this phenomenon is surprisingly simple, since he sees it essentially as a transition from medieval political disunity and inefficiency to the modern absolute state which absorbs, directs, and controls all phases of human activity. Repeatedly, Professor Wolf states that medieval survivals limited total mobilization of national resources, but that this difficulty was being overcome by the increasing efficiency of the administrative state. Although the reader will occasionally be uncertain as to whether these "medieval" survivals stem from the twelfth century or the sixteenth, it is manifest that the degree to which they were eliminated represents Professor Wolf's measure of progress during the age. The result is that he stresses those aspects of administrative systems which foreshadowed modern governmental procedures, and neglects those which limited the central authority. For example, the government of Louis XIV is presented largely in terms of royal councils, intendants, the standing army, and the corps of professional administrators whose control over the national resources was marred chiefly by an antiquated financial system. One looks in vain for adequate mention of such "medieval" survivals as the Parlement of Paris, provincial estates and parlements, the legal rights of social, professional, and territorial units, not to mention venality of office and the heterogeneity of legal codes. Further, it is apparent that Professor Wolf overstates the unique importance of developments during this generation. Although he qualifies his generalizations, he insists that the great wars not only forced the elimination of many older administrative inefficiencies but caused the major Western powers to assume the general governmental forms which they retained in succeeding centuries. Unfortunately, this is not entirely borne out by the record, as is shown in various portions of the volume itself. The modern state was the product of centuries of evolution in many areas, and its development did not always proceed along direct lines. In spite of Professor Wolf's enthusiasm for his period, he does not establish the fact that the modern state owes more to this generation than to many others in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Finally, Professor Wolf's ideas concerning historical causation should be examined. Regarding this most baffling of problems, he states explicitly that "the great wars of the period were immediate determinants of the historical process and, therefore, should be the main political theme." In consequence, a very large portion of the volume is devoted to international wars and diplomacy, the instruments through which these were carried out, and their effects upon society. Although these topics are treated well in many areas, again the record does not substantiate the claim that wars represented the exclusive or even the primary cause of social change, witness the treatment of the problem in the chapter "Economics and War." As for the abstract forces in society, these are treated under general heads—science, art, and religion—but always in a vacuum as concerns

the motive forces underlying historical causation. Although correctly interpreted as man's increasing effort to understand "the cosmos, the earth, and man himself," intellectual factors are dissociated from any forces influencing political or social matters. The elimination of abstracts from Professor Wolf's schema explaining the march of events is best exemplified by his relative neglect of the political thought of the age. Twice as much space is devoted to music and the baroque and rococo styles as to political thought, which is discussed in the last section of the last chapter almost as an afterthought, and is totally neglected in the bibliography. Although surprising in view of Professor Wolf's knowledge of the period, this is doubtless explained by the fact that his idea of historical causation approaches the anti-intellectual. Whether such a philosophy of history is incorrect is not for this reviewer to state, but readers of Professor Wolf's volume will regret his heavy weighting of the pragmatic factors in society and his relative neglect of political and social ideals during the early years of the Enlightenment.

Brown University

WILLIAM F. CHURCH

LES DÉBUTS DU CATHOLICISME SOCIAL EN FRANCE (1822-1870). By *Jean-Baptiste Duroselle*. (Paris: Presses universitaires de France. 1951. Pp. xii, 787. 1,200 fr.)

L'ACTION SOCIALE DES CATHOLIQUES EN FRANCE (1871-1901). By *Henri Rollet*. (Paris: Boivin & Cie. [1948.] Pp. 725. 860 fr.)

THE concerted efforts of the Catholic Church in France to win the support of the working classes in the past quarter-century are relatively well known, but it is only within the last four years that historians have turned to the problem of the origins of the Social Catholic movement in that country. M. Duroselle, a professor at the University of the Saar, and M. Rollet, a young Catholic industrialist, provide us with the first comprehensive treatment of Social Catholicism in the nineteenth century, a field hitherto examined only in monographs of limited scope and in inadequate surveys. Both works are *thèses de doctorat*, based on extensive research in widely scattered sources and, as a result, contain an enormous amount of valuable new material.

Perhaps the principal impression that emerges from a study of Social Catholic activity in the preceding century is a sense of its futility, of the discrepancy between effort exerted and results obtained. One need only glance at these two volumes to appreciate the vast number of treatises, pamphlets, newspapers, and reviews produced by Catholic reformers, the countless societies, associations, clubs, and study groups founded by them, and then ask with M. Rollet to what extent Catholic social action had affected French labor at the turn of the century. The anticlericalism of a large percentage of workers in 1900 and their indifference to the major legislative blows dealt the church in the following decade are indicative of the Social Catholics' failure to penetrate the proletariat to any significant

degree. Both M. Duroselle and M. Rollet, though naturally more concerned with the positive achievements of the Social Catholics, have sought an explanation for their lack of success and emerge with some important conclusions.

Professor Duroselle's study, published under the auspices of the Bibliothèque de la Science politique, is without question the more significant of the two works. He has succeeded in organizing a remarkably heterogeneous mass of evidence into a coherent and meaningful synthesis. Beginning with the question of terminology, he concedes that the expression "social catholicism" did not enjoy general usage until about 1890, but contends that a minority of Catholics has nevertheless been concerned with the improvement of working-class conditions since the Restoration. Whether these pioneers elaborated large-scale projects of social reform and called themselves "Christian Socialists" or whether they established associations for the moral edification of young workingmen and termed their activity "charitable economy" is immaterial for the author; they may all be considered "Social Catholics" so long as they aimed at the amelioration of the workers' lot and gave positive evidence of their Catholicism. Perhaps Duroselle's definition is too broad but it has the advantage of permitting him to include in his study figures of such diverse backgrounds and opinions as P.-J.-B. Buchez, a Saint-Simonian converted to Catholicism and first president of the National Assembly in 1848 as well as the legitimist Vicomte Armand de Melun, founder of the paternalistic "Société d'Economie charitable." Indeed, Duroselle's thesis is that the separation between what he terms the "conservative" and "democratic" currents of Social Catholicism was not absolute before 1848; moderates such as Frédéric Ozanam, founder of the Société de Saint-Vincent-de-Paul, were hopeful of reconciling the two groups, and it appeared during the first weeks of the Revolution that their efforts would be crowned with success. But the social uprisings of May 15 and the June Days so disillusioned the conservative elements that all hopes for unified action vanished; the next three years saw the gradual disintegration of the democratic elements which, for all practical purposes, ceased to exist after the *coup d'état*. Under the Second Empire, Social Catholicism assumed the paternalistic and counter-revolutionary bias that was to characterize the movement until the end of the century. It is obvious that Duroselle's sympathies are with the democratic idealists who lost out in '48 and he considers their eclipse a serious blow to the movement for the remainder of the century. True, like all Christian Socialists, they were distrusted by their coreligionists as radicals and attacked by other Socialists for their moderation; nevertheless, their chances of penetrating the working class were potentially greater than those of the conservatives who displaced them.

M. Rollet's analysis of the social action of French Catholics in the succeeding years is based on research every bit as thorough as that of Duroselle; not only has he gained access to numerous archives now in private hands but he has also had the benefit of personal interviews with many of the individuals whose activities he discusses. Nevertheless the over-all result falls far short of Duroselle's study;

the organization of the book is unimaginative, the presentation pedestrian. It might be argued that the earlier period is essentially of greater interest because of the series of colorful figures who dominated it, but the last thirty years of the century also produced some remarkable personalities: Léon Harmel, the devoted Catholic *patron* who was known to his workers in the communal enterprise at Val-des-Bois as "le Bon Père" and who led a series of famous workers' pilgrimages to Rome; or Comte Albert de Mun, crusader in the field of social legislation during his many years in the Chamber of Deputies and, with Jaurès, one of the great parliamentary orators of the Third Republic. M. Rollet provides detailed accounts of the careers of both these leaders and of the projects to which they devoted their lives, but neither the men nor their activities come to life in his hands. What does emerge from his pages is a sense of the inefficacy of so much Catholic action during these years, the miscarriage of so many schemes. For if the ideal of the generation prior to 1890 as embodied in the writings of René de la Tour du Pin was the advent of a harmonious national community dependent on the church, governed by the king, and characterized by a corporate form of organization, the France of 1901 was a far cry from that ideal. Nor were the "*abbés démocrates*" of the 1890's much more successful in their attempt to infuse Christian principles into contemporary society or to reorganize the working class along professional lines.

It is true that the period with which Rollet deals witnessed the formal elaboration of Catholic doctrine on the problems arising from a complex industrial civilization, but political rather than social issues were paramount in the minds of French Catholics at this time. For example, Leo XIII's great encyclical *Rerum Novarum* issued in 1891 attracted far less attention in France than the papal letter which followed a year later recommending that Catholics abandon their adherence to outmoded political systems and rally to the Republic. It was the constant intrusion of political considerations into their social programs that caused the downfall of the Social Catholics in the last decades of the nineteenth century according to M. Rollet. The royalist and counter-revolutionary bias of the older generation prevented their social doctrine from gaining any popular support, and the overwhelming preoccupation of the Christian-Democratic priests with political and electoral action caused them to neglect the more concrete advances they might have made in the social field. In any case, the political conflict between church and state and the growing anticlericalism of the masses proved too strong an obstacle for the Social Catholics to overcome, and the years 1901-1914 saw the social activity of French Catholics overshadowed in large measure by the struggle with the Republic.

What both Duroselle and Rollet fail to emphasize strongly enough are the internal odds against which the initiators of Social Catholicism were struggling, the indifference of most Catholic leaders to social problems and the hostility of the hierarchy to any but the traditional remedies provided by the church. Only the decline in political differences accompanying the gradual reconciliation of

church and state and the acceptance by French Catholics, both clergy and laity, of a more up-to-date social philosophy have made it possible for present-day Catholics to develop effective programs aimed at the conquest of the working class. They, as well as the professional historian, should find illuminating the experience of their nineteenth-century predecessors exposed so thoroughly by MM. Duroselle and Rollet.

Harvard University

CHARLES BREUNIG

MARIA THERESA AND OTHER STUDIES. By G. P. Gooch. (New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1951. Pp. viii, 432. \$4.50.)

THE essays of this readable and useful volume fall roughly into two categories: those devoted to Maria Theresa, the "noblest of the Hapsburgs," occupying approximately half the space, and the remaining studies, the principal theme of which is historiographical in character. In the first half of the volume Mr. Gooch returns to the literary pattern which he employed so successfully in his *Courts and Cabinets*. From the gigantic volume of the personal correspondence of Maria Theresa with her numerous brood, statesmen, and friends, already collected and published, Mr. Gooch has selected the letters exchanged with her children, Joseph and Marie Antoinette. The device employed is to make relevant quotation from this personal correspondence, which is at once fairly complete and continuous, the connecting thread of the narrative and to draw upon the vast historical literature only to the extent necessary to make this correspondence intelligible. If we accept these essays on their own terms, the purpose is less to present a definitive narrative or an interpretive analysis, which after all has been frequently attempted, than to convey a vivid impression of the character and personalities of these three individuals as expressed through the medium of their epistolary exchanges. In this the reader will readily admit Mr. Gooch has been remarkably successful. He presents an attractive portrait of the Habsburg empress-queen, of her courage and wisdom, of her honesty and charity, of her uncompromising Christian conscience which compelled her to condemn both the first partition of Poland and the War of the Bavarian Succession, of her capacity to combine a profound and abiding affection for her two wayward children with stern corrective criticism, and finally of her essentially sound estimate of their personalities—for posterity has in the main accepted her judgment of them.

Anyone who is already familiar with this correspondence between Maria Theresa and her son Joseph, especially after his appointment as coregent in 1765, will readily admit that Mr. Gooch has made the most of it. These pages relate an arresting tale of the unsatisfactory working of the triple partnership with Joseph and Kaunitz, in which the queen always remained the dominant member, of the growing conflict of generations and ideologies between the conservative Catholic mother and her doctrinaire *philosophe* son, of tensions which again and again reached the breaking point but always stopped short of it. Here, however, the

limitations of Mr. Gooch's method become painfully obvious. These letters reveal much of the story, but they do not exhaust it. Moreover, not only can what is said in these impassioned letters not always be accepted at its face value but sometimes the crucial letter is no longer available. A case in point is Joseph's long letter of resignation as coregent at Christmas in 1775, after his mother had sharply criticized his deepest convictions, his hostility to the clergy and advocacy of religious toleration, his biting criticism of old institutions and impatience for social reform. Since Maria Theresa's final reply is wanting, we are not told how the conflict was resolved. It is only fair to add that the author has consciously imposed these limitations upon himself.

More successful is Mr. Gooch's procedure in the case of the personal relations between Maria Theresa and Marie Antoinette, for here he had at his disposal not only the unique collection of letters that passed between the two but the more voluminous and complete correspondence between the empress and Count Mercy d'Argenteau, the Austrian ambassador in Paris, a parallel correspondence of which Marie Antoinette never knew. In this essay, the most highly finished and brilliant of the entire volume, Mr. Gooch is at his very best. Here he combines the wit and charm of the essayist in the classical British tradition with the precision and accuracy of the historian and the large sympathetic grasp of the psychologist.

Of the remaining studies with their chiefly historiographical themes the reviewer need say little, since, with a single exception, they have all appeared in print before, some of them more than once. This is true of the bibliographical "Study of the French Revolution" which was published in a revised form in *Studies in Modern History* (1931). The same is true of the now familiar study on the Cambridge Chair of Modern History. Mr. Gooch's admirers will be happy to see a reprint of his penetrating study on Lord Acton with its emphasis on the stern Catholic moralist. More useful still is the sympathetic and searching study on Harold Temperley in which he reviews the entire range of the work of this ornament of Cambridge historical scholarship. Less original but even more captivating is the last essay, "Our Heritage of Liberty," in which Mr. Gooch, an old hand at intellectual history, traces the evolution of our modern liberal and democratic way of life. Finally, it is regrettable that for so admirable a volume the proofreading has been so carelessly done.

Ohio State University

WALTER L. DORN

DEUTSCHLAND UND EUROPA: HISTORISCHE STUDIEN ZUR VÖLKER- UND STAATENORDNUNG DES ABENDLANDES. Festschrift für Hans Rothfels, herausgegeben von *Werner Conze*. (Düsseldorf: Droste Verlag. 1951. Pp. 415. DM 17.80.)

FIFTEEN friends and former students presented this *Festschrift* to Hans Rothfels on the occasion of his sixtieth birthday anniversary. Having received his historical training chiefly under Hermann Oncken and Friedrich Meinecke, Dr. Rothfels

became, after the end of World War I, a lecturer in Berlin and subsequently served as professor of history in Königsberg until the Nazis ousted him and eventually drove him into an English exile. In 1940 he came to the United States, where he lectured for the next ten years, first in Brown University and after World War II in Chicago. Recently he accepted a chair at Tübingen University, and is now in Germany. The participation of four American scholars in the creation of the volume is testimony of the friendships he inspired on this side of the Atlantic.

Dr. Rothfels' own studies have been devoted almost exclusively to the history of Germany in the nineteenth century, particularly the Reich of Bismarck. But as a follower of Ranke he never viewed German problems in isolation. Germany was to him part of the European system, sharing in the common political and intellectual struggles of the Continent and deeply affected by the crosscurrents of general European history. Rothfels explored, therefore, not only the international position of Germany between Britain and Russia but also the specific answers that Germany found to the problems raised by European liberalism, socialism, and nationalism.

The articles contained in the volume naturally have only a loose unity with regard to both subject matter and method of treatment. Some of the studies are well outside Rothfels' own field of research, while others take a more critical view of Bismarck's state than Rothfels has shown. The *Festschrift* reflects, however, the strong influence that his teaching and writings have had on students of German history. It can also be said that the contributions, though not all of equal weight, display an impressive level of workmanship.

The volume consists of five sections. Among the three articles which form the first one, dedicated to Bismarck's empire, Gerhard Ritter's study of the relationship of statecraft and military leadership stands out. It is his thesis that the second empire never did achieve a fully integrated command over all military forces of Germany and, even less, the subordination of the military commanders under the leading statesmen. Ritter sees in this structural weakness one of the main reasons for the German collapse in World War I. William O. Aydelotte presents a well-balanced appraisal of the motives of Bismarck's colonial policy, Theodor Schieder a review of Bismarck's thought on Europe as a political concept. In the section on Germany and England Wilhelm Treue deals with the reception of Adam Smith in Germany between 1776 and 1810, providing in addition interesting sidelights on the political administration of the German universities of the period. Percy E. Schramm has collected many illustrations of British attitudes toward German culture in the last third of the nineteenth century without, however, going more deeply into a historical interpretation.

In the section devoted to eastern Europe Walther Hubatsch tries to prove the direct and lasting influence of the Teutonic Order upon the Prussian state, a thesis which the reviewer finds difficult to accept. Werner Conze, in a suggestive article "National State or *Mitteleuropa*" discusses the conflicts of national and federative ideas in the eastern European, and particularly Polish, policies of Ger-

many during World War I. A fourth section on Russia and Europe has an article by Werner Markert on Russia and the Western world, a thoughtful investigation of the dialectics of European and national Russian ideas since Peter the Great. The first political move in joining Russia to the European system is studied by Reinhard Wittram in an article on Peter and Livonia, while Waldemar Gurian in a penetrating and clear analysis treats Lenin's methods in the conquest of power in 1917, which today constitute the canonic principles of Soviet policy.

The final section is composed of various studies on historiographical subjects. Matthijs Jolles' contribution, in the opinion of the reviewer the most accomplished and original one, demonstrates how Wilhelm Dilthey's philosophy of art may be placed firmly within the wider outlines of the German thinker's philosophy of life or history. Arnold Bergstraesser probes into the religious motives of German thought about universal history. Friedrich Baethgen uses a medievalist's method to illustrate the gains that could be derived from a textual criticism of Ranke's work for a biography of Ranke. Walter Bussmann sketches the change in European appraisals of Frederick the Great during the last century and a half.

Friedrich Meinecke has written a few pages of personal appreciation as introduction to this symposium, which is a well-deserved and valuable tribute to Hans Rothfels.

Yale University

Hajo HOLBORN

GEIST UND GESCHICHTE VOM DEUTSCHEN HUMANISMUS BIS ZUR GEGENWART. By *Heinrich Ritter von Srbik*. Volume II. (Munich: Verlag F. Bruckmann; Salzburg: Otto Müller Verlag. 1951. Pp. xi, 421.)

HEINRICH von Srbik's first volume on German historiography was centered on Leopold von Ranke (see *A.H.R.*, October, 1951, p. 151); in the second, Ranke becomes the standard against which other writers are measured. In addition, the personality of Srbik himself now comes to the fore more clearly than was the case in the earlier volume.

The volume under review opens with a discussion of the *dei minores* of historical writing; the second and third chapters, dealing with Catholic and Austrian historiography, analyze historians many of whom have not before been discussed in historiographical works; thus, these sections are indispensable if only for their wealth of material. A similar richness is characteristic of the whole volume. As in the first volume, Srbik here too provides fine examples of his art of historical presentation in the pages delineating the background against which historical writing developed and discussing the common problems that formed the basis for it. While doing justice to the point of view of such historians as Janssen and Pastor and correctly evaluating the importance of their contributions, he also points out the deficiencies in historical method which prevented the work of these Catholic historians from achieving complete success. The problem of Doellinger, who so

far has not found a biographer equipped to deal with him adequately, is in the eyes of this reviewer more complicated than Srbik presents it.

Occasional *lacunae* in the bibliography do not detract from the overpowering evidence of wide reading which is again apparent in this volume. These bibliographical omissions represent chiefly non-German literature, which of course was not fully available to Srbik in the years when he was composing his monumental work. Probably Comte's historical thought would have received a less harmless presentation had the works of Gouhier and de Lubac been consulted.

Srbik sees the climax of post-Ranke historical writing in Germany in the triad composed of Dilthey, Troeltsch, and Meinecke, of whom the last mentioned has made remarkable contributions even in most recent years. The choice of these three is a credo in itself: it professes a shift to intellectual history (of these three Meinecke alone was professionally trained as a historian); it professes a preference for a type of historiography centering on the individual rather than on the formulation of historical laws—when Srbik refers to history as “the least precise of all moral sciences” (“*die unexakteste aller Geisteswissenschaften*” [p. 239]), the statement in his eyes holds no censure—and finally this credo implies that the author, who himself has published valuable studies in social and economic history, did not consider those fields to be fundamental to German historical writing. It is characteristic of Srbik's personality—and probably of the Austrian character in general—that he is at his best when he is in sympathy with the object of his study (because of this trait his *Metternich* is superior to the writings of the Treitschke epigoni); the sections devoted to the triad just mentioned are therefore certainly among the most interesting in the volume.

Yet when Srbik deals with historians who are less to his liking an honest attempt to come to a full understanding is recognizable and a serene lucidity of presentation characterizes most of the work. Among these less sympathetic historians are, for example, Sombart, Spengler, and the positivists Lamprecht and Breysig. (Spengler, however, had some fascination for Srbik: compare the exposition and evaluation of *The Decline of the West*, that “*geniale Wirrnis*,” in *Geist und Geschichte* [II, 324 ff.] with the verdict pronounced on it in Collingwood's *Idea of History* [pp. 181 ff.].) To this reviewer it seems that the author failed to do full justice either to the historical thought of Nietzsche or to this philosopher's influence on historical writing, and the same may hold true concerning the positive aspects of the historical writing of the Stefan George circle: in these cases the differences in the basic approach probably were too large to be bridged by a full “understanding.” Nor is the last word on the historiographical importance of Max Weber to be found in the pages devoted to him.

Srbik has written a warm and fine characterization of Jacob Burckhardt, but the historical attitude taken by the historian of Basel is not pervasive throughout the work as is that of Ranke or of the North German triad; this may be due to the fact that Burckhardt, that “enemy of Bismarck,” actually came to exercise influence on German historical writing only many decades after his death:

Meinecke turned to him twelve years after the publication of his *Historismus*!

This reviewer considers Srbik's explicit repudiation of racial and National Socialist historiography of less significance than that such an attitude is in full harmony with and comes as if by necessity from the author's historical principles as illustrated throughout this work. Regardless of whether the reader is fully won over to "*gesamtdeutsche*" views, Srbik rightly insists on the difference which separates "*gesamtdeutsche*" historiography from racial determinism.

Any work on historiography which takes the biographical approach must be heavily burdened by a discussion of the products of second- and third-rate historians. Reading such pages one may question at times whether the work under review is actually a masterwork; whatever conclusion one may reach, however, there can be no doubt that every page affords full evidence of the work of a master and that the attitude Srbik has taken in this, his last work, is proof that he, like Burckhardt before him, had "turned toward the realm of ideas and away from mere ideology" ("*hingegen den Ideen, abgewandt der Ideologie*" [p. 169]).

Catholic University of America

FRIEDRICH ENGEL-JANOSI

GERMAN-SOVIET RELATIONS BETWEEN THE TWO WORLD WARS, 1919-1939. By *Edward Hallett Carr*, formerly Woodrow Wilson Professor of International Politics, University of Wales. [Albert Shaw Lectures on Diplomatic History.] (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1951. Pp. ix, 146. \$3.00.)

IN these lectures Mr. E. H. Carr has made no startling addition to existing knowledge of German-Soviet relations in the interwar period; but it is doubtful whether anyone can do that until the Stresemann papers and other collections of captured documents now in British and American possession are made available to independent scholars. What Mr. Carr has succeeded in doing is to survey his subject with imagination and insight and to write of it with literary skill.

Early in his volume, the author points out that the decisive factor in determining Germany's postwar relations with Russia was not—as was expected in 1919—the German Communist party, but rather the alliance between the General Staff and German business which had been left shaken, but essentially unimpaired, by the war (p. 10). The businessmen turned very quickly to the east, for, with German access to western European and other markets drastically curtailed, the Russian market assumed primary importance. The soldiers—once the failure of the Kapp *putsch* had discredited those who dreamed of recovery by means of a war against Bolshevism—did the same; and the negotiations which led to the establishment of German munitions plants and aviation firms on Russian soil seem to have begun as early as the winter of 1920-21. These first approaches were encouraged in Moscow and, as it became increasingly clear that a German revolution was at best a remote possibility, the Soviet leaders became eager to crown

the military and economic negotiations with a political understanding. The result was the Rapallo treaty of 1922.

Rapallo, Mr. Carr says, "enhanced the status and prestige of both parties and staked out the claim of both to be restored to the select company of great Powers" (p. 67). It was confirmed by the failure of the Communist rising in Germany in 1923, an event which led to a definitive abandonment in Moscow of "the mirage of the German revolution." "Never again," says Mr. Carr, "were the expectations of an early revolution in Germany allowed to override the normal considerations of foreign policy" (p. 76). On the German side, the tie with Moscow made possible the policy of balance between east and west which Stresemann pursued with such skill and with such advantage to Germany.

When Hitler came to power, the Rapallo policy was reversed, to the bitter dismay of General von Seeckt, who, in 1932, had predicted that "if Germany ignored Russia, she would one day have Poland on the Oder" (p. 104). Hitler's decision to make this change, the author writes, "is the most puzzling and controversial in the story of German-Soviet relations"; and he suggests that "the shifting balance of opinion in industrial and business circles may have been a contributory factor to the change" (p. 111). It was a change the effects of which could not be remedied by the short-lived pact of 1939, and, in the end, the warnings of men like Seeckt were amply justified. The fact remains, however, that the Hitler policy seems in retrospect to be an aberration, and Mr. Carr seems to feel that a new German government with the means to conduct an independent foreign policy might not be reluctant to return to the policy of Bismarck and Weimar.

Princeton University

GORDON A. CRAIG

GERMANY AND AMERICAN NEUTRALITY, 1939-1941. By *H. L. Trefousse*. (New York: Bookman Associates. 1951. Pp. 247. \$3.75.)

THE impending Russian collapse must have loomed in imperial German planning by early 1917. To win the war Germany had only to avoid incurring a new first-class enemy. Yet Tirpitz was permitted unrestricted submarine warfare, the United States was in, and by July, 1918, plainly the jig was up.

With this disaster so recent one could expect the German leaders of 1941 to be more circumspect; and during two years they exercised conspicuous restraint. Then the Japanese ally fell on Pearl Harbor without prior specific intimation. Prudence was jettisoned and war declared on the United States forthwith. When an American interrogator explained to Göring in July, 1945, how hesitant public opinion in the United States might have been before a declaration of war upon Germany, Göring exclaimed that if he thought that really so he would kill himself—which a few months later in the shadow of the gallows he did.

Under a drab title Dr. Trefousse presents us with a workmanlike inquiry into this intriguing paragraph of history. As an intelligence officer he gained useful personal impressions. He has worked the published, and some unpublished,

sources thoroughly, including the records of the postwar trials and the Roosevelt papers. *The Challenge to Isolation*, by Langer and Gleason, now amplifies the American side; and since Dr. Trefousse wrote, texts of the State Department's 1945 interrogations of German diplomatic and military personnel have been placed in the National Archives and made available to scholars. The story as told by Dr. Trefousse retains its essential validity.

In an opening chapter Dr. Trefousse discusses Hitler's ultimate aims. There might have been more searching into what Hitler himself from time to time had consciously in mind. The conflicts with the United States bound to ensue from the general nature of the Hitler movement are patent and hardly call for the wordage accorded them.

Similarly the concluding chapter might have been less taken up with Franklin Roosevelt and his policies, about which we have been offered a great deal, and more given to the promptings which pushed Hitler to the precipitous and fatal declaration of war upon the United States on December 9. Three motives are apparent: (1) loyalty to the ally, Japan, to whom some last-minute promises were made, and the continuing hope that Japan might fall on Russia's rear; (2) underestimation of the American war potential; (3) the motive of prestige. Dr. Trefousse deals with the first point fully and interestingly. On number 2 more could be said about reports from the German embassy in Washington of a sort to comfort prospective readers in Berlin rather than convey the truth and Berlin's unreadiness to believe in any case—Byzantinism in short, the fatal corruptor of dictatorship. The motive of prestige, which was that most often mooted by the Germans, at least in 1945, and that which has been mentioned by Paul Schmidt (*Hitler's Interpreter*, p. 237), Dr. Trefousse brings in only by a footnote reference to Ribbentrop's boast that "a great power does not let others declare war on it, it declares war itself."

Princeton, N.J.

DEWITT C. POOLE

HITLER'S TISCHGESPRÄCHE IM FÜHRERHAUPTQUARTIER, 1941-42.

By *Henry Picker*. [Im Auftrage des Deutschen Instituts für Geschichte der nationalsozialistischen Zeit geordnet, eingeleitet und veröffentlicht von Gerhard Ritter.] (Bonn: Athenäum Verlag. 1951. Pp. 463. DM 19.80.)

ADOLF Hitler is constantly becoming more *aktenkundig*, more knowable from documents. Since he hated writing and brought little to paper by his own hand, not much beyond an attempted political testament which he once forced himself to write (p. 210), this documentation will of necessity be nonautographic, furnished by others, notably in the form of earwitness reports. His published harangues to and discussions with generals and admirals are now followed by his table talk of 1941-42, this English term characterizing his utterances far better than the German *Gespräch*, which implies a co-partnership of which Hitler would concede but little at any time. This talk, on a moral and intellectual level which marks a devastating deterioration from Luther's *Tischreden* and Selden's *Table-*

Talk, deals with a large variety of subjects, ideas, measures, persons, among whom none is more admirable than Stalin—a genius, not least for the reason that he was keeping the Jews out of the arts and other fields, as he told even Ribbentrop (pp. 71, 113, 119, 385). These opinions were taken down by a civil servant at the order of Bormann, head of the party chancellery, and with the knowledge of the Führer, who, when looking over the notes, repeatedly acknowledged “the pithy reproduction of his flight of thoughts” (p. 33). They are not stenographic notes but memorandums written postprandially. This puts them in point of *Zeitnähe* and also of truthfulness, somewhere between the shorthand transcripts, translated into English and edited by F. Gilbert, but not yet published in German, which have suffered something of a softening in the translation, as is apparent to anyone who has seen fragments of the original, and Rauschning’s *Gespräche mit Hitler*, the most literary reproduction of the leader’s thoughts but also a piece of intellectual over-refinement.

Such grading raises once again the question of the true reproduction of Hitler’s utterances, recalling to the reviewer the time when, as a history student in Munich in the early 1920’s, he went together with friends to NSDAP meetings and afterwards tried to agree with them on what the speaker of the evening had actually said: there was never, within an hour after the meeting’s close, any firm agreement as to the content of the speeches, though all of us were trained to observe and note down historical facts. Neither the victims nor the observers of the Pied Piper seemed able to reproduce the words to the tune they carried away in their ears, though not a few of them might notice the palpable errors and intentional falsehoods in the oratory. These errors are here again, not only numerous factual mistakes, as Professor Ritter warns the reader, but many which seem calculated to impress an audience by their false conciseness. (On one page an overpaid actor’s salary is given as 3-4000 marks per month, on another the same man’s earnings are 3-4000 marks per evening [pp. 35, 386]; “75 per cent of the German emigrants to Australia died en route” [p. 310]; “Venice’s constitution lasted exactly 966 years” [p. 204]. One wonders why not 1100 years, from the first doge to the end of independence in 1797.)

This table-talk book is the first publication undertaken by the Munich Institute for the History of the National Socialist Era—a second has already appeared (Hermann Foertsch, *Schuld und Verhängnis: Die Fritsch-Krise im Frühjahr, 1938*, Stuttgart, 1951). This circumstance and its purely documentary character, without point-for-point refutation of the statements, has raised some misgivings among German democrats, if not also among the occupation authorities, both of whom seem inclined to consider the table talk as Hitler’s political testament—in spoken form, as was to be expected from a demagogue—feeding a seeming Nazi renaissance, a coincidence which incidentally has not made the book a best-seller like *Mein Kampf*. The justification for the publication at this time or at any time as provided in a preface by Gerhard Ritter, a determined opponent of Nazism in its day, should allay these doubts. Documentation, even of the most hateful terrorism

and coxcomb demagoguery, carries its own ethos of which the historian is still the custodian.

Sherman, Connecticut

ALFRED VAGTS

THE SAAR: BATTLEGROUND AND PAWN. By *Frank M. Russell*. [Stanford Books in World Politics.] (Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1951. Pp. xi, 131. \$5.00.)

WITH the Saar again in the headlines it is useful to have the story of the international administration of the Saar Territory by the League of Nations, from 1920 to 1935, told once more and in such a lucid and impartial manner. Still more useful is it to have at hand a careful and well-documented study of the present regime, established by the French after the Second World War.

The record of the Governing Commission of the League which emerges from the author's account is on the whole very creditable. As he points out, the German condemnation of it was inevitable, for under the Treaty of Versailles the Governing Commission possessed "all the powers of government hitherto belonging to the German Empire, Prussia and Bavaria" during the fifteen years before the plebiscite which was to settle the question whether the Saar should go to France, return to Germany, or remain under the League regime. No matter how greatly to the advantage of the Saarlanders or how justified under the treaty, every move by the Governing Commission was taken by the Germans, in Germany and in the Saar, as a political threat to their ultimate victory at the polls and they protested bitterly at Geneva. As all the Saar trade unions, chambers of commerce, and other organizations were branches of national ones with headquarters in Berlin, and all, as well as the Saar newspapers, were subsidized from Germany, the record could not have a fair evaluation from the German side. The author notes that as soon as Germany took her seat at the League Council her protests ceased but the bitterness in the German world remained. The author does not discuss the plebiscite but accepts it as conclusive, as it was. In spite of Hitler the Saarlanders voted by over 90 per cent for immediate return to Germany. So ended what, in 1950, Saarlanders who had voted for the Reich in 1935, called to this reviewer "the happiest time the Saar ever had."

Now again the Saar is in a customs union with France, and France owns the mines. The territory is not again under an international administration, however, nor has France annexed it. By the constitution adopted by the Saar Landtag in 1947, by 48 votes to one, the one being Communist, the Saar is to remain forever autonomous, with its own legislature and premier, but with a French high commissioner, resident in Saarbrücken, who is to use his power of control in such a way as to protect the Saar's independence from Germany, the customs and monetary union with France and respect for the constitution which, among other matters, specifies the human rights which are re-established "after the rooting out of a system which dishonored and enslaved the human being." Since the book

was written the title of the high commissioner has been changed to ambassador and his check on Saar affairs has become less obvious, thus enhancing the autonomy of the Saar, with consequent annoyance in Germany.

French influence and direction are obvious in the territory but the author notes positive indications that the political leaders and chief party organizations support the French program and are prepared at present to work with the French on the main points. The words "at present" are important. Like other observers he has his doubts as to whether the present arrangement will last once Germany has revived.

Cambridge, Massachusetts

SARAH WAMBAUGH

STORIA DELLA POLITICA ESTERA ITALIANA DAL 1870 AL 1896. Volume I, LE PREMESSE. By *Federico Chabod*. (Bari: Gius. Laterza & Figli for Istituto per gli Studi di Politica Internazionale. 1951. Pp. xvi, 712. L. 5500.)

THIS is, as A. William Salomone recently wrote Dr. Ford, "a truly brilliant volume." The plan was developed after 1936 by the Istituto per gli Studi di Politica Internazionale for a new comprehensive series on Italian foreign policy and Chabod was assigned the period 1870-1896. This volume embodies more than six years of work in the archives of the ministry of foreign affairs at Rome, some exploitation of archival material at Vienna and Paris, and an astonishingly wide reading in Italian, French, German, and English materials on all aspects of Italian and European history which relate to Italian foreign policy. The footnotes include a great deal more than mere references, and, properly placed in the lower part of the pages, they offer much in elaboration of the text.

This volume is about Italian foreign policy but it is not diplomatic history. It is prolegomena. The author's problem is the premises of Italian foreign policy in the 26-year period following the completion of Italian unity. The diplomatic history, the analysis in chronological fashion of the concrete actions of ministers and ambassadors, will, we are assured, follow in subsequent volumes of the series. In the era following World War I Italy alone among the European powers issued no great set of its foreign office documents. The projected official series to cover the whole period 1861-1943 together with the volumes planned by the Istituto will, if the quality of scholarship continues on the plane of Chabod's volume, enable Italy to do more than catch up.

Chabod's present volume is in two parts: (1) the "passions" and the ideas; (2) the things (*cose*) and the men. The last section embraces sketches of the characters and ideas of the men who in the period formally directed Italian policy: Visconti Venosta, Nigra, de Launay, di Robilant, Lanza, Minghetti, and Victor Emmanuel II. Under "things" are included such factors as the political apathy of the masses, the alternatives of grand policy or tranquillity, as well as the more tangible matters of public finance and the army. Chabod writes human history when he stresses (p. 91) the bitter torment in the minds of Frenchmen of the

defeats of Metz and Sedan, like the memories in Italy of Custoza and Lissa, or when he reminds us (p. 501) how the financial problem remained the central preoccupation of the men in the government of united Italy. In the category of passions and ideas he discusses the aftermath in Italy of the Franco-Prussian war, the "idea" of Rome, haunted as it was by the shades of Caesar and of St. Peter. The dominant ideas of the Risorgimento, as they passed to the new era, are nicely delineated.

The work illustrates in detail the views set forth in the preface. Diplomatic history is not a tight compartment, separate and distinct from the whole historical process. The foreign policy of a state is indissolubly bound up with the moral, economic, social, and religious life of the people. Diplomatic history, like any other, is human history. Whatever systems, forces, or structures can be discerned are abstractions which acquire historical value only when they animate or inspire living men. "The permanent interests are a pure, doctrinaire abstraction: the history of no country has ever offered examples of such fixed and immutable interests . . ." (p. ix). Whatever is valid in geopolitics is delineation of geographical facts long well recognized. Diplomatic history is human history and it is not deterministic.

Washington, D.C.

HOWARD MCGAW SMYTH

A HISTORY OF LATVIA. By *Alfred Bilmanis*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1951. Pp. x, 441. \$6.00.)

HISTORY OF LATVIA: AN OUTLINE. By *Arnolds Spekke*, Formerly Professor, Dean of the Faculty of Arts, and Vice-President of the University of Latvia, and Latvian Minister to Italy. (Stockholm: M. Goppers. 1951. Pp. xx, 436. Paper kr. 37,50, cloth kr. 45,00.)

THE Latvians are an old race, but Latvia was one of the youngest of European countries; its independent existence began in November, 1918, and ended in Russian occupation, June, 1940. We have had in English little on its history; now, suddenly, we have much. Two Latvian diplomats, one a journalist and statesman, the second a scholar and teacher, have written of a land that was and is not, and of a people that were and are and again may be.

In the Bilmanis volume all the early history of the Latvian tribes, the German domination, the struggle between Sweden and Poland, occupy less than half the book. Much is there, much is omitted, but it is a marvel of condensation. The tone is calm, restrained, and the patriotism of the author is overlaid by the statesman's feeling that he must be internationally minded. In the latter half of the work, the Russian period and the winning of independence have one thing in common, the detailed treatment of the part played by the "Baltic Barons" and by the Germanic intrigues that accompanied the *Drang nach Osten*. The "day in the sun" draws only twice as much space as is given to Latvia since 1940, and

in every line of the latter one can feel that the author was anxious not to prejudice English and American opinion by saying too much of a Russia that was still an ally and a colleague in the United Nations and of a Germany that might soon share that role.

There are no pictures, save one of the author; and the three maps, clear and simple, include but one for the last two centuries. It shows no roads, no railroads, no local divisions, no economic data. The paper is good, the type excellent, the binding strong, the proofreading careful, the editorial work of high quality. One reads and is satisfied.

The Spekke volume is the product of strict economy; paper-bound and printed on large pages of yellowish tint, but with 111 photographs on 60 plates; with ornamentations, chapter headings, inserts, and foot-pieces illustrating Latvian art and culture; equipped with 24 maps (only four dealing with modern Latvia) and 72 illustrations, a list of Latvian and German names of rivers and places, eight pages of references, a six-page index and an eight-page bibliography. The type and ink are good, the translations adequate, the proofreading excellent, with a list of errata. Yet all this is but the outer shell.

Spekke paints the picture of the early Baltic tribes, what we know of them and how we know it, what they lost as aggressors pressed in upon them from every side, and what they kept. Viking and Slav precede the Germans, who moved in through Riga in the twelfth century. Three hundred years of battle, murder, rapine, and slavery followed for the Latvians before the "modern period" began.

The breakup of the control exercised by the Teutonic Knights initiated what the exploiters called the "Time of Troubles." After 1500, Russian devastations, Polish occupation, and Swedish conquest were for the Latvian serfs added to the oppression and exactions of their German lords. Religious strife and economic decline touched them in turn. Yet for these serfs, all this meant only that the form of their pains and terrors changed, not the content. After 1600 an improvement set in. In Kurland the exactions were heavy but not crushing; in Swedish Livonia the Vasas treated the common folk as human beings, not as beasts who made intelligible sounds.

Under Peter the Great and Catherine the Russians moved in, and the bad that had become better turned again toward the worst. The Latvians existed only for the tsar and for the Baltic barons, who under him ruled as they pleased. In their pleasure there was no thought for the "natives." Yet from the days of the French Revolution there revived slowly the ideas of the old Latvian culture and beside them grew a new Latvian consciousness. It survived "Russification," German conquest in World War I, revolution and civil war, and ended in liberation.

Spekke makes "free Latvia" live again, and one realizes how true is the Baltic proverb: "Long sorrow makes haste and brief joy is ever late." Twenty years only, and the achievement in them brought a measure of prosperity and progress. Ten years of travail followed before Spekke laid down his pen. First the Soviet occupation, then German conquest and decimation, then again the Red hordes. In

flaming words the scholar in exile tells of what his people have endured at the hands of Teuton and Slav, and yet are enduring, almost without hope and entirely without fear. Edmund Burke once said that he knew no way in which one could indict an entire people; in the account of the German first conquest of Latvia (chaps. vi-vii) and in chapter xviii on Soviet rule Spekke resolves Burke's dilemma. The three chapters drove the reviewer to reread the closing passages of Lincoln's Second Inaugural Address. *Sunt lacrimae rerum*. Yet the author hopes that Latvia will live again, for to a people that have endured so much through so many centuries, this new oppression is but an accident, an incident in the history of a people who feel that some day when rogues fall out, honest men shall come into their own.

University of Southern California

FRANCIS J. BOWMAN

Far Eastern History

THE STAKES OF DEMOCRACY IN SOUTHEAST ASIA. By *H. J. van Mook*, Former Lieutenant Governor-General of Indonesia. (New York: W. W. Norton and Company. 1950. Pp. 312. \$3.75.)

THE NEW WORLD OF SOUTHEAST ASIA. By *Lennox A. Mills* and Associates. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 1949. Pp. ix, 445. \$5.00.)

THESE two books are a valuable contribution to the limited literature on Southeast Asia, a part of the world so little known to the average American citizen but so increasingly important in world politics. H. J. van Mook writes from the first-hand experience of his service as former lieutenant governor-general of Indonesia during a critical period. *The Stakes of Democracy in Southeast Asia* considers in three parts the "foundations" of the area, "war and revolution" (from the beginning of the Japanese invasion), and "the future." Attention is given to the forces generated by imperialism, nationalism, communism, and regionalism. The author's approach in analyzing the problems of the region is both political and economic.

After placing an important part of the ills that now visit Southeast Asia upon the Japanese, van Mook develops his views on how the Western powers following the end of Japan's New Order failed to measure up to the basic requirements the situation demanded. He notes in particular the lack of Allied co-operation, the arbitrary policy adopted by the United Nations in Indonesia, and the unrealistic attitude of some of the Western powers toward nationalism in the newly liberated areas. Although the author discusses all the countries of Southeast Asia (including Ceylon) his comments on Indonesia are the most detailed and perhaps the most controversial. Especially interesting is his opinion of the leaders of the Republic of Indonesia and of their activities in foreign affairs. At the same time van Mook has not written a book that will gratify the old guard of the Dutch colonial empire. He realized the old order was changing in the Netherlands East

Indies but he believed that the new order should come gradually and not precipitately. The author significantly writes in his conclusion that "the time when we could command them [the people of Southeast Asia] to be free is past. But that does not mean that the time has come when we may tell them to take their cares elsewhere and be done with them. For we can still make up as friends for what we left undone as rulers."

The New World of Southeast Asia is a symposium by Lennox A. Mills and associates for university students and the general public on the countries of the area and on a number of topics related to it. Claude A. Buss writes on the Philippines, Amry Vandenbosch on Indonesia, John F. Cady on Burma, Lennox A. Mills on Malaya, Charles A. Micaud on Indochina, and Kenneth P. Landon on Thailand. The topical chapters deal with the Chinese in Southeast Asia, problems in self-government, economic considerations, and the international relations of the area. In so far as possible the authors have maintained objectivity although personal judgments are occasionally injected. The chapter presenting the best country survey in the opinion of the reviewer is that on the Philippines. Buss has succeeded within a limited space in tracing the development and analyzing the problems of that country. Victor Purcell's chapter on the Chinese in Southeast Asia is brief but penetrating. No book on the region would be complete without reference to the Chinese.

In general *The New World of Southeast Asia* reflects careful organization and editorship. The chapters quite naturally are not equal in merit, for no symposium has ever reached that state of perfection. Many of the authors include a list of suggested readings, some far more comprehensive than others. Events are moving so fast in Southeast Asia that the book will have to be frequently revised if it is to "stress," as stated in the preface, "the present political and economic situation, set against the background of the prewar position and the effects of the Japanese conquest."

University of Michigan

RUSSELL H. FIFIELD

THE AUSTRALIAN FRONTIER IN NEW GUINEA, 1870-1885. By *Donald Craigie Gordon*, Department of History, University of Maryland. [Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, Number 562.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1951. Pp. 301. \$4.25.)

In April, 1883, the premier of the then colony of Queensland, a Scot credited with possessing "all the vulgar forces of the Glasgow School," took formal possession of New Guinea in the name of Queen Victoria. In this way he forced the hand of Lord Derby, the British colonial secretary, who did not favor any further expansion of the empire and declined to credit the Australian suspicion that annexation of the island by Germany was imminent. A year later, still with extreme reluctance, the British government proclaimed a protectorate over that portion of the island not claimed by the Dutch and the Germans.

Dr. Gordon's book gives a well-rounded account of the most important circumstances surrounding this episode. The study was made in America during the war years and, as the author points out, he was thus unable to draw upon some of the most important primary sources. Australian reviewers seem to feel that this seriously qualifies the value of the work, but it is nevertheless a competent and valuable contribution to Pacific scholarship. It will certainly help to fill a decided gap, on which Australian historians have no reason to congratulate themselves, in Australian historical studies.

The book gives a compact and well-written account of the main facts of discovery, settlement, and mission enterprise in New Guinea and its associated islands. The best chapters are those dealing with the dawning consciousness among Australians that theirs was to be a major role in the Pacific, with the complex motives behind the agitation for annexation and with the protracted negotiations leading to the establishment of the protectorate.

The under-documentation is, perhaps, less of a handicap than it might have been had the author approached his task within a different frame of reference. The seizure of Papua gave Australians their first sharp focus on the Pacific. They were not again to see it as clearly until 1941. Dr. Gordon would, perhaps, have done better to relate his study more sharply to this theme or, alternatively, to the obtuse failure of the English Liberals to grasp the course of events.

The author is, however, a historian of causes. His approach is thus influenced by the way in which the "effect" is conceptualized. He treats the annexation of Papua more as a significant incident in the "revival of imperialism," a very debatable judgment, than as the first external act of a nascent Australian nationalism. If the episode is compared with, say, the annexation of the Transvaal or the Free State, or with the conquest of the Sudan, it seems of small account in the scale of Kipling's England, whereas (and Dr. Gordon makes some interesting remarks on the fact) it was of decided importance in the growth of Australian federation. History might well have taken another course had it not been for the capacity for joint action shown by the Australian colonies. A whimsical Aristotelian might even suggest to a historian of causes that the New Guinea episode was the formal cause of Australian federation, for the two matters became intimately interconnected almost at once.

If anything of the nature of British imperialism is revealed in this study, it fits in better with the thesis of the reluctant dragon than with Dr. Gordon's opening sentence: "great empires have come into being because men in positions of influence have seen gains to be won by policies of imperial expansion" (p. 13). Lord Carnarvon, the colonial secretary of 1874-78, was more accurate, and prophetic of events in Papua, when he wrote, "... the whole history of our Colonies showed that they had been originally acquired by the voluntary and spontaneous action of Captains, Government officers, travellers and commercial adventurers, necessarily without the knowledge of the British Government, by whom they were afterwards accepted and taken over. . . ." Dr. Gordon, however, manages to

write of imperialism without raising his tone, and his language and judgment are scholarly. His book can be read with interest and profit.

Australian National University, Canberra

W. E. H. STANNER

American History

JAMES PARTON: THE FATHER OF MODERN BIOGRAPHY. By *Milton E. Flower*. (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 1951. Pp. ix, 253. \$4.50.)

THIS is a biography about a biographer: a case of the biter being bit. James Parton, who wrote lives of great Americans and one European—Voltaire—has become something of a legend in American historiography. Almost everyone has heard of him, though few read him today except researchers. Yet some of his volumes can still be read with profit and enjoyment, and his *Aaron Burr* has been called “a minor classic” in American biography.

If Dr. Flower, in this first published study of Parton, has yielded to the easy temptation of hyperbole in hailing him as “the father of modern biography,” it is true that Parton rescued his subjects from the doldrums of the “standard life” and the biographical kiss of death of the filiopietists. He brought his great men down from their pedestals and gave them a touch of the low earth. In the main he was fair in his treatment, giving even Aaron Burr an understanding portrait which Burr’s own friend and political disciple, Matthew L. Davis, had failed to accomplish.

Parton was also that *rara avis*—a scholarly researcher who could write in an easy, flowing style and intersperse the aridities of political controversy with the sprightly, revealing anecdote. Yet he took great pains to obtain documentation for his material and traveled great distances to interview surviving eyewitnesses of the lives and times of which he wrote.

Sparkling biographies of Franklin, Jefferson, Burr, Jackson, Horace Greeley, the controversial General Benjamin F. Butler and other worthies rolled in rapid succession from his facile pen. If some of the contemporary historians looked askance at his easy style (the tradition dies hard that scholarship must be dull), the general public rewarded the author with eager perusals and gratifyingly large sales. He became famous and the first American biographer to make a comfortable living from his books.

Dr. Flower has done a thorough job of research in a comparatively virgin field. He has had access to the family manuscripts, and has supplemented them from all available sources. He has portrayed not merely the biographer, but the man—and Parton’s other activities ranged over an amazingly wide area. Parton was something of a radical and a freethinker, and threw himself enthusiastically into the political, religious, moral, and social controversies of the day. He dabbled in temperance and free thought (he was also fascinated by Catholic ritual and

dogma), fought for civil service reform, the rights of women, an international copyright, and wrote trenchant muckraking articles denouncing corruption in government (a perennial subject).

But above all he was married to the much older "Fanny Fern," an amazing woman in her own right and the forerunner of a horde of lady columnists. Though Dr. Flower does not blink the fact that the marriage was a tempestuous one, he oddly fails to give that fact sufficient body and substance, or bring the relationship to life.

All in all, this is a faithful and meritorious biography, and throws considerable light on an interesting, if minor, figure in nineteenth-century America. One carping note, however. Dr. Flower could advantageously have used some of that ease and fluidity which he justly admires in the pages of his subject.

New York, N.Y.

NATHAN SCHACHNER

BEHOLD VIRGINIA: THE FIFTH CROWN. BEING THE TRIALS, ADVENTURES, AND DISASTERS OF THE FIRST FAMILIES OF VIRGINIA, THE RISE OF THE GRANDEES, AND THE EVENTUAL TRIUMPH OF THE COMMON AND UNCOMMON SORT IN THE REVOLUTION. By *George F. Willison*. (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. 1951. Pp. xii, 422. \$4.75.)

LIKE his *Saints and Strangers*, which dealt with the settlement of Plymouth Colony, Mr. Willison's book on Virginia is a brisk and iconoclastic narrative which sets out to debunk romantic notions about Virginia's early history. His account is well written and readable and gains interest from the use of abundant quotations from contemporary reports. But as history Mr. Willison's book on Virginia is much less convincing than his account of Plymouth. It reads as if its author had a bad case of dyspepsia and thoroughly disliked everybody concerned in the settlement of Virginia. About the only person for whom he has a good word is Powhatan, the Indian chief. Of Englishmen who deserted to the Indians or were captured by him, he remarks: "They worked hard for Powhatan, perhaps because they enjoyed some freedom and intelligent direction under him" (p. 158), neither of which, he suggests, they had at Jamestown. "In every respect," Willison agains comments, "he [Powhatan] stood head and shoulders above any of the English who tried to match wits with him" (p. 167).

Many narratives of Virginia, it is true, have grossly romanticized the early history but Mr. Willison goes so far to the other extreme and finds so little good in any aspect of Virginia society that he himself is left wondering at the end of his book how that society could have produced the great leaders who came to the fore during the Revolution. "It seemed a most unlikely seed-bed for great leaders, revolutionary thinkers, and passionate democrats. Yet from this society there now came as brilliant a generation or two of leaders as any society or comparable area

ever produced" (p. 52). The answer is that Mr. Willison misinterprets the quality of Virginia society, early and late.

Most of the book deals with the misadventures of the first settlers. Out of 373 pages of text, the first 261 concern the efforts of the Virginia Company of London to establish the colony, an effort which ended in 1624 with the dissolution of the company. The next 74 pages principally concern the long governorship of Sir William Berkeley and Bacon's Rebellion, and the last 37 pages bring the account down to the Revolution. The most plausible portion of the book deals with Bacon's Rebellion, where Mr. Willison's temperament finds congenial material. He performs a useful service in demoting that episode from its accustomed position as a noble precursor of the struggle for independence to its proper place as a local row which got out of hand thanks to a hotheaded troublemaker on one side and a senile old fool on the other.

The well-worn argument over the qualities of leadership furnished by Captain John Smith is revived at great length in Mr. Willison's pages. He can find no good to say about Smith or his colleagues and successors. If they had all been as complete knaves, cravens, fools, and rogues as Mr. Willison describes them, it is surprising and perhaps a pity that they managed to found a colony where some of them would perpetuate themselves. Indeed, after reading his book, one wonders if Mr. Willison does not feel that Virginia was a grievous mistake. The author's impatience with the characters in his narrative and his apparent distaste for his subject carry over to the reader who will find little to entertain him in *Behold Virginia*.

Folger Library

LOUIS B. WRIGHT

THE PRIVATE LIFE OF GEORGE WASHINGTON. By *Francis Rufus Bellamy*. (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company. 1951. Pp. v, 409. \$5.00.)

TODAY, Tom Paine's famous phrase has been all but bereft of significance by too frequent repetition. To men like Washington, it was pregnant with meaning. And it applied not merely to certain moments of the Revolutionary War, but to the entire formative period of the United States. It called forth memories of the inner conflict and the violent wrench that preceded the momentous decision to take up arms against England; it pointed up the personal rivalries, factional struggles, and sectional animosities that dissipated the new national spirit and disrupted the war effort; it revived all the doubts, suspicions, and fears for the outcome of the struggle and the ultimate fate of the nation.

For Washington, particularly, "the times that try men's souls" ran in an unbroken and unending stream of torment until the day of his death. The affluent colonial who spoke and thought of England as "home," whose familial roots were deeply implanted in the "mother country," whose wealth rested on English grants of land, whose commercial and cultural ties were far more English than American, did not sever the umbilical cord without great pain. Nor was the operation less

soul-trying whereby the parish-minded planter was obliged to resolve the abstract concepts of sovereignty and loyalty, imperialism and revolution, federalism and democracy into their concrete component parts and to reconstruct them into a guide for personal conduct as rebel, commander in chief, and President.

In my opinion, a biography of Washington's "private life" must deal with these and similar experiences, revealing the factors, forces, and personalities that went into their making, depicting their effect on the development of his character, and interpreting the consequences of this development to the man and to the nation. On a lower level, it must consider Washington's personal and official relations with Hamilton and George Mason, Jefferson and Adams, Schuyler, Arnold, and Knox; it must also include detailed treatment of such private affairs as his voyage to the Western lands, his dealings with Captain Posey, Mrs. Savage, and Robert Stewart, and his difficulties with Martha's children and grandchildren.

Mr. Bellamy obviously does not share this opinion. He believes that a portrait of his subject is best drawn by augmenting the usual chronological account with full-length sketches of Washington's parents, with suggestive references to an inconsequential youthful romance, and with the thesis that Washington was a frustrated dictator. This explains the imbalance of the book: there are six chapters on Washington's origin and youth, seven on the Revolutionary War, and one on the fateful postwar years and the presidency.

The effort to create an imaginary romantic background and to uphold an untenable thesis leads inevitably to errors of fact and interpretation: e.g., Mr. Bellamy implies that Washington failed to get a royal commission (p. 132) because he was a colonial and lacked "ancient family and influence." Braddock offered him a captain's commission, "the highest Comn.," wrote Washington, "that is now vested in his gift." This was declined because the Virginia colonel wanted that rank confirmed by royal brevet. Similarly, Mr. Bellamy has Washington "desperately ill" with a psychosomatic quinzey (p. 246), because Congress voted down his recommendations. The conclusion that he "could not happily brook a master at all . . . that basically, in maturity as in youth, he was always a rebel against authority; a born benevolent dictator," would be questionable even if the facts were correct. Actually, Washington was "out of sorts," mentally and physically, for less than ten days; during this time he transacted all important business and was "much pestered with things that [could] not be avoided." Again, Mr. Bellamy mentions several times that Hamilton disliked Washington, basing this allegation on the brief quarrel between the general and his aide and on a letter written in the heat of that quarrel. This is slight evidence when weighed against twenty years of harmonious co-operation and intimate correspondence.

Altogether, it seems to me, Mr. Bellamy has written a "popular" rather than a "private" life of Washington, as informal in style as it is in the treatment of historical material.

RAG, TAG AND BOBTAIL: THE STORY OF THE CONTINENTAL ARMY, 1775-1783. By Lynn Montross. (New York: Harper and Brothers. 1952. Pp. 519. \$5.00.)

MAN's revolutionary struggles, ancient and modern, whether American, Chinese, English, French, or Russian, find ever new authors and widening circles of readers. It will be so as long as man strives for freedom. Lynn Montross' new book, though on a theme of American history more familiar than any other to Young America, and perhaps to all of us, will doubtless enlarge the audience. One reason for this lies in the author's reliance upon numerous personal accounts—diaries, letters—many of which are unfamiliar, or slightly known, to general readers; even for specialists, some of them may have the charm of freshness. The theme is the army, from its appearance without fanfare at Lexington to its silent melting away in 1783. Amid the kaleidoscopic fortunes of campaigns and battles, numerous details of the soldier's life appear: the rags and tatters, hunger, heroism, feuding, literacy, mutiny, treason, fraternization, plundering, discipline, disease, godliness, devilry, atrocities on both sides, the Molly Pitchers who went along, tall tales of war propaganda, with glimpses, now and then, of the larger socio-political framework of the fight for freedom.

Despite its technical apparatus and a critical discussion of men and events which at times may be heavy for casual readers, the book is generally popular in nature. The pace is brisk; the style and language, easy and familiar, harmonize with the personal documents, many of which are quoted. Catchy captions challenge the reader's attention. These, though some are good, are at times overdone; they attract attention, but they do not hold it unless sufficiently pertinent to the subsequent matter. Some of the arresting titles better befit Hollywood than history. One thinks of Benchley's *Love Conquers All*—wherein Love vanishes after the title page. Mr. Montross' titles may not sit quite so lightly, but their relation to substance is at times tenuous, and the evidence of it long deferred. Thus, under "Sir Peter Parker's Breeches" one reads ten pages chiefly about events on the northern front, and after four more learns of sartorial disaster on the southern front. Organization and transitions, at times, lack integration and smoothness. For example, "The Liberation of Boston" devotes ten pages to the Canadian fiasco and other matters before reaching Boston. Similarly, pages 109-17 run far afield from "The Fight for New York," and New York is handled in the following four and a half pages. The "Fall of Philadelphia" gets three pages under that head, while fourteen pages follow about Ticonderoga, Bennington, feuds of generals, and other matters. "The Siege of Charleston" allots seven pages to Morristown, New Jersey (pp. 347-53), before turning southward for a slightly fuller account of Charleston.

The book will interest a large general audience; specialists will find it of value, and certain of its interpretations challenging. To satisfy professional requirements, there is a fifteen-page bibliography, three fifths of it contemporary materials. Twelve pages of footnotes, assembled unfortunately at the end of the volume,

show reliance on contemporary documents—the key to its excellence. The index covers personal and place names, and some topics, the latter less adequately. An appendix lists the generals of the Continental Army, with dates of appointment and service. Numerous maps (an excellent feature, showing positions and movements of opposing forces) and several panoramas (less useful, as they are assembled midway through the volume, and hence are not closely integrated with the text) enable the reader to visualize terrain and operations.

University of Pennsylvania

THOMAS WOODY

JOHN ADAMS AND THE PROPHETS OF PROGRESS. By Zoltán Haraszti.
(Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1952. Pp. viii, 362. \$5.00.)

ANY revelation of the mind of John Adams is bound to be interesting and important, for Adams was an independent thinker who had to be and still has to be reckoned with. Mr. Haraszti has provided a major revelation of Adams' mind, though in a novel form. His book is mainly a series of dialogues between the authors of certain volumes in Adams' library (now among the collections of the Boston Public Library, where Mr. Haraszti is keeper of rare books) and Adams himself. All his life Adams collected and read books, and his reading was vigorously creative. During intervals in his public life and after his retirement in 1801, he spent day after day in the upstairs study at Quincy filling up the margins and fly-leaves of his volumes of philosophy, history, and theology with comments. These might be brief or lengthy, but they are unfailingly lively, for Adams was master of a pungent style.

The truth is, as Mr. Haraszti has convincingly shown, that Adams' normal method of composition was that of a commentator. His formal writings like the *Defence of the Constitutions of the United States* and the *Discourses on Davila* are heavy and dull simply because he would not spare his readers the whole chapters of narrative and exposition that he had copied out to comment upon. But Mr. Haraszti's plan of presenting only brief and relevant passages from the texts, alternating with Adams' potshots and full-scale bombardments from the margins, leads to a very different result. Writing without thought of readers and intent only upon setting the erring authors straight, Adams is as earnest and unself-conscious as youngsters at a movie imploring the hero to ride faster or the heroine will be shot before he reaches the bandits' hideaway.

Adams annotated all kinds of books, but the present volume is mainly confined to his marginalia in books by the social philosophers of the eighteenth century—Bolingbroke, Rousseau, Frederick the Great and some of his friends, Mably, Turgot, Mary Wollstonecraft, Condorcet, and Priestley. Toward these "Prophets of Progress," some of whom laid the groundwork of the French Revolution and others of whom became apologists for it, Adams' feelings were thoroughly ambivalent. He denounced every article in their perfectibilitarian system and regarded such attempts as were made to put their principles into action during

the Revolution as perfectly chimerical. The reforms urged by Condorcet, said Adams, would result in a conspiracy of "genius" far more tyrannical than the old conspiracy of king, nobles, and clergy. Yet Adams respected the *philosophes*, some of whom he had known well, as men of first-rate intellectual powers and the highest benevolence, though "united with total ignorance and palpable darkness in the science of government."

What the *philosophes* overlooked was the cornerstone of Adams' own political theory. He never summed this up more tersely than in his copy of Mary Wollstonecraft's book on the French Revolution: "Men must search their own hearts and confess the emulation that is there: and provide checks to it. The gentlemen must be compelled to agree. They never will from reason and free will. . . . Power must be opposed to power, force to force, strength to strength, interest to interest, as well as reason to reason, eloquence to eloquence, and passion to passion."

There are a hundred interesting sidelights on John Adams' personality and career in this skillfully compiled and valuable book. Yet its chief value lies in its demonstration that Adams had not only seized upon a permanent political truth but knew how to defend it wittily and with almost infinite resourcefulness.

Institute of Early American History and Culture

L. H. BUTTERFIELD

THOMAS JEFFERSON: A BIOGRAPHY. By *Nathan Schachner*. In two volumes. (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts. 1951. Pp. xiii, 559; vii, 561-1070. \$12.00.)

AMONG the numerous works on Jefferson that have appeared within the past few years and that continue to appear, some of them running to several volumes, here is one that is within the compass of the general reading public. Julian Boyd's monumental edition of the writings of Jefferson is expected to total fifty or more volumes; Dumas Malone's biography will include five or six; and Marie Kimball's will probably equal that number. The present work, while containing a great deal of detail and not to be skimmed through in an evening, is nevertheless not overwhelming in bulk.

The author has already produced biographies of Burr and Hamilton, and now in his study of Hamilton's archrival he shows his ability to present both sides of a picture. There is something refreshing in his ability to point out Jefferson's weaknesses as well as his strong points. He does not follow some other biographers in picturing him as almost a demigod. Jefferson was only human, and at times he became "hot" or "angry" when problems nettled him. He was inconsistent in a number of his theories and policies, was frequently "impaled on the horns of a dilemma"—a favorite phrase of the author. His appreciation of art ran to the "third-rate," and he "diligently collected pictures to adorn eventually the walls of Monticello and chose, with unerring accuracy, the most mediocre and insipid" (I, 314). He was a pedagogue and a moralist, not in the best sense of these terms,

and gave his daughter Patsy the "sage advice" "of never buying any thing which you have not money in your pocket to pay for"—advice which he himself failed miserably to follow (I, 337).

Schachner devotes a great deal of attention to the unhappy story of Jefferson's personal finances—perhaps the weakest and saddest phase of his life. In his marriage he assumed certain debts of his father-in-law, and thus he was plunged into a morass of debt from which he never extricated himself. Always overestimating the income from his plantations, he never let up in his lavish spending. During his five years in France he lived on a scale far beyond his income, and even as President, with a salary of \$25,000 a year, he seems never to have balanced his budget. He could not resist extravagance, especially in the purchase of books, wines, and horses. Toward the very end of his life his friends persuaded the Virginia legislature to authorize a special lottery to help him, and, when that failed, the hat was passed in his behalf. But even then there was not enough, for his debts had reached the staggering total of more than \$107,000. It is not a pretty story.

But Jefferson's weaknesses are not unduly stressed, and his manifold top-level contributions to the American nation are fully covered. The Declaration of Independence, the Virginia statute for religious freedom, his services as United States representative in Paris, his accomplishments as first Secretary of State, his achievements as President, his contributions to agriculture, his fathering of the University of Virginia—these and other achievements are given sufficient emphasis. The reader is left with no question in his mind as to Jefferson's greatness.

The present reviewer is impressed by the way various biographers of this many-sided man have played up different phases of his life, without too much duplication. That is, he had so many interests and his finger was in so many pies that there is room for each biographer to put in his own finger and pull out whatever he may consider significant. In Schachner's work, if there is any weakness in emphasis, it is perhaps that the account is too factual and that there is not sufficient interpretation of the significance and philosophical implications of some of the data that are presented.

The references are given at the end of each volume, and in the last pages of Volume II are a bibliography and an index to both volumes. A total of thirty-three illustrations, most of them reproductions of portraits of Jefferson and his contemporaries, conform to the old-style presentation rather than to the more modern picture-and-text combination, with large numbers of illustrations of various types.

Raleigh, North Carolina

CHRISTOPHER CRITTENDEN

CRISIS IN FREEDOM: THE ALIEN AND SEDITION ACTS. By *John C. Miller*. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1951. Pp. 253. \$3.50.)

Mr. Miller's study is offered to the American public at this time in the spirit

of an instructive lesson to be learned from viewing another age of crisis, when freedom of thought, speech, and press were under extensive and violent attack. The thesis that the social and political climate of America today is very like that of the closing years of the eighteenth century, and that their hysteria and their blunders should be our checks against a fateful and probably fatal repetition of mistakes, is central to this book; yet it is not developed in any detail. In fact, the thesis is stated only in the concluding two pages; and while enough of it permeates the entire study to create an atmosphere of special significance for what might otherwise be regarded merely as a fabulous and erratic chapter of the American past, no attempt is made to establish a reliable comparison between 1798-1800 and the (presumably) similar present period of loyalty and security measures, the Smith Act, McCarthyite "witch-hunting," and certain sensationalist congressional investigations.

However, simply in setting straight the account of the Alien and Sedition Acts and their effects upon the aroused American public, Mr. Miller has rendered a valuable service—popularly and professionally. Of the "new" angles that emerge from this story, one should note the sectional quality of the three crisis measures of 1798 (the Naturalization Act must be added to the Alien Act and the Sedition Act). Overwhelming support for these acts, it appears, came from the states north of the Potomac. If the Alien and Sedition Acts spoke in any distinctive native American idiom, it was New England Yankee. As a corrective to the conventional purity of "the North" as liberal judge of the sins of "the South," this is an interesting fact.

When Mr. Miller comes to review the case histories of the victims of the Sedition Act, the stubborn, brute irrationality of history makes itself felt. Alas, the victims, made into white knights by an enraged Republican press, were not only few in number (about a dozen) but—shall we say—mixed in moral stature. They were ranting journalists, cracker-barrel critics, wild Irishmen, drunkards, and one or two quite decent and worthy American citizens who happened to be Republican editors or publishers in predominantly Federalist communities (e.g., the case of Anthony Haswell). Mr. Miller seems to feel that the Sedition Act, by catching only a small haul of fish, and some of high odor, discredited itself. But, had it caught "dangerous revolutionaries . . . it no doubt would have earned the gratitude of the country and the admiration of historians." This is a too narrowly pragmatic test, for even had this act snagged "dangerous revolutionaries," it would have had to be inspected from the point of view of its attempt to muzzle the opposition press, as well as its bearing upon intellectual freedom in America. Had the Sedition Act succeeded in killing the two-party system in America, thereby establishing dictatorship, there would be no voices raised today against alleged "hysteria" or "witch-hunts," or in praise of cultural freedom.

As a narrative, *Crisis in Freedom* manages to be entertaining despite the fact that Mr. Miller considers his subject to be Act I in the "Tragedy of American Freedom." It is hard to account for this unexpected disparity between gravity of

theme and lightness of effect, but it may have something to do with the unbridled rhetoric of our forefathers, plus the prevalence of fisticuffs, street brawls, duels, tragicomic trials and Gilbert-and-Sullivan verdicts.

One final comment, concerning the author's scholarship. It appears to be extensive (particularly in newspaper and pamphlet sources of the period) rather than intensive. He adds very little that is new. Mr. Miller, on occasions, skims the cream from more original studies on the Alien and Sedition Acts and the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions. In this fashion the author makes rather free use of the path-breaking research of Mr. Frank M. Anderson and others, without adequate acknowledgment of his substantial indebtedness.

New York University

ADRIENNE KOCH

THE ERA OF GOOD FEELINGS. By *George Dangerfield*. (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. 1951. Pp. xiv, 525. \$6.00.)

THIS is an exciting and exhilarating book which is all the more remarkable since it is Mr. Dangerfield's first venture into American history. As an Englishman he gave us *The Strange Death of Liberal England*; as a naturalized American he has brought to life a fascinating period in the history of the United States. He does for the years 1815-1828 what A. M. Schlesinger, Jr., did for the *Age of Jackson*, but he writes with even more brilliance and reveals no evident political bias.

Mr. Dangerfield's book is primarily a work of synthesis: it is not altogether drawn "straight from the original sources" as the publishers advertise, but rather reflects a multitude of monographic studies which have been brilliantly assimilated. Such an achievement is much needed in modern historiography. Dealing with the years from 1815 to 1828, the book has a section, by way of preface, outlining the causes of the War of 1812 and the peace negotiations at Ghent. It continues with the years before the panic of 1819 and the sectional tensions underlying the exuberant nationalism of the Era of Good Feelings: the conflict of agrarian debtor with eastern banker, and the first outbreak of the slavery question. The latter found a temporary compromise but the former grew more violent until it ended in the election of Andrew Jackson to the presidency in 1828 and the destruction of the American system. All this is told with a literary skill which makes figures and events live as they rarely do on printed pages. Mr. Dangerfield has a talent for the pen portrait and a vivid historical imagination.

The most original and suggestive section of the book is the one called "The Diplomacy of Coal and Iron, 1821-1824," in which Mr. Dangerfield considers the Monroe Doctrine against the background of European politics. Here his knowledge of English history is invaluable, and his thesis can be stated simply. Liberal Toryism in England, moving slowly in the direction of free trade and against the Navigation Acts, was anxious for an understanding with America in the interests of commerce. This desire stood in strong contrast to the old Toryism so patently

exhibited by the mediocrities who represented England at Ghent. But American nationalism, visible in the protectionism of the American system, was slow to respond, and John Quincy Adams rebuffed the new advances by the Monroe Doctrine and by his obstinacy over the West Indian trade. In this way Adams is intuitively the leader of Manifest Destiny while Canning becomes the instinctive champion of nineteenth-century industrial Britain. Both men would probably have rejected this interpretation. Minor criticisms can be made of Mr. Dangerfield's analysis. He is perhaps overanxious to exalt Lord Liverpool as a Liberal Tory, and in the papers of Lord Bathurst which he quotes in an extensive bibliography, he could have found a protest made by Liverpool in 1810 against any concession to America as going "to the vitals of our navigation system." In his narrative of the negotiations leading to the Monroe Doctrine, Mr. Dangerfield had not the advantage of having read the recent book by W. W. Kaufman, *British Policy and the Independence of Latin America, 1804-1828*, and he seems to have overlooked Professor A. P. Whitaker's work on *The United States and the Independence of Latin America, 1800-1830*.

Criticisms of this book can only be minor ones; the description of the abortive Monroe-Pinckney treaty (incidentally given the wrong date) as "a thoroughly bad one" is undoubtedly sweeping, while on the technical side the unfortunate arrangement of footnotes makes a quick reference difficult. For the rest there is only praise: fine writing, wit, and understanding are contained in these dramatic and delightful pages.

Eton College, Windsor

W. A. BARKER

THE EYES OF DISCOVERY: THE PAGEANT OF NORTH AMERICA AS SEEN BY THE FIRST EXPLORERS. By *John Bakeless*. (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company. 1950. Pp. 439. \$5.00.)

TAKING his material chiefly from eyewitness accounts of exploration John Bakeless offers us in this book a pleasantly written survey of primeval America (that part of it which later became the United States) as seen through the eyes of the men who first gave it literary description. His treatment is informal and in some respects is fresh and original. The cast of characters includes, to be sure, a number of familiar names. De Soto and Coronado appear prominently in the chapters on Spanish exploration in the lower Mississippi Valley and the Southwest. Cartier and Champlain figure in the same way in the first French penetration of the St. Lawrence. Radisson and Verendrye contribute much to the description of the Great Lakes and the Mandan country, and Lewis and Clark and George Vancouver to that of the Missouri Valley and the Pacific Coast. A good part of the book is organized around these men and others of similar stature, and their activities and personalities give a sense of action and movement to what would otherwise be a profuse and tedious description of landscapes, trees, and plants,

of birds, animals, fish, and reptiles. But while the "first explorers" are central characters in the book, they do not dominate it. Our interest is drawn less to what they achieved than to what they saw, or, in some instances to what they might have seen.

In his enrichment of the reporting of the principal observers Mr. Bakeless is most ingenious. Through his wide acquaintance with the observations of other travelers who visited the same areas when they were still largely unchanged, the author assembles the descriptive detail for a vivid and comprehensive essay in geographic portraiture which is specifically documented and considerably more graphic than one written simply from the narratives left us by the leading figures. Thus the experience of the Lewis and Clark party with grizzly bears is amplified into a four-page essay on bears, with references to them by Alexander MacKenzie and other British fur traders and an account of the adventures of various American hunters in their attempts to kill the beasts. Similarly the landscape along the Platte River which the Mallet brothers (the first recorded Santa Fe traders) "must have seen" is described by a quotation from the journal of "an American dragoon who passed through the unchanging plains" in 1835 (p. 353). The technique is one to be used with care. The inattentive reader, not too sure of his company, may think he is traveling with Daniel Boone only to be thrown suddenly and successively with Felix Walker, Timothy Flint, "a priest traveling on the Mississippi in 1699," and Robert Baird writing in 1832 (p. 315). But Mr. Bakeless is a skillful writer. His allusions are usually clearly identified and if chronology is thrown to the winds there remains a consistent unity of purpose in his delineation of the face of the land, the flora and fauna, and the aborigines who occupied it.

The book has a light touch. Little in the way of systematic data is presented, yet geographers, biologists, anthropologists, as well as historians, will find much of interest in the incidents and sidelights that are brought together. One might complain about points of balance and proportion. The Rocky Mountain and the Pacific Coast areas receive scant attention and Captain George Vancouver never quite reaches Puget Sound. This is not a matter of regional discrimination apparently, for Connecticut and upstate New York fare not too well either. But though bits of the pageant may be overlooked, the author does achieve a noteworthy success in recreating the picture of a land untouched by modern civilization and in recapturing the white man's first reaction to it.

University of Washington

CHARLES M. GATES

WEST FROM FORT BRIDGER: THE PIONEERING OF THE IMMIGRANT TRAILS ACROSS UTAH, 1846-1850. Original Diaries and Journals Edited and with Introductions by J. Roderic Korns. [Utah Historical Quarterly, Volume XIX.] (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society. 1951. Pp. xx, 297. \$4.50.)

LIEUTENANT EMORY REPORTS: A REPRINT OF LIEUTENANT W. H. EMORY'S *NOTES OF A MILITARY RECONNOISSANCE*. Introduction and Notes by *Ross Calvin*. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 1951. Pp. 208. \$4.50.)

THESE two books are reprints, with editorial notes, of various journals kept by men who passed over either the central or the southern routes to California between 1846 and 1850.

Much of the work on *West from Fort Bridger* was done by the late J. Roderic Korns, a Salt Lake City businessman; after his death the manuscript was completed by a friend and associate in trail tracing, Dale L. Morgan. Since the book was published by the Utah State Historical Society, the geographical limitations, from Fort Bridger to the Humboldt River, can be justified. The volume is devoted to those parts of certain journals that relate especially to the beginnings of the Hastings Cutoff. The journals of James Clyman, Edwin Bryant, and James Frazier Reed have been printed previously; that of Heinrich Lienhard, which is especially significant for the new light it throws on the difficulties of the Donner party in Utah, is here printed for the first time in an English translation. There are also sections on the Golden Pass Road and the Salt Lake Cutoff.

The chief contribution in this study is in the editorial notes which trace the various routes in minute detail on the basis of careful field investigations. The footnotes, which are in general more extensive than the text, are enriched by excerpts from other contemporary records or later reminiscences. The maps are in keeping with the detailed character of the notes. One section is devoted to the T. H. Jefferson map (1849), which is reproduced in part. There are other maps to illustrate both the rugged terrain of the Wasatch Mountains and the desert region to the west of the Great Salt Lake. The major aspects of exploration and immigration in the period do not receive much attention in a study which is restricted to the middle phases of the various journeys considered; but in its limited sphere it may be considered definitive.

Lt. Emory's *Notes of a Military Reconnaissance* appeared first as an official report made in connection with the invasion of the northern Mexican provinces by the United States Army in 1846. The journal began at Bent's Fort, and covered the occupation of New Mexico, the advance down the Gila, and the entrance into California. Since scholars are familiar with and presumably have access to copies of the original report (Exec. Doc. 41, 30 Cong. 1 sess.), this edition has been prepared for "a considerably enlarged circle of readers, not scholarly perhaps, yet with alert, intelligent curiosity." With them in mind, certain parts of the *Notes*, for example, the tables of astronomical observation, have been omitted and other changes have been made, as in spellings and the Latin names of plants. It may be granted, as the editor insists, that these changes do not affect the essentials of the report, which remains an interesting narrative of adventure, well seasoned with comments on the life of the people in a region then coming under the control

of the United States. Even so, the usefulness of the book for serious students is impaired by the general lack of conventional editorial marks which show omissions from or changes in a text. And in order not to distract the reader (see p. 5), the editorial notes have been kept short and few in number. Emory's map has been reproduced, although divided into eight sections for convenience in use; fortunately, no attempt has been made to modernize or improve it. This attractive, well-printed volume should be of value and interest to the general readers for whom it has been prepared.

University of Colorado

COLIN B. GOODYKOONTZ

LINCOLN AND HIS GENERALS. By *T. Harry Williams*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1952. Pp. viii, 363, iv. \$4.00.)

For half a century after Appomattox the military history of the American Civil War was for the most part written by, or based on the writings of, military participants. But during the past thirty years there has been a growing disposition to broaden the study beyond the narrow range of tactics and strategy, and even logistics. The latest example of this broader approach is Professor Harry Williams' study of the development of the command system of the Union armies, with special emphasis on President Lincoln as the central controlling figure—"a great natural strategist, a better one than any of his generals."

As commander in chief the President had a double responsibility, both of directing the grand strategy of the war and of "choosing the generals to manage the armies." The latter is described as a "galling, dull business" and one which (though the author does not say so in terms) does not seem to have been well performed until the war was nearly three fourths over. Ten of the generals chosen by the President for major commands—McDowell, McClellan, Fremont, Buell, Pope, Burnside, Rosecrans, Banks, McClelland, and Hooker—are written off as failures for one reason or another. An eleventh, Halleck, chosen to direct all the armies, "did not want to direct. He delighted to counsel but hated to decide." The twelfth man chosen, Meade, is rated as "competent in a routine sort of way" but lacking in "aggressive purpose."

From Professor Williams' analysis it appears that the President made twelve unfortunate, or at least unsatisfactory, choices of commanders during the first two and a half years of the war. As a result, his "patience with the generals wore very thin" and he "came to doubt and even scorn the capabilities of the military mind," the author says. Fortunately for Mr. Lincoln, however, and for the Union cause, he had in superior numbers and resources a margin of strength, and in a fixed four-year term a margin of time, within which he was able to keep on working at his problem of command until he found the right answer.

This he did, first in the spring of 1863 when he rectified his "wretched mistake" of dividing responsibility for taking Vicksburg between Grant and Mc-

Clermand, then in the fall of '63 when he put Grant in command of all the West, and finally, in the spring of 1864—thirty-five months after Sumter and eleven months before Appomattox—when he made Grant general in chief of all the armies. No longer did the "Eastern and Western armies act like balky teams, no two ever pulling together."

But even then, the author notes, Lincoln, "the civilian strategist who never forgot that the destruction of enemy armies was the proper objective," kept a guiding hand on the reins. For Professor Williams does not accept "Grant's vision of himself conducting the war with a free hand." He was allowed more latitude than earlier generals, the author says, because "Grant conformed his plans to Lincoln's own strategic ideas. Fundamentally, Grant's strategy was Lincolnian."

Such is the thesis of an admirably planned and executed work which well fulfills the author's expressed hope that it will contribute both to the history and to the understanding of the American command system. The book is even broader in the light it throws on the genesis of modern or total war with which later generations have become so unhappily familiar. Grant, it says, was "the first of the great moderns," as Lee was "the last of the great old-fashioned generals." The "modernity of Grant's mind was most apparent in his grasp of the concept that war was becoming total and that the destruction of the enemy's economic resources was as effective and legitimate a form of warfare as the destruction of his armies." And President Lincoln, the author says, "was in actuality as well as in title the commander in chief who, by his larger strategy, did more than Grant or any general to win the war for the Union."

Alexandria, Virginia

ROBERT S. HENRY

THE MILITARY GENIUS OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN. By Brigadier-General Colin R. Ballard. With a Preface by Fletcher Pratt. (Cleveland: World Publishing Company. 1952. Pp. 246. \$5.00.)

IN 1926 there was published in this country a small volume by Major General Sir Frederick Maurice, entitled *Statesmen and Soldiers of the Civil War*, which gave a critical analysis of High Command, North and South. Maurice did more than commend strongly the system of command evolved by Lincoln and Grant in the last year of the war. He dissented from the rather prevalent view that Lincoln had failed as a war minister until he finally handed over military matters to Grant. He showed that Lincoln had not always failed, and that he did not free himself of ultimate responsibility after he made Grant the general in chief, but continued to play an important role.

The charge that Lincoln interfered harmfully with military matters began soon after the collapse of McClellan's Peninsular campaign. In his memoirs the general went so far as to say the administration had wanted him to fail, and the much-read Ropes indicted Lincoln in strong terms. On the other side of the Atlantic Colonel Henderson in his *Stonewall Jackson* gave support to the thesis

of interference. Further harm was done in the introduction to the book written by Field Marshal Viscount Wolseley, when he placed the Federal failures during the first three years of the war largely at the door of Lincoln and Stanton.

Maurice's excellent book was probably not widely read. In the same year that his book appeared there was published in England the book by Ballard, now republished here, in which a heavier attack was made on the excuses of McClellan and the teachings of Henderson and Wolseley. It took courage to choose a title such as Ballard used, but it was a happy choice for it makes the book an arresting one even before its pages are read.

Ballard's work, with its good sketch maps, gives an unrivaled outline of the major operations of the war, while directing special attention to Lincoln's actions and views. To compress so great a contest into 241 pages of text looks like an impossibility, and of course some faulty ideas can result. But Ballard had a genius for finding the essential point, a great gift for brevity of expression, and could use striking language. It would be hard to imagine a more effective sentence than: "In the final operations Grant was at his best, and Grant's best was very good indeed." Some Federal commanders generally harshly criticized are properly appreciated. Pope, for all his faults, is seen to have been aggressive, and Banks gets a fine compliment: "Banks was always ready for a fight, and fought well." After sketching campaigns in their essence and giving his reader glimpses of the parts played by generals in the winning of the war, Ballard leaves him with a dominating thought: "But the man was Abraham Lincoln."

The new American edition is improved by the addition of seventeen illustrations of leading personalities. The preface by Fletcher Pratt will orient the reader and help him appreciate the merit of the work.

Indiana University

KENNETH P. WILLIAMS

ORIGINS OF THE NEW SOUTH, 1877-1913. By *C. Vann Woodward*. [*A History of the South, Volume IX.*] (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1951. Pp. xiv, 542. \$6.50.)

THE ninth volume in "A History of the South" covers the years 1870 to 1913. The dates may be a little odd, for whatever relevance they may have in national political history they have no significance in southern development. These are the years of the "Redemption," of the "New South" slogans which covered the industrialization of the region, of the embattled and eventually disarmed farmers of Populism, of the peculiarly southern varieties of progressivism, of cultural progress and literary change—but they do not add up to a coherent, unified period of southern history. At the end, 1913, most of the forces which Professor Woodward so skillfully dissects are still operating and have not yet reached their fulfillment. Professor Woodward wisely refrains from attempting to impose a nonexistent unity upon his material.

The events of these years have been the subject of numerous monographs,

biographies, and scholarly articles and an even larger number of partisan "interpretative" essays. No one, however, has previously attempted a full-scale synthesis of the confusing and conflicting forces in southern life. Inevitably, Professor Woodward's first task was to clear away the rubbish which has been said about the South by partisan attackers, vigorous apologists, and ill-informed historians. Perhaps this is the greatest contribution of the book. Certainly the necessity for clearing the ground gave form to the volume. Skepticism of both the clichés of scholars and the slogans of promoters permeates the pages.

To begin with, Professor Woodward discards the term "Bourbon" as grossly inadequate and inaccurate. The "Redeemers" of the South after Reconstruction were middle-class heirs of the old Whig tradition. He repeats, in summary, his own recent exposition of the compromise of 1877 which was a combination of "reunion and reaction" in the South. He examines the alleged solidarity of the Solid South, and discovers a democratic versus Whig conflict hidden in the internal revolts of independents against the redeemers. He examines the industrial revolution of the 1880's, and concludes that with all the achievements, the South remained rural. He discusses the unredeemed farmer and the "mudsills and bottom rails" of southern industry, and traces the national origins of Populism to their southern home. Step by step, swinging the sharp scythe of critical scholarship, Professor Woodward clears away the brambles of misconceptions to reveal an impoverished and rocky soil.

The core of the book is a penetrating discussion of southern Populism—its rise from the rural protest against urban and eastern exploitation, its betrayal by its leaders, and its aftermath of discrimination, disfranchisement, and disillusion. Following Populism there are chapters on race relations, on twentieth-century progressivism ("for whites only"—but antedating the more publicized reforms of midwestern progressivism) on educational reforms and literary renaissance. The volume ends, inconclusively, with a discussion of the southern aspects of Wilsonianism.

Beyond all question this is the most valuable book that has been written about the South in these years. Because of its freshness of view and its critical scholarship in a period long neglected, it is the most useful volume of "A History of the South" that has appeared. Although the awkward dates assigned to the volume prevented a clearly defined synthesis, the book clearly establishes the author's primacy among the scholars of the "New South" (a term which he righteously deplores).

University of Wisconsin

WILLIAM B. HESSELTINE

A HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN THEATRE, 1700-1950. By *Glenn Hughes*, Director of the School of Drama, University of Washington. (New York: Samuel French. 1951. Pp. ix, 562. \$5.00.)

A History of the American Theatre marks the first attempt to survey this field since Arthur Hornblow's *A History of the Theatre in America* (1919). The need for it is apparent. American theater offers a direct reflection of our cultural and economic history. The plays it has presented and the styles of production it has used provide a valuable index of popular taste. Mr. Hughes clearly recognizes that many plays given prominence by Quinn and other critics of dramatic literature have been of little actual importance to the American stage, and he properly stresses the fact that American theater, until 1850, was largely dependent on foreign actors and plays. But he is principally concerned to chronicle the growth of the theater, year by year, city by city. The greater part of the book forms a handy condensation of Odell's monumental but unwieldy *Annals of the New York Stage* (from the beginnings to 1894) and the slipshod *Best Plays* series edited by Mantle, Sherwood, and Chapman, which covers the period from 1909 to the present. The popular plays of any period, the history of theaters, the biographies, major roles, and ventures of the more important stars and managers are made readily available. Careful attention is paid to the financial problems of theaters, actors, authors, and managers. The deficiencies of the book are those of omission and scope.

The failure to describe production techniques is most serious. Boucicault's introduction of the box set in 1841 is described as changing the theater radically (p. 140), but the nature of the change is not examined. Odell's statement that the Keans were "the last representatives of the magnificent old school of English tragedy" is quoted (p. 197), but one encounters no description of this or any other school of acting.

Popular entertainment is recorded generously, but related arts are slighted. Nineteenth-century theater in America, for example, was certainly influenced by oratory. The comparative conditions of the European and American stage are neglected. The summaries of playwriting trends are often haphazardly presented. Mr. Hughes's habit of regarding all early drama as quaint or dull leads him to mention the "Indian" tragedies which flourished from 1830 to 1845 only as the targets of Brougham's parody *Pocahontas*, produced in 1855. Two important playwrights, George Washington Custis and James Nelson Barker, are lost in the process, perhaps because the work of neither achieved the prolonged popularity that seems to be Mr. Hughes's standard for inclusion. On the other hand, this makes the absence of Robert Montgomery Bird, whose tragedies Edwin Forrest played more than a thousand times, even more surprising. In referring to the "Yankee" character plays which delighted audiences for fifty years, Mr. Hughes skips two important contributors to the genre, Joseph Stevens Jones and Samuel Woodworth. In the later nineteenth century, William Young, who wrote *The Rajah* and adapted *Ben Hur*, deserves mention, and W. H. Smith, listed only as a manager, should receive credit as author of *The Drunkard*. E. E. Cummings' *him*, a 1928 *succès de scandale*, is also omitted.

A frothy style and cute section headings slant the book for popular consump-

tion but detract from the impressiveness of Mr. Hughes's research. *A History of the American Theatre* has long been needed but this account by no means pre-empt its subject.

New York, N.Y.

THEODORE HOFFMAN

MEN IN BUSINESS: ESSAYS IN THE HISTORY OF ENTREPRENEURSHIP. Edited by *William Miller*. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1952. Pp. ix, 350. \$5.00.)

THE psychology and social ideas of the American businessman have had far too little scientific evaluation despite the obvious significance of the subject in a society where business leadership plays so important a role. Harvard's Research Center in Entrepreneurial History, stimulated by the original concepts of the late Professor Schumpeter, has fostered intellectual co-operation in this fruitful field among historians, economists, and sociologists. Their staff and associates have drawn upon the tools of quantitative studies (easily decipherable), comparative analysis, and the genetic approach of the historian.

Eleven essays in this collection, some of them from contrasting viewpoints, examine the entrepreneur with the most encouraging results. Thus John E. Sawyer discusses methodology and finds a text in Schumpeter's definition of the entrepreneur as one who has the will to conquer "to succeed for the sake not of the fruits of success, but of success itself." This is a far cry from the definition of Sombart, who stressed the factor of rationality rather than adventure in the make-up of the businessman. Sawyer applies this concept of Schumpeter to a comparative view of the French and American businessman. The American appears more aggressive and far more hospitable to innovations; talent and energy, without the restraints of French business, are more easily recruited here than in France.

Two quantitative studies of unusual interest to historians are William Miller's "The Business Elite in Business Bureaucracies" and Gregory and Neu's "The American Industrial Elite in the 1870's." Miller expands the thesis that he presented in several articles for the *Journal of Economic History*, namely, that the Horatio Alger theory of the rise of the great American entrepreneur from rags to riches is largely unhistorical. In fact, even Schumpeter's picture of the daring entrepreneur does not seem to fit here. In tabulating the biographic facts regarding 185 business leaders in 1900, he notes that few had previously taken a chance on organizing a company of their own "without a life preserver in the shape of a salary." Lawyers and engineers had a decided advantage in the line of promotion in the large industrial bureaucracies. The Gregory-Neu study of 303 industrial leaders confirms Miller's earlier studies of the relatively well-to-do social origins of American business bureaucrats. Even in the 1870's, the urban native-born entrepreneur of middle-class parentage was the norm; about half the leaders did not go to work before their nineteenth year—altogether a favored segment of

the population. Carnegie, the poor Scottish immigrant boy with almost no formal education and a working record that began before his tenth year, is not at all typical.

Space forbids similar attention to the other essays, all of which are unusually informative and attractively written. David S. Landes' "Bankers and Pashas," based on the correspondence of a private banker of the viceroy of Egypt contrasts the cynical, irrational, and highly subjective business criteria of mid-nineteenth-century international speculators with the cautious outlook of a domestic French banker. One may infer the reason that foreign investment failed to raise Egypt's standard of living from this case study. Dorothy Gregg's "John Stevens, Entrepreneur" is noteworthy for its background analysis of the famous *Gibbons vs. Ogden* case. Harold C. Passer's "Frank Julian Sprague," tells a good deal about the origins of electric traction in this country. Other essays that break new ground are those on Henry Noble Day, a former Western Reserve College professor who evolved and attempted (disastrously) a new idea of entrepreneurship, Henry Varnum Poor, "philosopher of management," and several more significant papers.

This book is important both for its interpretive content and its clear-cut adherence to a sound framework of social-economic theory. Such studies will advance history as a discipline in the direction of becoming a genuine social science by compelling more scholars to take up the issue of infusing more theoretical content into the solution of historical problems. Little of literary charm need be sacrificed in the process.

Western Reserve University

HARVEY WISH

EMPIRE IN PINE: THE STORY OF LUMBERING IN WISCONSIN.

By *Robert F. Fries*. (Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin. 1951. Pp. viii, 285. \$4.00.)

THIS book is an account of the part played by lumber in the building of the state of Wisconsin. As such it is also a valuable contribution to the regional history of the upper Great Lakes and the upper Mississippi Valley.

The fur trade had first led men into the Wisconsin forests but the day of the trappers was short and left few traces. Early in the nineteenth century the agricultural frontier swept "like a huge tidal wave" across the Allegheny Mountains, reached the treeless prairies of Illinois, and moved across the Mississippi River into even larger treeless areas. Here was a demanding and rapidly growing market which, combined with the abundance of merchantable timber in Wisconsin, had by 1840 set the stage for one of the region's leading industries. Wisconsin was, furthermore, richly endowed with conveniently located navigable streams and natural water power, resources necessary for the transportation of logs and lumber and for the power to run the mills.

Mr. Fries's study—which deals with the period when lumber in Wisconsin meant white pine—reaches back into the primitive beginnings of the industry

and gathers momentum as the industry grows. By the turn of the century the commercial white pine had passed its heyday in Wisconsin, for by that time most of the lumbering counties had seen their years of maximum cut.

In addition to describing the physical growth of the industry Mr. Fries brings out the important part played by the leaders, a phase often neglected in economic studies. It takes patient, intelligent, driving effort on the part of management to bring about the continuing co-operation of the many people working in an industry with so many ramifications. The Knapp, Stout and Company, for example, rose to its position of prominence through the leadership of John H. Knapp. In 1846 Knapp made his first investment in the lumber industry in Wisconsin with a capital of one thousand dollars. The owners performed most of the labor, and the daily cut was about five thousand board feet. By 1898, two thousand men were on the payroll and the daily capacity of their mills reached three quarters of a million. In half a century that company had endured and survived three panics. The problems faced by the management clearly lay far beyond the processing and transporting of the product.

The reviewer might pose several questions. In discussing the national land laws the author makes no reference to the military bounty land warrants which were commonly used in the location of land in the period of the forties and fifties; it is hardly possible that Wisconsin pinelands could have escaped them. The Holt Lumber Company papers, covering more than a century, are included in the bibliography, but, while these would appear to offer unusual source material, they have not, judging by the footnotes, been incorporated into the text to any great degree. In the account of the marketing of lumber no mention is made of the line yard, a development that was important in other lumber states. Finally, the cut-over lands were a heritage left by the lumber industry which created an economic and social problem for the state. A more detailed analysis of this problem would give strength to the argument for reforestation.

In an orderly and objective fashion Mr. Fries has presented the history of the industry together with the problems and forces which shaped it. The work is well documented; and the style is such that the layman as well as the specialist can easily follow the story. This volume may well serve as a pattern for similar studies in other states.

St. Olaf College

AGNES M. LARSON

THE LETTERS OF THEODORE ROOSEVELT. Volume III, THE SQUARE DEAL, 1901-1903. Volume IV, THE SQUARE DEAL, 1903-1905. Selected and edited by *Elting E. Morison, et al.* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1951. Pp. xvi, 710; 711-1438. \$20.00.)

THESE volumes cover Roosevelt's vice-presidency and his first four years as President. Here Morison is handling a period with which he gained familiarity in preparing his life of Admiral Sims. His footnotes reflect his understanding of

the times and of Roosevelt. Some of the long footnotes and the essay by John Blum on the political strategy of Roosevelt in urging reform of the tariff to force a conservative Congress to enact railroad legislation it did not want are so enlightening that the reader wonders why the editors did not more often supply fuller background for the letters. Again the day-by-day chronology of Roosevelt's activities is useful. Fuller use of the chronology compiled and documented by Nora E. Cordingley, long librarian of the Roosevelt collection, would, however, have added greatly to the value of the one printed. It is strange, too, to have printed copies of four important dispatches concerning the Portsmouth conference from a letter to Lodge rather than from the originals, and a copy sent to Jusserand rather than the original confidential cable sent to Ambassador Meyer in St. Petersburg on August 21, 1905. The subject headings given to nine subdivisions of these volumes are, in view of the chronological and miscellaneous arrangement of the letters, misleading and confusing. The index is far better than most, though it might have been still more detailed in the subject subdivisions. Again in these volumes the editing is remarkably accurate. The standard Morison sets in this matter will long remain a challenge to future editors.

Whereas Roosevelt letters before 1897 were scarce and hard to locate in scattered places, usually in the hands of heirs of the recipients, Roosevelt himself preserved copies of most of his letters between 1901 and 1905. Indeed, out of 1,727 letters that Morison prints only 73 were not in the Roosevelt Manuscripts themselves. Of these twenty-three were holographs, nine of them to John Hay. Copies of forty-nine typed letters reproduced in these volumes were somehow not preserved in the Roosevelt papers. Of these Morison found eight in printed sources and the rest in widely diversified manuscript collections of public figures. For large numbers of letters Morison found both the original and Roosevelt's copy. He did diligently search out Roosevelt items in other collections. It is a great pity then that he wrote "Roosevelt Mss." at the top of 1,654 out of the 1,727 letters because a copy was in Roosevelt's letterpress copybooks, instead of giving the reader the location of the *original* letter in the recipient's papers or some miscellaneous collection. Citation of the original outside the Roosevelt papers would have been preferable. Many readers could more conveniently use a recipient's collection. It would have been sounder scholarship to reproduce the original rather than a copy. Roosevelt's letters are full of emendations made as Roosevelt signed them, and while the letterpress copies of this period usually preserved these changes, carbon copies in the later period did not. Any scholar knows instances where the copy retained and the letter received are not identical. A copy in the Roosevelt collection could have been indicated by an asterisk. In any case, the information so easy for Morison to supply but now lost would have been useful.

Again Morison and the Roosevelt family are to be commended on refraining from the censorship too many editors engage in and too many families impose. Morison has impartially printed material from which an admirer can paint a hero's tale or a critic a devastating condemnation of Roosevelt. He has included

letters about a reprimand of a powerful general named MacArthur for talking indiscreetly in 1903 about the imminence of war with Germany. Roosevelt's jingoism, his violent dislikes, his most vituperative denunciations of prominent men are published unsoftened. Unfavorable comments on his friend John Hay, long sealed from view in a more detailed version, are here published in short version. Frankly critical views of Japan and Britain that he sometimes expressed, his clashes with reformers like Oswald G. Villard and Ray S. Baker, his shrewd analyses of the kaiser and the kaiser's "pipe dreams," his childlike love of fighting and killing are all there. Again Morison publishes all letters in full without deletions. This printing of the whole truth, sound as it is unusual, gives these volumes value that few edited works have.

Yet these volumes, even more than the earlier ones, suffer from their peculiar scope. The usefulness of a collection so large is questionable unless it is to be large enough to be inclusive. One cannot quarrel too seriously with Morison's criteria of selection. Certainly one can do without numerous categories of repetitive minor letters. Yet, even though no one of them was particularly significant, the omission of a number of letters to Tom Platt and one each to Bishop and Norton Goddard about Platt deprives the reader of the cumulative impression the whole series would have given of relations with Platt. Morison under his formula printed two typical letters to Boies Penrose on patronage and omitted thirteen others. There was nothing in the other thirteen except more of what was in the two. Yet the cumulative effect of the fifteen consulting Penrose was completely lost by the selective process. Of the letters to Lodge forty-six that seemed to this reviewer important for a life of Roosevelt were omitted. They dealt with legislation concerning ship subsidies, the tariff, trusts, and the Philippines, politics in New York, appointments of Negroes, Southerners, a Roughrider, consuls, Justice Holmes, and a brother-in-law of Lodge whom the senator was promoting. They discussed Charles XI, Condé, Sheridan, the post-office scandals, and such foreign policy questions as the Alaskan boundary, reciprocity, Cuba, the Virgin Islands. The omitted letters gave Roosevelt's views on the South, Negroes, a Panama railroad, Catholics. One told of Root's visit to Morgan early in the coal strike. Others gave Roosevelt's opinion of Jusserand, and his violent feelings toward Mugwumps such as Charles Francis Adams and Moorfield Storey.

Under whatever subject one looks, letters important to a student of that question are missing. Five letters to Booker Washington and four about Roosevelt's relations with him were omitted. So, too, were five about diplomatic appointments and one about the choice of Holmes for the Supreme Court. Roosevelt's desire for a large Navy and his consigning of people to the Ananias Club are well known, but no one would wish to write on these subjects without seeing three letters on each subject that are omitted. The same is true of three letters on the Northern Securities case, five indicating Roosevelt's desire to avoid the tariff issue, six evidencing closeness to businessmen, two elaborating his conception of

himself as a defender of the status quo against socialism, two interesting letters insisting on democracy in the Army, two on American cruelty in the Philippines, and six expressing his views on the Colorado coal strike. Omitted, too, are three letters important to understanding Roosevelt's handling of Jews in politics, six on the Jewish problems in Russia and the Balkans, two showing his concern about anarchists, five that illumine his views on the Negro, and one eloquently pleading against raising the Catholic issue in politics. Although there are many letters on the Portsmouth conference, Morison omits two on the calling of it and fourteen on its meetings that any scholar studying the matter would need to see, several of them highly confidential statements. No one that wished to know Roosevelt's part in the Panama revolution could afford to overlook twelve letters not printed, including two that indicate the use of Army men to gather information in the territory of a friendly power. Similarly a student would want to see one discarded letter on business interests in Venezuela, five on European intervention in Venezuela, and a confidential one to John Hay in which Roosevelt denounces the Colombians as "jack rabbits" whom we may have to teach a lesson. Six letters, all of them interesting, indicating Roosevelt's basic friendliness toward Japan and his liking for Japanese are missing. So, too, are four revealing attitudes toward Britain during the period and twelve specifically discussing the bitter Alaskan boundary dispute. Likewise missing are six letters on Roosevelt's relations with the kaiser. It is a pity to omit ten letters in Roosevelt's most vigorous language expressing his views on reformers in general, Mugwumps in particular, and Schurz, *Collier's*, and that "infamous sheet" the New York *Evening Post* by name. A pity, too, not to include six letters on his reprimand of General Miles for persistently abusing his military position "in the interest of the enemies of decent administration." Interesting, also, would have been the long letter of protest over the kind of "foul and . . . hideous . . . unspeakable lowness" that "triumphed in the person of Vardaman" whose "kennel filth . . . the foulest New York black-guard would not dare to use on the stump." A number of short letters were omitted that in themselves were not of great importance but that, because they reveal Roosevelt's relations with men of great importance, would have been useful: for example, one to Carnegie, three to and six about Hanna, and five giving Roosevelt's opinion of Hay. One letter comparing Bryan and Parker in a manner favorable to Bryan would have been interesting. Because of future quarrels with these people five letters to Harriman and three about him, one about Tillman, two to the Storers, and four about Joe Cannon would seem important. This is especially true of a friendly letter to La Follette and another strongly supporting him in 1904, four letters to and one about Woodrow Wilson indicating the friendliest of relations, and a letter to Wilson in 1902 expressing great admiration for his kind of scholarship because it "tends to statesmanship." Lengthy as these volumes are for a reader interested in Roosevelt, the student of any subject here included will still have to go to the manuscripts. In view

of this, the reviewer wonders whether the vast amount of money spent on their publication could not have been better used unless enough more had been added to make the publication useful to scholars.

These volumes give an excellent picture of the sort of man Theodore Roosevelt was. They portray his boundless energy, his passionate likes and dislikes, his humanness, his tumultuous life, his wide and catholic interests that made him not only a master of practical politics and a statesman but a hunter, a soldier, a naturalist, a sportsman, a historian, an essayist, and something of an authority on naval techniques and strategy, on literature from Icelandic to American poetry, on art and architecture, on domestic problems and international politics. The letters reveal a man that found time while leading the busiest of public lives to be a devoted father and husband, a tireless campaigner, a spellbinding preacher of morals, democracy, Americanism, and the vigorous life, one of the best conversationalists of his day, a voracious reader, a writer of letters rarely equaled in mass production or in sustained good quality, and an essayist who commanded higher pay than most writers of his time. Few had so many or such varied friends. Though they still leave important questions unanswered concerning his relations with the kaiser over Venezuela, these letters paint vivid pictures of Roosevelt's handling of the coal strike, the Northern Securities prosecution, and the campaign of 1904, his efforts to get legislation through a Congress much more conservative than he was, his solving of Philippine and Cuban problems, his taking Panama, his high-handed settling of the Alaskan boundary dispute, his adroitness in persuading both Russia and Japan to accept a treaty that neither wanted, his maneuvering of France, Britain, and Germany into putting pressure on Japan and Russia and settling the Moroccan controversy. Theodore Roosevelt symbolized for countless Americans the best in America of his day; he balanced rival interest groups in a "fair deal" for all; he understood before most Americans America's involvement in the world and participated actively in world affairs. In these letters he exasperates and charms, he provokes criticism and admiration. Withal he is always intensely American and never dull.

University of Wisconsin

HOWARD K. BEALE

THE CALIFORNIA PROGRESSIVES. By *George E. Mowry*. [Chronicles of California Series.] (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1951. Pp. xi, 349. \$6.00.)

THE California progressive movement was not without its paradoxical aspects. Organized to fight the long-established Southern Pacific machine, the progressive program was devised and put across by a "small inner group" that selected the reform governor and his supporting ticket by "undemocratic methods."

The progressives opposed both capital and labor wherever either was politically powerful. Essentially middle class, they were largely either professional

(newspapermen and lawyers were particularly active) or independent businessmen. The movement began in 1906, when bipartisan groups in San Francisco and Los Angeles organized to gain control of their city governments. In 1910 the progressives elected Hiram Johnson governor.

They dominated California politics for six years. In that time they adopted an initially impressive reform program, slowed up their reforms in order to consolidate their political machine, were rent by personal bickerings, and finally slid into ineffectuality, partly as a result of the change in American thinking during and after World War I, and partly because of the temperamental difficulties of Hiram Johnson.

This, in substance, is the story that emerges from Professor George Mowry's book, *The California Progressives*, the most comprehensive account of the California progressive movement so far written. In it he has had to tell a story involving a number of personalities, many of them of interest only to the specialist in western history. He has had to describe inimical interests in conflict on points that must often strike the reader as bits of local history, and to decide what evidence is reliable and what is colored by personal rancor. These parochial differences had to be taken into account, for, although local, they often bore directly on the course of the national progressive movement. Professor Mowry has kept the strands straight and the narrative clear.

Professor Mowry has used most available major manuscript collections. He has also used the papers, interviews, and unpublished dissertation of Miss Alice Rose of Stanford University, a piece of singular good fortune for, as he says, her pioneer work is a priceless boon to other scholars. That Professor Mowry was forced to write his history without access to the Hiram Johnson Papers, thus giving us a situation comparable to a wedding without the bride, is distinctly not his fault; even so, we are left with no doubt that the man who led the California progressives to victory also demolished the movement. The strongest part of the book, however, lies in the first seven chapters, where the greatest amount of manuscript material is. As a whole, the book relies heavily on the Lissner-Rowell-Dickson Papers. Hence, the author has understandably absorbed many of the prejudices of the group that supported and elected Hiram Johnson. This bias could have been modified by using the Scripps newspapers, particularly before Scripps swung to Wilson; Irving Martin's Stockton newspaper; and *La Follette's Magazine*. (In passing, one wishes that the author had brought out that piece of then-common knowledge: that in 1912 there would have been no La Follette campaign in California if it had not been for Rudolph Spreckels.) Again, one feels that in the account of the 1914 election, Professor Mowry has not given sufficient emphasis to the point of view of the radical group and has thus left partially unexplained much of the bad feeling between the Johnson and Heney forces. The Kent Collection at Yale contains considerable colorful information on this point. Two confidential letters from Heney—one to Gifford Pinchot on January 20, 1914, and one to Theodore Roosevelt on September 26,

1914—make his position clear, while additional information is available in the Gifford and Amos Pinchot papers at the Library of Congress.

These reservations by no means destroy the main point: this book contains a large amount of material that is otherwise disparate, difficult of access, and unorganized. *The California Progressives* will undoubtedly be standard for a long time.

The University of California Press has done its usual meticulous job, but several misprints jar the eye. Is not the novelist "Boyensen" really Boyesen? The Bard Collection is at Hueneme. Walter Houser habitually spelled his name as it is printed here, and Raymond Robin's name contains only one "b." Otherwise the book is accurate as to proofreading and distinguished as to format.

Washington, D. C.

HELENE MAXWELL HOOKER

WASHINGTON COMMAND POST: THE OPERATIONS DIVISION. By Ray S. Cline. [United States Army in World War II: The War Department.] (Washington: Department of the Army, 1951. Pp. xvi, 413. \$3.25.)

THE Operations Division, War Department General Staff, was organized in March, 1942, as the successor to the War Plans Division. Its creation was one of the most important parts of the reorganization of the army and had a decisive influence upon the remainder of the war since it enabled the Chief of Staff to exercise direct and effective control of the American armies in all theaters. Actually the Operations Division was a whole staff in itself, co-ordinating the other general staff sections, the three great divisions of the army—the Army Air Forces, Army Ground Forces, and Army Service Forces—and the overseas commands. It had this authority because General Marshall insisted upon it, but in carrying out his instructions the division encountered jealousies and rivalries that are as old as the army itself. The other staff divisions, theoretically on a parity with the Operations Division, resented its over-riding power, and the commanders of the operating and administrative agencies of the Army believed in some instances that their independence was threatened. The division, however, fulfilled the purpose of its creation, and the results, according to Dr. Cline's views, justified its existence.

In recent years the Department of the Army has been once again reorganized. The other General Staff divisions have been strengthened and the Operations Division weakened, so that now co-ordination of the Army's multifarious activities can be accomplished only at the level of the Chief of Staff and his deputies. The author of the book refrains from critical comment on this decision, merely describing it, but it seems evident that he believes it was inadvisable and that in case of another war some such agency as the Operations Division of World War II must be created.

This discussion is too complicated for one not well versed in Army staff practices to enter. And yet it seems evident to even the rankest amateur on any staff that there is an inherent and necessary tendency for the operations officer—G-3 on

most staffs—to assume a directing and controlling influence upon the other sections. The chief of staff of a division, corps, or army is compelled constantly to remind the G-3 that he is but a deputy chief of staff like the other section heads, but the sheer requirements of his task force him frequently to ignore this fact.

The author of this book is not primarily concerned with this aspect of the problem of the Operations Division. He has written an institutional biography of the division and of its predecessor, War Plans. He describes how the men who made up these divisions did their work, not what they did—except occasionally as illustration—because the true picture of their accomplishments is to be found in the other volumes of the Department of the Army history which will be concerned with strategic plans and operations. The book, as a consequence, has little to interest the casual reader on the war, whose concern is primarily in battles and operations, but it will be invaluable to any serious student seeking to understand the complicated problems of decision and command in the areas of army responsibility.

Dr. Cline has written what is very frankly and honestly described as administrative history. He has accepted the challenge of what is on the surface the least interesting and rewarding of historical enterprises. But he has demonstrated that this superficial judgment is not necessarily accurate. He has written not only with clarity and vigor but also with enthusiasm and interest. Future historians will be in his debt and also the army officers for whom it is the author's hope that he has provided "information in which they may find precedents and analogies bearing on various possible solutions of their own problems in the future."

University of the South

THOMAS P. GOVAN

CROSS-CHANNEL ATTACK. By *Gordon A. Harrison*. [United States Army in World War II: The European Theater of Operations.] (Washington: Department of the Army. 1951. Pp. xvii, 519. \$5.25.)

For a variety of reasons, wars became the subject of official historiography during the second half of the nineteenth century. Moltke and his Great General Staff with a historical section took over from Thiers, so to speak, watching not only over the "applicatory" side of such writings—the lessons to be derived for future strategy and tactics—but also over political tactfulness: the largely nominal position of the supreme warlord must be guarded, no important toes stepped on, hence the always discreet treatment of *limoging*, the relief of commanding officers from their posts (this had to be done in Normandy in 1944). To preserve harmony, chapters of such histories would be submitted before publication to war commanders and their chiefs of staff for comment and criticism. The first official war history in the United States was the Civil War *Official Records*, which were assembled as a vast mass of materials for everybody to make use of. The official history of the United States Army in the First World War was at least remarkable for the slowness with which it appeared. Planning for the official history of the

Second World War began almost as early as other preparations and on a corresponding scale: the Department of the Army is planning for approximately one hundred volumes, putting on the author of the single volume and the reviewer the terrible task of having to deal with one per cent of the whole. While in the present case the author would have acquitted himself well in contributing his part, the reviewer might voice his own hope that the whole will equal at least the sum of its parts. What he misses after having read not only this one but several of the first volumes is a certain depth, something due either to the restriction imposed by the "project" on the authors or to the unfamiliarity of authors and supervisors with earlier war history, whose old and recurrent themes, such as *canons sur mer* vs. *canons sur terre* and others, remain unnoticed as perennials. The danger is, briefly, fragmentization of the totality of total war, as well as its isolation from other wars.

The treatment accorded to Operation Overlord is divided three fifths between a political-strategic-logistic part, covering Allied preparations, and two fifths a tactical one, dealing with events from June 6 to the fall of Cherbourg. That is proportioning as it ought to be, though it reveals a striking hiatus: the impression the reader gains is that little tactical planning extended beyond the coastline, that the forces put ashore found themselves on their own, and unprepared in particular for the terrain over which they were to advance—the hedgerows and fields of Normandy—encountering obstacles that had to be overcome by improvisations and heavy casualties, obstacles and fragmentation that make the narrative of the struggle, as admitted by the author himself (p. 338), almost as incoherent as battle actually is. A splendid complement of maps, however, aids in forming a picture of the beachheads and the advance out of them, much more so than the photographic illustrations.

Participating in the turn toward total war—winner taking all that is left, including the enemy's records, something incidentally that raises the question of their return to him once he is no longer an enemy—American historiography finds itself in possession of the record from both sides, as at the close of the Civil War, enabling it, materially speaking, to write better, more comprehensively. This challenge of becoming bi-riparian, so to speak, is on the whole well met in the volume under review: the use made of German materials and the treatment given to the German side is generally commendable, though one would wish that at least a trial balance of casualty totals for both sides during the period had been struck, allowing that comparison which older battle monographs used to provide. One could also wish for explanations, in the bibliographical annex, about "captive writing," the writing done by German commanders and staff members during their prolonged American captivity. What directives were they given, if any? Since more materials of this sort are to be used in volumes to come, such an explanation would still be not too late.

The great Balzac intended to write a novel, "La bataille," dealing with Essling and what followed:

In this [as he told *l'Etrangère*] I undertake to introduce you to all the horrors, all the beauties of a battle field. . . . I want the reader to see from his fauteuil the landscape, the accidents of the terrain, the mass of men, the strategic moves . . . and feel behind this corporality Napoleon whom I shall not show, or not before the evening when he crosses the Danube in a barge. . . . You shall read this as through the smell of powder, and when the book is read, you shall believe you had seen all this with your own eyes and you ought to remember the battle as if you had been present.

Nothing of that art is here, and little is attempted. But the novelist also wrote: "*Organisation c'est un mot de l'Empire*," and that is the *mot* for the present kind and piece of war history: it deals so largely with organization and is well arranged for that.

Sherman, Connecticut

ALFRED VAGTS

THE ARMY AIR FORCES IN WORLD WAR II. Volume III, EUROPE: ARGUMENT TO V-E DAY, JANUARY 1944 TO MAY 1945. Edited by Wesley Frank Craven, Princeton University, and James Lea Cate, University of Chicago. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1951. Pp. xxxix, 948. \$8.50.)

THIS distinguished volume in the history of the Army Air Forces describes the final achievement of victory over the Germans. The thesis of the book, in the words of the editors, is that air power did not win the war but that the Allies could not have gained the victory at all without the air ascendancy gained by the AAF and RAF and that the victory was won more rapidly because Anglo-American air power was superior to the German in everything.

Before the Allies could invade the Continent, the German Air Force had to be knocked out, at least to the point where it could not endanger the land forces under Eisenhower. To achieve this objective, the AAF and RAF launched the great project "Pointblank" to destroy the Luftwaffe by attacking the sources in Germany which produced it. Great raids were thrown at air frame and ball-bearing plants deep in Germany, targets of enemy strength which only the Air Forces could strike. In the "Big Week" February 19, 1944, vividly described by contributor Arthur B. Ferguson, over 3,800 bombers from the Eighth and Fifteenth Air Forces dropped almost 10,000 tons of bombs. Finally, the Allies gained their purpose. The GAF suffered "decisive defeat," brought about primarily by attrition of German fighter forces in the air and on the ground and by attacks on German production which vitally delayed the expansion of the German fighter force. Allied air supremacy was won and never lost. After defeating the GAF, the strategic bombers shifted their devastating blows to such targets as oil and transportation, slowly pulverizing Germany's industrial potential.

In the Normandy invasion, the AAF dispatched 8,000 missions on D-Day. Enemy fighter opposition was almost nonexistent. With the air victory already won, the Air Forces devoted their activities to furnishing close support to the

ground troops and to interdicting the battlefield by attacking bridges and railroads and, when these were destroyed, motor transport. The editors label the interdiction program as Air's most important contribution to the offensive and say it was "spectacularly successful." Well they might. As an example of its effectiveness, two German units traveled 1,300 miles by train from Poland to Metz without too much difficulty. But it took them as long to make the 200 miles from Metz to the front as to come from the East. An entry of June 11 in the war diary of the German Seventh Army gloomily stated that all troop movements and supply traffic "must be considered as completely cut off."

Four excellent chapters, written mostly by Albert F. Simpson, discuss air operations in Italy and southern France. They deal with the Anzio beachhead, Rome, the invasion of southern France, and the battle of northern Italy, and are noteworthy for the practical principles for the future they draw from the experiences at the beachhead and in the bombing of Cassino.

On the sometimes disputed issue of the effect of strategic bombing on Germany, the contributors take a moderate but strong stand. John E. Fagg states that by the end of February, 1945, Germany had ceased to be an industrial nation. The destruction of Germany's oil supplies, he says, was particularly decisive. Because of the destruction of Nazi industrial might the Reich was paralyzed and even without the ground invasion could not have continued the war. With the ground invasion, German defeat was quick and certain.

Several chapters in the book deal with "supporting operations." The reviewer found of especial interest the two by Joseph W. Angell called "Crossbow," dealing with the attempts of the Air Forces to demolish the launching sites of the V-1 and V-2 weapons.

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T. HARRY WILLIAMS

THE FORRESTAL DIARIES. Edited by *Walter Millis*. With the Collaboration of *E. S. Duffield*. (New York: Viking Press. 1951. Pp. xxix, 581. \$5.00.)

Few men in public life have served their country as intelligently, wisely, and conscientiously as James Forrestal. In high office for almost nine years, he was successively Undersecretary of the Navy, Secretary of the Navy, and finally Secretary of Defense. Not only did he have a high sense of personal integrity, but in a somewhat old-fashioned way he was a patriot who believed his country's interests should be his first concern. These Roman virtues are rare in modern times when so many substitute for them a vague internationalism for whose sake ordinary moral standards can be surrendered.

From the time that Forrestal became Secretary of the Navy in 1944 until shortly before his death in 1949 he dictated memorandums on various conferences that he attended and on conversations that he had had with stimulating people. These notes were intended to be the basis for a book that he would write after he left office. Unfortunately he was never able to fulfill this intention. At his re-

quest these records were transferred to the possession of the White House when he resigned as Secretary of Defense. Now they are published under the editorship of Walter Millis in collaboration with Eugene Duffield as *The Forrestal Diaries*. To make these notes understandable, the editors have supplied a connected interpretative account of political events as Forrestal probably saw them during the period covered by the book.

The task of editing this collection of notes was an unusually difficult one. In a sense it was a salvaging operation. Occasionally in rare but brilliant passages, sometimes with biting wit, Forrestal set down his own thoughts but for the most part he simply recorded other people's comments. To an unusual degree, therefore, the success or failure of the book to express Forrestal's views depended upon the editors. The assignment here, unlike most editorial jobs, was not merely to select material which in itself would present a connected account but rather to provide a framework over which these scattered notes might be draped.

Fortunately the two editors were unusually well qualified for their task. Millis was assistant chief editorial writer for the New York *Herald Tribune*, and had lived and worked in Washington during the period covered by the *Diaries*. Duffield, now associate publisher of the Cincinnati *Inquirer*, was one of Forrestal's principal staff assistants from 1942 to 1947. In that capacity he saw Forrestal many times a day, frequently accompanied him to conferences and read his correspondence as it flowed through the office. Consequently, he had had a good opportunity to know and to understand Forrestal's thoughts.

The *Diaries* contain much of interest to the historian and the political scientist. Comments on President Truman's cabinet meetings, the genesis of the Morgenthau Plan for postwar Germany, and the recognition of Israel are illuminating. Forrestal's brief pen pictures of his colleagues in the administration make interesting reading. Moreover, two great political problems are followed in some detail. The first concerns the breach between the United States and Russia in the postwar period and the second, the unification of the armed forces. Both instances add to Forrestal's stature. His concern about Russian intentions at least a year before they were made a matter of public discussion and his endeavor to induce the President to comment publicly on the deterioration of United States relations with Russia indicated an intelligent analysis of what was to become the principal problem in America's postwar foreign relations. Likewise his approach to the subject of unification of the armed services showed a high degree of statesmanship and absence of emotionalism. Furthermore, Forrestal's concern with these problems and many others of similar nature indicates the close relationship between American foreign policies and national security as well as the important role that a Secretary of Defense can play in formulating foreign policy.

In the opinion of this reviewer Millis and Duffield have succeeded remarkably well in the task they set for themselves. The *Diaries* are a readable, intelligent contribution to history. The editors merit a sincere "well done."

BIRTH OF A WORLD: BOLIVAR IN TERMS OF HIS PEOPLES. By
Waldo Frank. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1951. Pp. xvi, 432. \$5.00.)

THERE are numerous biographies in English of the great South American liberator, Simón Bolívar, of various degrees of excellence. Three of the more important have been published within the past four years, by Gerhard Masur, Salvador de Madariaga, and the writer before us. Masur's biography is by a highly competent, meticulous historical scholar; Madariaga is more man of letters, confident in his prejudices, than historian; Waldo Frank approaches the problem with something of the sweep of a philosopher and the insights of a poet.

Waldo Frank, better than either of his contemporaries, knows at first hand the land and the people of whom he writes, and he recreates in vibrant prose the physical environment in which the Bolivarian epic is cast. The river, the forest, the jungle, or again the Indian, the Negro, and the mestizo, personify in his pages a primitive world of man and nature, of which the Liberator is the destined savior. They supply the backdrop for his spectacular career. The picture we receive of Bolívar himself is at times a bit obscure, at other times illumined by flashes of insight, but the story is everywhere enveloped by a poetic and prophetic fervor which makes it more a rhapsodic invocation than a sober work of history.

Bolívar was born an aristocrat, a native of Venezuela, versatile, magnetic, rhetorical; egotistical, but of great personal charm and dynamic leadership, and of boundless energy and persistence; a vehement son of the tropics, who combined great emotionalism with an intellect of vast powers. Throughout the struggle for independence he sought valiantly to galvanize the inert colonial masses, to make them feel themselves consciously Americans—and this Waldo Frank regards as his "supreme achievement."

As might perhaps be anticipated of a book largely of subjective interpretation, the mere historian finds it replete with exaggerations and obscurities. Some of this may be charged to poetic license. Some of the writer's insights seem far-fetched, his logic is not always clear, and fantasy often takes the place of cool analysis. In spite of an impressive bibliography, a more careful research, or a stricter regard for fact, would have averted many blunders. The book may not be the most appropriate for the uninitiated reader. It will be understood best and most warmly appreciated by those already familiar with the career of the Liberator and its setting.

Waldo Frank has enjoyed in the Hispanic countries a fame far greater than in his own, ever since in the 1920's he appeared before audiences in Buenos Aires and elsewhere extolling the virtues of Hispanic culture at the expense of the crude, capitalistic materialism of the United States. Latin Americans found him a man after their own heart, for here was a North American who confirmed what they had always known to be true. This new book, like some of his earlier volumes, *Virgin Spain* and *America Hispana*, is an eloquent contribution to our understanding of the Hispanic world that the author loves so dearly. It is an

intuitive evocation of Bolívar and his times, a fascinating piece of interpretative literature, rather than sober history. In it the author offers us the most sympathetic and stimulating, if not always the most strictly accurate, presentation of the Liberator in English.

Harvard University

C. H. HARING

* * * *Other Recent Publications* * * *

General History

DAS BILD VOM MENSCHEN IM POLITISCHEN DENKEN NICCOLÒ MACHIAVELLI. By *Lauri Huovinen*. [Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae, Ser. B, Tom. 742.] (Helsinki, Finnish Academy of Science and Letters, 1951, pp. 169.) In any discussion of Machiavelli's political ideas one of the central problems has always been the question of how he conceived of the basic nature of man. The most variegated answers to this question have been given as Dr. Huovinen shows in his very informative bibliographical introduction. In his own investigation of the problem Dr. Huovinen starts with the observation that "Machiavelli's remarks concerning man are characterised by much generalising" (p. 27). His concept of man "did not result from inferences, through progressing, inductively, from the particular to the general, but represents an axiom" (p. 41). In Dr. Huovinen's opinion these "generalisations concerning man prove Machiavelli to be a political thinker because for the new doctrine of the state, which he had in mind, he needed as a basic presupposition a rule which embraces all men and makes it unnecessary in the realm of politics to take into consideration the citizen as an individual, isolated and independent of the state" (pp. 43 f.). Therefore Machiavelli assumed as the basis of his political theory the concept that man is essentially bad. The most interesting point in the treatment of this "*theoretische Menschenbild*" is Dr. Huovinen's observation of the hitherto less emphasized fact that Machiavelli regarded "*ambizione*" as the most powerful impulse in man's life. By stressing so strongly human ambition as "one of the most crucial political factors" (p. 64) Machiavelli developed an idea which was entirely non-Christian (p. 69), as well as different from the ideas of the other Italian humanists (pp. 60 ff.). However, according to Dr. Huovinen, this theoretical concept of man offers only one side of Machiavelli's thought. For he declares that when Machiavelli had to apply his general ideas to concrete questions (e.g., the establishment and the observation of the laws, the active participation of the people in the political life and in the defense of the state, or the questions of morality and education), he fell back upon the opposite concept of the original goodness of man as it had been held by Aristotle and others. Thus Dr. Huovinen finds "an evident contradiction between the theoretical concept of man and its practical application" and states explicitly that "Machiavelli employs two different concepts of man" (p. 102). He does not deny this "lack of consistency which has always rendered difficult the understanding of Machiavelli" (p. 163); but he sees its explanation in "the great Florentine's love of country, so passionate that he sacrificed everything to it" (p. 162). Dr. Huovinen's thesis of "the double-faced aspect of Machiavelli's concept of man" (p. 160) is original and stimulating in many ways, but taken as a whole it seems to raise more questions than provide a really conclusive answer.

THEODOR E. MOMMSEN, *Princeton University*

THEY SAW IT HAPPEN: EYEWITNESS REPORTS OF GREAT EVENTS. Edited by *Louis L. Snyder*, Associate Professor of History, College of the City of New York, and *Richard B. Morris*, Professor of History, Columbia University. (Harrisburg, Pa., Stackpole, 1951, pp. xxv, 445, \$5.00.) This is a companion volume to *A Treasury of Great Reporting*, brought out in 1949 by the same editors. The latter volume was restricted to the writings of modern professional reporters, whereas the present volume covers the period from the battle of Armageddon (1479 B.C.) to the Kefauver crime in-

vestigation (1951) and includes nonprofessional eyewitnesses. All of the accounts included in the present volume were written by persons who were present and, for the most part, recorded their impressions at, or near, the time when the event happened. This volume is different from most source books. It does not include important historical documents or reports of investigations of social, economic, or political conditions. Many of the selections are not easily available elsewhere, and many of them would not be included in the traditional type of source book. The criterion was not so much the relative importance of the incident in history as the importance of the account as an example of good reporting. The volume includes 105 written accounts and 30 illustrations. Each account is preceded by a brief introduction giving the background of the story and important facts regarding the author. The criticism or interpretation of the account is then left to the reader. Although there may be questions in the reader's mind as to why certain accounts were included and others not included, the editors have produced an attractive, interesting, and important volume. The selections are, for the most part, not more than two or three pages in length. This fact adds to its interest for the general reader who can give only short periods to his reading. Moreover, there is great variety in the types of writing which also adds to the interest and value of the volume. Only one error was noted. On page 299 the date 1888 should be 1869.

W. P. SHORTRIDGE, *West Virginia University*

CAPE HORN TO THE PACIFIC: THE RISE AND DECLINE OF AN OCEAN HIGHWAY. By *Raymond A. Rydell*. (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1952, pp. ix, 213, \$4.00.) Although affording as much nasty weather as any major ocean route, the passage around Cape Horn was used extensively by merchantmen, whalers, and men-of-war bound from the United States to various parts of the Pacific from the late eighteenth until the early twentieth century. In the well-proportioned chapters of this book, Professor Raymond A. Rydell of Los Angeles State College describes the uses of this route beginning with the exploring and punitive expeditions of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, and continuing through the voyages of fur traders bound for the Northwest Coast and China, hide droghers heading for California, whalers, missionary expeditions for the Pacific islands, ships carrying gold-seekers to California, clippers with cargoes of express freight, and naval vessels, to the sail and steam bulk cargo carriers of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The book is an expansion of a doctoral dissertation written at the University of California at Los Angeles and is based on extensive work in libraries on both coasts of the United States. The notes, located in inconvenient fashion at the end of the text, contain much valuable information, as does the impressive bibliography. For a study based on such a rich collection of sources, the 154 pages of text seem surprisingly brief. Although the book is well constructed and written in attractive fashion, the reader finishes with the feeling that some of the chapters do not go much beyond available secondary materials and that the wealth of Mr. Rydell's research is not adequately revealed. The treatment of the period after the California gold rush is especially disappointing. In following ships past the Horn to their ultimate destinations and in pointing out something of the economic, political, and cultural significance of their missions, the author has written what is in some ways a general, albeit incomplete, maritime history of the Pacific Ocean.

JOHN HASKELL KEMBLE, *Pomona College*

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Ancient History

T. Robert S. Broughton¹

HELLENISTIC CIVILISATION. By *W. W. Tarn*, Hon. Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. Third Edition, revised by the author and *G. T. Griffith*, Fellow of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge. (London, Edward Arnold; New York, Longmans, Green, 1952, pp. xi, 372, \$4.75.) The first edition (1927) of this book popularized a little-known period for the English reader. In Tarn's hands, the Hellenistic Age (323-30 B.C.) received both a brilliant and a comprehensive treatment: government in Greece, Egypt, and Asia, together with the social and economic background, literature, art, science, philosophy, and religion were covered. A second edition appeared in 1930. Because of the advances in scholarship since that time—excavations and other discoveries, and a vast outpouring of special studies and monographs in many languages—another edition has obviously been needed. In the new preface Tarn says that "while much has been revised, added to, recast, or rewritten in the attempt to get it more nearly up to date, there is also a good deal which has not been altered; it is a new edition, and in no sense a new book." He adds that Griffith has "pulled the labouring oar throughout." I have not compared this edition with its predecessor word for word but rather paragraph for paragraph. Twenty new, or essentially new, paragraphs have been inserted, thirty-five others have new beginnings or endings, and additional changes (often merely stylistic) have been made here and there. The most numerous changes probably occur in the chapters on Asia and Egypt, but chapter VII ("Trade and Exploration") gives a fair sample of the character of the revision as a whole. It is introduced, as well it might be, by this footnote: "The principal work is now Rostovtzeff, *Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World*, which covers the whole field." Far from being "up to date," however, the chapter is practically the same as before; of the chapter's 245 footnotes, only four refer to Rostovtzeff's monumental work (1941). The chief strength of this edition, nevertheless, is the large number of extra references, a very valuable contribution. A "new feature" is the four maps, which are conventional if not poor (the one on page 242 shows three sites without their "box"). The list of general works contains all the titles of the previous edition, except two, adds a dozen new ones, but omits (as does the text) Magie's great and extremely pertinent *Roman Rule in Asia Minor* (1950; Tarn dates his preface to "Midsummer, 1951"). This new edition will be indispensable, because it has no competitor. But what an opportunity Griffith has missed! Here are the three centuries following Alexander's death, 1930 model, set in new type.

C. A. ROBINSON, JR., *Brown University*

THE THEODOSIAN CODE AND NOVELS AND THE SIRMUNDIAN CONSTITUTIONS. A Translation with Commentary, Glossary, and Bibliography by

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

Clyde Pharr, in Collaboration with *Theresa Sherrer Davidson* and *Mary Brown Pharr*. With an Introduction by C. Dickerman Williams. [The Corpus of Roman Law: A Translation, with Commentary, of all the Source Material of Roman Law, Volume I.] (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1952, pp. xxvi, 643, \$20.00.) Do we still believe that our history begins on the banks of Nile and Euphrates? Or does the last meeting of the American Historical Association, at which there was (for the first time in forty years or more, I believe) no session devoted to ancient history, signalize the fact that we have consigned historians of antiquity, along with their subject, to the past? If we continue the current myopic shortening of historical horizons, books like the one here under review are doomed to the arcane limbo of unvisited library stacks. But if we revert to the long view on which we used once to insist, then, since the ancient languages are no longer part of the equipment of the historian, the years ahead of us should call forth a whole series of translations of source materials, produced by the few to meet the need of the many. The Theodosian Code is a compilation and condensation of the constitutions (enactments) of the Roman emperors from Constantine the Great to Theodosius II, or 313-438 A.D. It is a logical choice for the first volume in this projected series, not only because it was the first official codification of Roman imperial law but also because it has never before been translated into any modern language. In this handsome, huge volume, the product of many years' labor with contributions from many hands, the editors have included also the novels (new constitutions) of 438-468 A.D.; the sixteen constitutions of 333-425 discovered and published in 1631 by Jacques Sirmond, ten of which are found in condensed form in the Code; and the record, discovered in 1820, of the meeting of the Roman senate on December 25, 438, at which the completion of the Code was announced and Theodosius was dutifully acclaimed with prolonged and frenzied shouts of adulation. The historian will find here rich material for study or for browsing: Constantine's famous edict of 332 binding the cultivator to the soil, his pronouncements furthering the principle of hereditary occupations, and a host of other familiar and unfamiliar topics, all made accessible by an extensive index. While differences of opinion may exist on points of interpretation or of style—for example, is current idiom really so far removed from Latinity that we need to say Augustuses for Augusti?—the translators have achieved a notable success in providing, with only occasional lapses, a clear and readable version of an original whose legal fullness of expression can lead only too easily to awkward or cumbersome English. This is an achievement in which all who participated may take justifiable pride, and for which all who use the book will be duly grateful.

NAPHTALI LEWIS, *Brooklyn College*

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Medieval History

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THE MIDDLE AGES IN THE WEST: A STUDY OF EUROPEAN UNITY. By the Rt. Hon. Sir *Henry Slessor*. (Reprint; London, Hutchinson; New York, Macmillan, 1951, pp. 252, \$4.50.) The peoples of western Europe, now being urged to form economic and political union, should consider the bonds that held them together in the Middle Ages. For the materialistic interests that draw them toward unity today do not promise to be as effective as the common religious faith that formerly was the basis of a "common Catholic morality and metaphysic." Although it is unthinkable that modern people could revert to medieval life and mentality, the author believes that they can profit from a survey of medieval society. He does not hesitate to draw conclusions and express his own opinions. Although the "mediaevalist was a democrat" (democracy was born when Urban II made his appeal to "all Christians, high and lowly," at Clermont), the church had the right to maintain uniformity of belief. "If the Church is truly the appointed means to redeem mankind, then the work of Gregory [VII] was of almost supernatural importance, for never, since his time, have the devout hesitated to put obedience to the Church and God's Vicar (as they hold) far above all territorial, racial or political claims to their allegiance" (p. 72). It was the function of the church "to guide the secular powers into the way of peace." By the late thirteenth century the leadership of the church began to fail. The author seems to blame the people for repudiating the Augustinian ideal. "Men turned their attention and their energies to secular values," and the "papal religious cultural unity" of the Middle Ages disintegrated. "A rejection of corporate action in religion, following from repudiation of the Pope and Church, produced, first the Reformation, and, then, in search of new authority, a complete submission to national kings, in its turn engendering revolution and, finally, scepticism and the triumph of plutocracy; to be contested in our day by Communism, its antidote" (p. 144). Such samples of his opinions, certainly indicate that Sir Henry Slessor's "Christian traditionalism" must be in sympathy with the Catholic plans for a "Christian Europe."

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BREVIA PLACITATA. Edited for the Selden Society by *G. J. Turner*, of Lincoln's Inn, Barrister-at-Law. Completed with additions by *Theodore F. T. Plucknett*, Professor of Legal History in the University of London. [Publications of the Selden Society, Volume LXVI, for the year 1947.] (London, the Society, 1951, pp. clvii, 239,

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

£3 13s. 6d.) Before the accession of Edward I there were two distinct kinds of legal literature in England, the treatise deriving from the example of the civil and canon law jurists, and the textbook or manual of instruction based on the "case method" and coming "straight from the class-room" (p. 195). *Brevia Placitata* (or *Pleez en Franceys*, as one of the better manuscripts is entitled), whose original version dates from ca. 1260 and is closely related to the contemporary tracts known as *La Court de Baron* and *Le Ple de la Coroune*, is a textbook for beginners consisting of precedents for pleading in the royal courts. It consists of a collection of writs, each of which is followed by a formal encouplement or count and by a formal defense, plus occasional notes and explanations. In an age of rapidly changing law, it is not surprising that so useful a work should have been revised as the law changed, and be preserved in a large number of manuscripts in several different versions, whose complex relations are indicated in the introduction. No less interesting is the history of the present edition, announced as "in preparation" for the Selden Society in 1892, referred to by Woodbine as "in press" in 1910, partly printed and partly in proof by 1938, and finally completed with additional matter by Professor Plucknett. This delay in the appearance of an important text may, in part, be explained by the tentative nature of some of the views expressed in a long and valuable introduction in two parts which the late G. J. Turner left complete but not in final form. In the first, the editor has discussed the bearing of the tract on legal history, especially the jurisdiction of courts and the history of procedure by writ; the second provides a detailed commentary on the writs and pleadings of the tract itself, which is as instructive for the modern student of legal history as was the text for the contemporary law student. It is interesting that the "little writ of right close" does not appear in the earlier versions of the compilation, and that the precedents based on this writ and on the writ of naifty are silent about ancient demesne as distinct from any other royal manor, a fact which underlines the other evidence (e.g., p. 201) that textbooks—then as now—are so often out of date as soon as they appear. The statement that writs initiating proceedings in the Common Bench might be addressed to "bailiffs in the ancient demesnes of the crown" (p. xliii) is inaccurate. The only writ so addressed initiated proceedings in the court of a royal manor (whether ancient demesne or not). The index (perhaps the most important part of a volume published today in law French without translation) is adequate and useful, but not wholly accurate or complete (e.g., under "ancient demesne" add p. xliii, omit p. 82; under "Statute of Marlborough" p. 209 should be p. 201). ROBERT S. HOYT, *State University of Iowa*

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Modern European History

THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH

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A PROSPECT OF GRAY'S INN. By Francis Cowper, of Gray's Inn, Barrister-at-Law. (London, Stevens and Sons, 1951, pp. xiii, 187, \$7.75.) This scholarly and charming little volume traces the story from the beginnings to the present of one of the four great Inns of Court—"at once a legal university and an autonomous professional organization unique in Christendom." The book appears appropriately in the year that will see the completion and opening of the new hall, to replace that destroyed during the war. The characterization of successive eras is acute, even brilliant. "I have tried," the author says, "to present the prospect or landscape of the Inn at each period of its development within the framework of its surroundings . . ."; to combine three aspects—biography, architecture, and "the changing structure of the legal profession" (p. x). Thus architecture includes not only building in various styles on the property of the Inn but the expansion of London around it. Legal training is most effectively depicted in the exuberant dramatic age of the Tudors and early Stuarts when the Inns of Court were really law schools (chaps. II and III, "Life with the Lawyers" and "Masques and Revels"). Less is said of the later period when, instead of readings and moots, "legal education gradually went underground into the private study where personal contact in chambers transformed the law into an esoteric art secretly acquired" (p. 74). Standards were relaxed in the era of "the world of the man of taste" and "the world of the man of business," as even less hostile critics than William Cobbett and Charles Dickens admitted. The twentieth-century revival and postwar reconstruction permit a happy conclusion, with emphasis on the need to safeguard the concept of freedom under the rule of law. Not least, of course, are the tributes to the many notables of the society, intellectual ancestors of the author. To cite only a few: William Gascoigne, Henry IV's chief justice, "legendary pattern of judicial intrepidity"; Elizabeth's councillor, the great Lord Burghley; Francis Bacon, a bencher at twenty-five, who served his Inn as "a young philosopher with very clear and detailed opinions on the subject of landscape gardens" (p. 11); the eminent Sir John Holt, lord chief justice, 1689-1710; Samuel Romilly, advocate of criminal law reform; John Holker, attorney-general in Disraeli's government, whose estate

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

made possible an addition to the library; and such twentieth-century notables as Lord Birkenhead and Timothy Healy. An appendix, "Some Links with the United States of America," lists barristers who served in the colonies, such as Sir Francis Wyatt, governor of Virginia, 1621-26, and William Attwood, chief justice of New York, 1701-1702. There are some attractive illustrations and an adequate bibliography. Readers will likely agree with the foreword by the Honorable Sir William McNair that "Gray's Inn has been fortunate in her historians and Francis Cowper's book is worthy to take its place with Fortescue and Douthwaite" (p. vii).

FAITH THOMPSON, *University of Minnesota*

TORCHBEARER OF FREEDOM: THE INFLUENCE OF RICHARD PRICE ON EIGHTEENTH CENTURY THOUGHT. By *Carl B. Cone*. (Lexington, University of Kentucky Press, 1952, pp. 209, \$3.75.) Richard Price (1723-1791) was an internationally known figure of the eighteenth century who has since been lost sight of except by a few scholars. He was a dissenting preacher who traveled far from the rigid Calvinism of his Welsh ancestors. He was a mild, gentle soul whose first book, published in 1758, dealt with ethical problems and has been hailed by modern scholars as one of the best of its kind. An early interest in mathematics led him to the study of population and mortality tables; his writings in this field helped lay the foundations for life insurance. His studies of the British national debt had wide influence. In 1778, the Continental Congress offered him American citizenship and asked him to move to America to advise Congress on the problems of the public debt. However, he stayed in England, and, during the 1780's, advised the younger Pitt on the handling of the British debt. Price was involved in some of the most heated political and economic controversies of his time. His greatest contemporary fame was the result of his ardent support of the American and French Revolutions. His *Observations on the Nature of Civil Liberty* . . . , published in February, 1776, ranked him along with Thomas Paine in the eyes of Americans and at least thirty-five pamphlets were written in England to denounce it. In 1784, his *Observations on the Importance of the American Revolution* . . . was greeted warmly by Americans who wanted a stronger central government. Of its influence in America, Cone wisely says that it was effective "because it emphasized ideas already held by Americans." In England, Price continued to work for political reform. He hailed the French Revolution as the next step in the progress of mankind which had been begun by the American Revolution. He was bitterly denounced by men like Edmund Burke, and perhaps only his death in 1791 saved him from the fate of other English radicals of the time. Professor Cone uses materials not to be found in the two previous studies of Price, written in England. It should do much to put Price back where he belongs as an important and lovable figure among the eighteenth-century leaders who sought to better the lot of mankind.

MERRILL JENSEN, *University of Wisconsin*

THE CODRINGTON CORRESPONDENCE, 1743-1851. By *Robson Lowe*. (London, Robson Lowe, 1951, pp. viii, 112, xii, plates, \$3.00.) A few years ago some five hundred letters, sent mostly from Antigua or Barbuda to members in England of the Codrington family of West India fame, were found in the family mansion at Dodington. They dated between 1743 and 1851, but about three quarters were written after the years of the War for American Independence. The letters had considerable value for the historian of the Codrington plantations or of the West Indies in general. They had even greater value for the philatelist, since they abounded in hand struck "ship letter" stamps and "provisionals" and "colonials" from Antigua and other islands. None had stamps from Barbuda, but some were unique or earlier than anything pre-

viously known in their type. They were inevitably priced as a collection completely out of the reach of historians, when offered to at least one American library, and the collection has been broken up for sale to stamp collectors. Fortunately, the scholarly author of this record—which is not the sale catalogue—has historical interests in addition to being one of the foremost British stamp experts, and he has tried with obvious sincerity and intelligence to preserve some of the textual value of the letters listed in this book, while emphasizing philatelic detail. (Several chapters deal solely with relevant aspects of postal history, but will not be reviewed.) There are good indexes. The greatest “new” value would be for the historian of the little discussed island of Barbuda, a sort of Codrington fief from 1680 to nearly the end of the nineteenth century, except that letters upon Barbuda are unusually scantily described. Historians of other islands can glean more useful scraps. Whether the “mere historian” will honor the author for his intentions, or be tantalized into philateli-phobia remains a question. The textual material is about like that of a small catalogue of autographs or manuscripts which extracts or abstracts some valuable details but often mentions only that data exist, and of course leaves one wondering what was the principle of selection. This reviewer belongs to the “honor . . . his intentions” school, but hopes that in any future such case, a microfilm record may be made for deposit in a major library before the collection is dispersed. Such action would in no way impair the commercial value for philatelists, and should fully satisfy the historian.

ROLAND DENNIS HUSSEY, *University of California at Los Angeles*

THE CORRESPONDENCE OF DAVID SCOTT, DIRECTOR AND CHAIRMAN OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY, RELATING TO INDIAN AFFAIRS, 1787–1805. Volume I, 1787–1799. Volume II, 1800–1805. Edited by C. H. Philips. [Camden Third Series, Volume LXXV.] (London, Royal Historical Society, 1951, pp. xxviii, 228; xii, 229–458.) These volumes will be useful to scholars of advanced research in the period 1787–1805 in British Indian topics, English patronage, and rotten borough politics, and British reactions to the French Revolution and the career of Napoleon. Students interested in the careers of Henry Dundas of the India Board, Lord Wellesley, the governor general of India, or Jonathan Duncan, the governor of Bombay, will find it worth while to read this correspondence. The editor's introduction supplies a brief analysis of the career of David Scott, but the whole collection of 477 letters becomes more intelligible if used in conjunction with the editor's book, published in 1940, entitled *The East India Company, 1784–1834*. Upon perusing the letters, of which at least two thirds relate to patronage by which Scott saw to it that his relatives and nearest political friends and their friends were well placed in East India Company positions, it is difficult to accept the editor's description of Scott as a “fine humanitarian” (p. ix) or to see why he “deserves a place beside the acknowledged makers of British India and Britain herself” (p. ix). The correspondence between Scott and Wellesley, which, as a rule, includes the longest letters in the collection, were of greatest interest to the reviewer, since they clearly indicate why Wellesley was able to keep the College of Fort William in operation for so long despite orders to the contrary from the court of directors. The same basic reasons apply to Wellesley's imperialism, namely, that Scott pulled the strings in the India Board and in Parliament to encourage Wellesley secretly to carry on as he did in opposition to express orders from the court. To Wellesley, the College of Fort William was all important. “The College must stand or the Empire must fall” (Letter 425). Initial annoyance at discovering error of citation in sixty-nine per cent of the cross references from the introduction to the letters presently gives way to a sporting mood when one learns that the inaccurate citations are in half their number but one letter and in the other

half two letters removed from the actual letter cited. Scott's dullness of composition and his addiction to the solecism "you was" represent other mild hardships to the reader.

ELMER H. CUTTS, *Northeastern University*

THE LETTERS OF PRIVATE WHEELER. Edited and with a Foreword by Captain *B. H. Liddell Hart*. (Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1952, pp. viii, 342, \$3.75.) This volume constitutes one of the rare accounts of life in the ranks of the British army during the early nineteenth century. Wheeler enlisted in the regulars in 1809 and was invalided from the service in 1828. He had little education, but he had read the Bible and Shakespeare, and his writing is distinctive. He was the dependable infantryman whose martial achievements have received scant praise. He was well aware of the fact that he was participating in campaigns of historic significance, and he measured the humble and the great with a sharp eye for good soldiery—whether the man was a corporal or "Old Nosey" himself, the duke of Wellington. Wheeler's service covered the Walcheren Expedition, the Peninsular War, and the Battle of Waterloo. The gallantry of "the forlorn hope" or "point" in an assault, the horrors of the battlefield, and the greater horrors of the hospital all come alive in these vivid letters. Most of the letters concern the struggle against Napoleon's armies. But the later letters depict garrison life in the Grecian Isles. His descriptions of the religious ceremonies of the peoples of Malta, Corfu, and other islands are written with zest. Certainly, the most interesting aspect of Wheeler's letters is his cheerfulness in the face of a system of barbarous discipline where punishments of five hundred lashes are accepted. Yet the author of these letters was not blind to the tragedies inherent in the life. Witness the following written in 1813: "I have often been tickled in reading the General despatches of the Army, when some Lord or General or Colonel has been killed or wounded. Fame takes her trumpet and sounds it through the world that . . . Lord A—— fell in the moment of achieving some great exploit . . . Or that Colonel C—— of the General Staff of the Army had received a severe wound (Scratch, it should have been). . . . But who shall record the glorious deeds of the soldier whose lot is numbered with the thousands in the ranks who live and fight and die in obscurity." Fortunately, the brave deeds are chronicled in these letters.

ANTHONY HARRIGAN, *University of Florida*

ERNEST JONES, CHARTIST: SELECTIONS FROM THE WRITINGS AND SPEECHES OF ERNEST JONES. Introduction and Notes by *John Saville*, Lecturer in Economic History in the University College of Hull. (London, Lawrence and Wishart, 1952, pp. 284, 25s.) The writings and speeches here published have been brought together for the first time. Ernest Jones, one of the pioneers of English socialism, was a young lawyer of upper-class background who joined the Chartist movement in 1846 and rapidly won a position of importance among the more militant leaders. For a dozen years, he engaged in the agitation for the Charter, preaching "class against class," land nationalization, and similar radical doctrines. After the 1848 fiasco, he endured imprisonment, poverty, and calumny in his efforts to keep the movement alive. "He was the only *educated* Englishman among the politicians who was, at bottom, entirely on our side." So wrote Friedrich Engels to Karl Marx in 1869, on learning of Jones's death. Saville has selected the Chartist leader's representative writings and speeches, arranged them under topical headings, and prefaced them with helpful explanations. He has also provided a lengthy and valuable biographical introduction and notes which throw additional light on Jones's personality and thinking. Among other items, the notes contain pertinent extracts from the Marx-Engels correspondence and a critical analysis of Jones's treatment by the con-

temporary Chartist historian R. G. Gammage (whose *History of the Chartist Movement* was written after a bitter quarrel between the author and Jones). A detailed bibliography and a carefully compiled index are also included. This study is extremely well done and should prove of interest to students of nineteenth-century English working-class history.

SYDNEY H. ZEBEL, *Rutgers University*

ARCHIVES YEAR BOOK FOR SOUTH AFRICAN HISTORY. Fourteenth Year (1951), Volume I. Edited by *Coenraad Beyers*, Chief Archivist for the Union, *et al.* Published by Authority of the Minister of Education, Arts, and Science. (Cape Town, Cape Times for Government Printer, 1951, pp. xi, 395.) In this volume is published a dissertation by T. S. Van Rooyen for the D.Phil. degree at the University of Pretoria. The dissertation is entitled "Die Verhoudinge Tussen die Boere, Engelse en Naturelle in die Geskiedenis van die Oos-Transvaal tot 1882." It relates the story of boundary disputes, trade in arms, missionary activities, native wars, the British annexation of the Transvaal, 1877, and the war of liberation, 1880-81. Among the new material offered a considerable portion relates to the activities of Dr. Alexander Merensky, a representative of the Berlin Missionary Society, who at one time seems to have acted as an adviser to the native chief Sikukuni. The author has made good use of South African sources and he presents an impressive bibliography of other material, but it is not clear to what extent all this has been used. He writes with a strong nationalistic bias which affects his interpretation of sources and detracts from the value of his work as a contribution to South African history.

PAUL KNAPLUND, *University of Wisconsin*

A CENTURY OF BRITISH MONARCHY. By *Hector Bolitho*. (New York, Longmans, Green, 1951, pp. xii, 274, \$6.00.) It happens that this review is being written on the day, February 6, on which King George VI died, and tonight Queen Elizabeth II is winging her way back to London from Kenya, where she received the news on her royal journey toward Ceylon, Australia, and New Zealand. Already the traditional and stately procedures accompanying the accession of a new monarch have been put in train, not only in London but, in their adapted forms, in each of the capitals of the nations of the Commonwealth. What brings this globe-encircling response of loyalty? Certainly no breath of compulsion, but an unhesitating impulse transcending many differences, political, economic, and cultural, in a world-wide and voluntary association of free peoples. No less significant are the tributes of undoubted sincerity which have poured through press and radio from many countries and people of all classes. These are but vivid reminders of the British monarchy's deep, historical, and contemporary significance. In our own day this significance has increased immeasurably. The monarchy has become not only a link in the free association of the Commonwealth but, paradoxically some may say, a symbol of democracy itself, and it is altogether possible that its significance may rise still more with the continuing development of rapid transportation and the means of mass communication. These indefinable resources of influence rest in the hands of the British royal family, a fact which has become strikingly apparent during the past century, and an intimate view of the way in which the royal family approaches and performs its heavy task is therefore necessary to any understanding of the institution. Mr. Bolitho's book is a useful introduction, enlivened and illustrated with comment and anecdote drawn from a personal knowledge and experience which few writers could rival. It is regrettable that he has chosen to treat his book, to some extent, as a kind of literary exercise in which are mixed invention and factual narrative. The fourth part "Victoria and Disraeli" is in twenty-seven scenes of dramatic dialogue;

the reign of Edward VII is described in a series of quotations from the diaries of an imaginary assistant secretary. The statement that such parts of the book are based on a knowledge of documents and actual incidents does not save one's annoyance. For this reader the straightforward and presumably more authoritative section on George VI proves that Mr. Bolitho erred in not trying to do the same thing with the other parts of the book. His account of the late king is not only a circumstantial appraisal but a sincere and convincing tribute.

GEORGE W. BROWN, *University of Toronto*

WINSTON CHURCHILL, 1874-1951. By *Lewis Broad*. (3d ed.; New York, Philosophical Library, 1952, pp. xx, 611, \$5.00.) This bulky work of British printing first appeared in 1941. A new edition in 1946 carried the account of Mr. Churchill's career through the years of the Second World War and down to his defeat in the general election of 1945. The present edition takes the story to the end of 1950. These dates of publication prevent one from calling it a campaign biography—even if such an institution was known to British practice. It has, however, many of the marks of one. It is a breezy and generally accurate narrative, suffering much from foreshortening. Of the inwardness of events, and the growth of the character and ideas of its subject, it has nothing to say. Though apparently full, it is curiously lacking in detail. The years of the Second World War occupy almost half the book, the years since claim fifty pages. The book's bulk is partly to be ascribed to the very lengthy quotations from Churchill's speeches, particularly those made while he was Prime Minister during the war. Quotations from Churchill and from other writers of memoirs of the period are, indeed, frequent throughout the book—which is, however, lacking in systematic citations. It makes no use of Churchill's own volumes on the Second World War. Mr. Broad expresses (p. vi) the belief that he has "contrived to scratch my name on the wrappings of Winston Churchill's immortality." It may be doubted whether he has done so.

C. L. MOWAT, *University of Chicago*

BRITAIN TODAY: A REVIEW OF CURRENT POLITICAL AND SOCIAL TRENDS. By *C. F. O. Clarke*. (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1951, pp. 248, \$3.00.) This volume of the Lowell Lectures for 1950 presents socialist Britain to an American audience with much insight and great fairness. The author, who represents the best in British journalism and radio and who is an excellent unofficial ambassador, ranges from parliamentary procedure to foreign policy and from the English character to the Commonwealth, with appropriate sections on parties, politicians, planning, and the press. He writes with objectivity and grace. No partisan feelings, no rigid theories, no dry statistics mar his pages. One may question whether it is possible really to convey the intractability of the problem of balancing foreign payments or the depressing nature of continued austerity with such a calm mind and in such urbane prose. Yet the fact that it should be attempted is, in itself, one of the characteristics of Britain today. Future historians, if they turn to Mr. Clarke's lectures, may well see in them an index of the British temper in 1950 as well as a useful description of British society.

FRANCIS H. HERRICK, *Mills College*

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FRANCE

Beatrice F. Hyslop¹

LES PRINCIPES INSPIRATEURS DE MICHELET: SENSIBILITÉ ET PHILOSOPHIE DE L'HISTOIRE. By Oscar A. Haac, Assistant Professor of Romance Languages, Pennsylvania State College. [Institut d'études françaises de Yale University.] (New Haven, Yale University Press; Paris; Presses universitaires de France, 1951, pp. viii, 242, \$2.00.) Professor Haac is a harbinger of good news. Michelet's manuscripts, divided after his death between his widow and his stepson, have been recently (1949) brought together and are now available to historians in the Bibliothèque historique de la Ville de Paris. The *Journal intime*, the seals of which were not to be broken until 1950, is now open to qualified workers in the Bibliothèque de l'Institut de France. Interest in Michelet, which had dwindled after the death of Gabriel Monod, has been revived in France; several dissertations are in preparation and J. P. Sartre has renewed the old controversies in an article published in *Les temps modernes*. Unless this reviewer is badly informed, however, Professor Haac's book is the first general study of Michelet to be undertaken since the publication of Miss Ann Pugh's *Michelet and His Ideas of Social Reform* (New York, 1923). It is a far more ambitious project although the two works have much in common. Literature has been defined as "life seen through a temperament." This definition slightly modified would fit exactly the historical works of Jules Michelet as well as his later semiphilosophical productions. In this regard, the subtitle of Mr. Haac's study, "sensibilité et philosophie de l'histoire," is much more appropriate than the main title. Six "principles" are listed by the author: (1) justice and the French Revolution; (2) "Patrie" and the society of mankind; (3) Christianity and a new faith; (4) the liberty of the people; (5) action and vision of the future; (6) integral resurrection of the past. Mr. Haac's thesis is that those "principles inspireurs" can be traced through Michelet's earlier works and that they received their full development in the later works published or written after 1850, a period of Michelet's life left unstudied by Gabriel Monod and unjustly neglected by most biographers of the great historian. One may note particularly the discussion of number 2, in which Michelet appears as a child of Romanticism, and more especially the new and original interpretation of the often misunderstood "resurrection of the past." It must not be taken as a "lyrical vision," comparable to Victor Hugo's *Légende des siècles*, but as an expression of the author's faith in action and in the future since in resurrecting the past, Michelet strives to demonstrate "the ideological and contemporary importance of past ages." In the chapters following this first part, the author has

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

studied in the light of these principles "La philosophie de l'histoire" and "La méthode historique" not hesitating to show how Michelet's synthetic views and judgments were warped and colored by his feelings. The final chapter presents an excellent summing up and a sharply drawn portrait of a great writer and a tremendous worker who refused to be an impartial historian and often chose to speak as a prophet and the passionate herald of the future. A very interesting chapter, full of information, analyzes Michelet's attitude toward contemporary historians. The "Indications sur Michelet et Ranke" could easily have been extended into a full chapter and perhaps a separate study. The book ends with a useful chronology of Michelet's life and works.

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NORTHERN EUROPE

Oscar J. Falnes

LA MISSION EXTRAORDINAIRE DU MARQUIS DE TORCY EN DANEMARK-NORVÈGE ET SON VOYAGE EN SUÈDE D'APRÈS LA CORRESPONDANCE DIPLOMATIQUE, 1685. By Jean Marchand, Correspondant de l'Institut, Bibliothécaire à l'Assemblée Nationale. Préface de Monsieur le Président Robert Schuman, Ministre des Affaires Etrangères. (Paris, Bibliothèque Nordique, 1951, pp. viii, 137.) When Louis XIV learned in 1685 of the death of Sophia Amalia, the Danish queen-mother, he sent the young marquis de Torcy of the influential Colbert family to express his condolences. This mark of esteem, heretofore reserved for the courts of Madrid and London, was intended to strengthen diplomatic ties with the North. The young envoy was to report on a variety of Danish matters—political, economic, military. De Torcy sent home a number of letters and summarized his impressions in a longer *compte rendu*. There was a conscientious air about his reporting though one not marked by profundity. In similar fashion he reported on a side trip into Sweden which took him to Stockholm. Clearly his impressions of what he saw in Denmark (and southern Norway) were more favorable than those he gained of the court and the realm of Charles XI—and the policy of *reduktion*. Marchand as editor has supplied brief connecting remarks to facilitate the passage from letter to letter. He has con-

tributed also a nine-page introduction, devoted partly to de Torcy's career (a subject treated by him earlier in *La Revue de Paris*, May-June, 1930, pp. 911-31) and partly to a survey of Scandinavian history from the fourteenth to the seventeenth century. The latter is too sketchy to be helpful here and might advantageously have been sacrificed in favor of a brief description of North European diplomacy in the 1670's and 1680's, giving particular attention to Louis' relations with the two northern courts. In connection with de Torcy's mission Louis' diplomats were for a time exercised over a matter of etiquette. The Danish king made known that he would receive envoys "*assis et couvert*" (as was reported the procedure at the court in London). No one in the diplomatic corps in Copenhagen wanted to be the first to be thus received. It took the combined efforts of half a dozen diplomats serving the Sun King finally to bring about de Torcy's audience in the traditional manner, though under somewhat unusual circumstances. A way out was found when the Danish king left Copenhagen (and the diplomatic corps accredited to him) and paid a visit to his second kingdom, Norway. As he finished this visit at the port of Larvik he received de Torcy "*debout et sans chapeau*." Louis' envoys were content. This phase of the correspondence is a tidbit for the connoisseur of seventeenth-century diplomatic etiquette. O.J.F.

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GERMANY, AUSTRIA, AND SWITZERLAND

Ernst Posner¹

IMPERIALISMUS VOR 1914: SOZIOLOGISCHE DARSTELLUNG DER DEUTSCHEN AUSSENPOLITIK BIS ZUM ERSTEN WELTKRIEG. By *George W. F. Hallgarten*. In two volumes. (Munich, C. H. Beck, 1951, pp. xx, 561; vii, 505, DM 65.) These solid and scholarly two volumes were reviewed in manuscript form in the *American Historical Review* for October, 1940 (XLVI, 142). The explanation of this unusual procedure is that the author, unable to find a publisher, produced a 'small volume in hard covers and deposited reproductions of the full text in a half-dozen libraries. One of these was Harvard, and Professor Langer took advantage of this and reviewed the 1,731-page, typewritten copy. Now at long last, a German publisher has made available to all libraries and all scholars this excellent study. It is perhaps enough here to recall the almost unstinted praise given the work earlier as "a contribution to recent Germany history of absolutely first-rate importance which no student of either domestic or international history can afford to ignore." G.S.F.

ERINNERUNGEN EINES REICHSTAGSPRÄSIDENTEN. By *Paul Löbe*. (Berlin-Grunewald, Arani, 1949, pp. 173.) Löbe, one of the best-known leaders of the German Social Democrats in the Weimar period, for all but two years of the Republic presided over its Reichstag. Nearing eighty today, he is once again prominent in the leadership of his resurrected party. Though his publishers claim to be presenting "a significant contribution to the history of the young democracy before 1933," the author himself describes his memoirs modestly as an "unpretentious collection of personal reminiscences," and the content bears him out. In no way a companion volume to the far more comprehensive and politically astute memoirs of Stampfer, Braun, and Severing, the little book is above all a character sketch of an unsophisticated, life-long German socialist, whose loyalty to his party was rewarded with high office, and, as such, it is an interesting contribution toward an understanding of Weimar Social Democracy and its leadership. In writing the book, Löbe explains, he had to rely upon his memory, all his personal papers having been destroyed in an air raid during the war. While it serves him well enough in recounting episodes of his youth and anecdotes from the life of the "Reichstagspräsident," it fails him unfortunately all too frequently in regard to important political developments in which he and his party were involved. Thus it is regrettable that Löbe does not explain his part in the efforts to maintain a legal position for the Social Democrats after Hitler came to power, a role for which he was bitterly criticized at the time, even by members of his own party. He recalls that "in spite of all the evidence," he "found it difficult to believe" that the Nazis had actually set fire to the Reichstag and recounts his unsuccessful negotiations with Göring and the Gestapo for the release of arrested Social Democrats and the reappearance of the prohibited party publications. We do not learn what prompted a rump delegation of Social Democrats to lend support to Hitler's foreign policy address in the Reichstag on May 17, 1933. Löbe, who refused to go into exile, was arrested when the Social Democratic party was finally outlawed in June, 1933. Released after a short time, he lived in retirement on a state pension, restored to him retroactive to 1933 as a result of a rather amiable interview with Göring. Rearrested

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

in 1944 in connection with the unsuccessful plot to assassinate Hitler, he appears to have played at best a very minor role in the conspiracy. The credo which concludes the book reflects Löbe's idealistic faith in the perfectibility of man and the ultimate triumph of a socialism rooted far more in the ethics of Kant than the materialism of Marx.

LEWIS J. EDINGER, *Vassar College*

MASTER SPY: THE INCREDIBLE STORY OF ADMIRAL WILHELM CANARIS, WHO, WHILE HITLER'S CHIEF OF INTELLIGENCE, WAS A SECRET ALLY OF THE BRITISH. By *Ian Colvin*. (New York, McGraw-Hill, 1951, pp. viii, 286, \$3.50.) Mr. Colvin has undertaken to tell, for the Nazi period, the secret history of the German *Abwehr* or intelligence service and its enigmatic chief, Admiral Wilhelm Canaris. In this endeavor he could not avail himself of Canaris' own diary, which was destroyed. He could, however, draw on reports he himself had heard from 1933 to 1938 as Berlin correspondent for the London *New Chronicle*, on several printed works including Karl Abshagen's German biography of Canaris, and on interviews with surviving associates or subordinates of the admiral. The result is a highly colored, not to say sensational, account of how Hitler's intelligence chief sought contact with the British in 1938, warned the Belgians and Norwegians of impending invasion, labored to minimize Spanish and Hungarian contributions to the Nazi war effort, opposed Hitler's plans for assassinating General Giraud and Prime Minister Churchill, spread defeatism through his own organization while thwarting Himmler's security service, and finally was executed in the aftermath of the anti-Hitler putsch attempt of July 20, 1944. "The readers," writes Mr. Colvin, "will have to judge for themselves whether Admiral Wilhelm Canaris was a German patriot or a British spy, a European statesman or a cosmopolitan intriguer, a double agent, an opportunist, or a seer. It will not be easy for them to make up their minds" (p. 3). Be that as it may, Mr. Colvin's own mind seems made up. While admitting that the admiral's peculiar blend of brilliance and eccentricity, subtlety and indiscretion practically defies analysis, the author goes on to adduce every shred of proof that, beginning in 1938, the *Abwehr* director sought consistently and for idealistic motives to sabotage German strategy. The manner in which Mr. Colvin presents his case is irritating in several respects. The narrative is undisciplined, weaving back and forth in time with little apparent reason and burdened with numerous digressions on espionage activities in general, whether closely related to Canaris or not. This lack of discipline also appears in the light-hearted jumbling of evidence, some of it quite important, some of its exceedingly dubious. Thus Hitler is quoted as saying to Martin Bormann, as the two strolled through the corridors of the shelter under the Reich chancellery in 1943: "I wonder how that little outfit of Admiral Canaris is doing. . . . I don't seem to have heard anything from him for a long time" (p. 220). Just what, one wonders, is the source for that bit of verbatim documentation? Mr. Colvin recounts anecdotes with the experienced journalist's lively interest in detail, but his book should not be confused with a critical study such as Trevor-Roper's *The Last Days of Hitler*. That Canaris was one of the most complex figures in Hitler's regime is well-known. That he indulged in activities which were treasonable from the Nazis' point of view has been established by a mass of testimony. Mr. Colvin, however, for all his investigations, has little to add that could be called both new and reliable. He seems most anxious to prove that the prolongation of the holocaust of 1939-1945 was the joint responsibility of Nazi fanatics and certain (presumably leftist) British officials who would not co-operate with the German anti-Nazis because "a revolt from above did not accord at all with their ideas of the future of a socialist Europe" (p. 176). Other obstacles to such co-operation are mentioned but not weighted very heavily. Mr. Colvin has a

perfect right to his political views. Nevertheless, to make Admiral Canaris, Ewald von Kleist-Schmenzin, General Franco, and Admiral Horthy the heroes-in-waiting of World War II would demand a rewriting of the history of the last two decades scarcely justified by the data here presented. FRANKLIN L. FORD, *Bennington College*

THE RISE AND FALL OF HERMANN GOERING. By *Willi Frischauer*. (Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1951, pp. x, 309, \$3.50.) This is a popular biography, designed to convey to the general public an appreciation of the tragicomic *Reichsmarschall*. Its strength is in its anecdotal richness, not in its analytic power. Frischauer has concentrated upon Göring as a personality and has based his account largely on interviews with those who lived closest to his subject: Emmy Göring, Generals Bodenschatz and Koller of the *Luftwaffe*, and Robert Kropp, Göring's valet. The author has little critical distance from his interviewees and makes little use of the voluminous documentary sources now available. Except for the last few chapters, the book is loosely constructed. In most of the chapters, only a few pages discuss the topic proclaimed in the chapter-head, while the reader is led on through an unorganized jungle of episodes. It was not Frischauer's intention to write a political biography. He leaves untouched the major problems of Göring's impact on German history: e.g., the nature and extent of Göring's power as economic czar, or the degree to which he served as a counterforce to Ribbentrop in the sphere of foreign affairs. Through his discussion of Göring's personality changes, however, Frischauer does throw some oblique light on Göring's political role. It emerges that Göring was too unstable to control the areas of authority which Hitler consigned to him. Even in the direction of the *Luftwaffe*, Göring's sporadic exercise of his command was interrupted by long periods of inactivity and indifference. Unlike Speer or Goebbels, Göring made no continuous effort to wield power in any sphere. Weak-willed but headstrong, the insecure and unstable Göring embodied the irrational side of the Nazi movement to such a degree that he was incapable of any sustained effort as an administrator. Frischauer's book is an invitation to the historian to make a more thorough search for the real locus of power in the Nazi state and administration. CARL E. SCHORSKE, *Wesleyan University*

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RUSSIA AND SLAVIC EUROPE

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PETER THE GREAT AND THE EMERGENCE OF RUSSIA. By B. H. Sumner, Warden of All Souls College, Oxford. [Teach Yourself History Library.] (London, English Universities Press, 1950, pp. viii, 216, 5s.) B. H. Sumner died in April, 1951; before his death he was able to complete two studies on Peter the Great: a monograph on his relations with the Ottoman Empire and a volume covering all phases of his life and activity. This volume, though brief and not pretending to be "an adequate biography of Peter" which, as Sumner regretfully states (p. 210), does not yet exist, is a masterpiece of condensation. Obviously indebted to the works of Kliuchevsky (*History of Russia*, IV, English translation, London, 1926), E. Schuyler (*Peter the Great*, New York, 1884), and K. Stählin (*Geschichte Russlands*, II, Berlin, 1930), Sumner's book contains many well-balanced judgments based on careful study of the original sources and the writings of contemporaries. Peter the Great is seen as "above all a great man of action, not a thinker or a planner; he never evolved any clearly defined policy of westernization" (p. 208). Despite the expressed admiration of his restless energy and his capacity to learn from his defeats, the barbaric features of his character are properly emphasized, for example, his cunning and cruel destruction of his son Alexis. Sumner's endeavor to relate Peter the Great's policies to the changes in the European balance of power game as well as to describe their place in Russian history merits special praise. The complexities of this apparently primitive autocrat, ruthlessly liquidating many traditions and inherited institutions, are not overlooked. It is shown that Peter the Great did not begin but only accelerated the trend of westernization; it

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

is pointed out that he remained a Russian nationalist, despite his use of foreign experts and technicians and despite the introduction of the Baltic German element into the bureaucracy of his empire. The failure of his Turkish policies as well the significance of its basic trends for the future are clearly analyzed. Sumner pays particular attention to the interconnections of Peter's foreign and domestic policies. Though he is aware of attempts to compare Peter the Great's policies with those of Stalin—he says that Alexei Tolstoi's *Peter the Great*, devoted to such a comparison, is "well worth reading" (p. 210)—he meticulously avoids all questionable parallelisms between Russia's past and the Soviet regime. Peter's so-called testament, which is cited again today as a document describing Russian imperialism, is dismissed as "concocted originally by Napoleon's propagandists, probably on the basis of a somewhat earlier analysis made by an émigré Pole. On the other hand it is true that Peter initiated policies towards Poland, Sweden, and Turkey which his successors systematically developed" (p. 138).

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Far Eastern History

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THE CHRONICLE OF THE THREE KINGDOMS (220-265): CHAPTERS 69-78 FROM THE TZŪ CHIH T'UNG CHIEN OF SSU-MA KUANG (1019-1068). Volume I. Translated and Annotated by *Achilles Fang*. Edited by *Glen W. Baxter*. [Harvard-Yenching Institute Studies, VI.] (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1952, pp. xx, 698, \$10.00.) The *Tzū chih t'ung chien* or *Comprehensive Mirror for Aid in Government* is a huge chronicle history of China covering the years 403 B.C.-A.D. 959. It is not an original composition but rather a skillful condensation and weaving together of many earlier sources—chiefly the successive Chinese dynastic histories. The book under review presents a translation of that portion of the *Tzū chih t'ung chien* dealing with the Three Kingdoms period, A.D. 220-265 (Volume I covers the years 220-245, while the remaining years will be treated in a subsequent volume). More than half of its pages, however, are devoted to a detailed paragraph-by-paragraph comparison between Ssü-ma Kuang's text and his original sources, with the purpose of demonstrating precisely how and where he borrowed. Because of this overriding emphasis on *Quellenforschung*, the voluminous notes do not answer—nor are they intended to answer—countless questions that will inevitably occur to anyone

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

primarily interested in the historical events of the Three Kingdoms *per se*. Despite a conspicuous error on the title page, where Ssü-ma Kuang's death date is incorrectly given as 1068 instead of 1086, there is no doubt that Mr. Fang has performed his task with high scholarly distinction. He has been fortunate, moreover, in the aid provided him by his self-effacing editor. The question inevitably arises, however, whether the resulting light thrown upon a late and secondary historical work—even one as famous as the *Tzû chih t'ung chien*—really justifies the large amounts of effort, time, and money that have been lavished on it. As far as the present reviewer is concerned, his reluctant answer must be in the negative. Results of greater intrinsic importance, he believes, would have been achieved if the labor here expended on a text compiled more than eight centuries after the events it records had instead been concentrated upon the really basic source for Three Kingdoms history: the *San kuo chih* or *Treatise on the Three Kingdoms* by Ch'en Shou (233-297).

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JAPAN IN WORLD HISTORY. By G. B. Sansom. [Issued under the Auspices of the Japan Institute of Pacific Relations.] (New York, International Secretariat, Institute of Pacific Relations, 1951, pp. 94, \$2.00.) This small but excellent volume is comprised of a series of lectures which Professor Sansom delivered in Japan to Japanese scholars during December, 1950. The author proceeds from the assumption that Japanese history is an important part of the totality of human experience, and proposes to his Japanese audience the ways in which he believes they can best serve both "history" and those of us in the West who are students of Japanese civilization. Most specialists in Japanese history will find at least some of the ideas presented here familiar to them from the author's other works. Professor Sansom's view of the importance of "Japan in World History" is implicit in his assertion that "It is by comparisons, by resemblances and contrasts, that history enables us to draw some inferences—very tentative inferences, I agree—about the principles and the prejudices that govern the behaviour of men, in so far as the behaviour of men can be analyzed and predicted." The specialist in Japanese history will read this small volume with profit and interest. But it is also a volume which can be read with profit by all historians who are not prisoners of narrow specialization.

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United States History

Wood Gray¹

GENERAL

NORTH AMERICA. By *Anthony Trollope*. Edited with an Introduction, Notes, and New Materials by *Donald Smalley* and *Bradford Allen Booth*. (New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1951, pp. xxxvii, 555, viii, \$6.00.) Long out of print, and familiar to most historians only through excerpts in anthologies of foreign travel literature, Anthony Trollope's *North America* is now made available in a very handsome format. Donald Smalley and Bradford Allen Booth have written an informed and thoughtful introduction and provided useful annotations. The distinguished English novelist and post-office official visited the United States early in the Civil War. His confused neutrality toward the conflict did not actually conceal his underlying sympathy for the North, though he did not foresee a complete victory nor a restored Union. The book is less notable for any light it throws on the war itself than for the fresh and vivid

¹ Responsible only for the lists of articles and documents.

details which support the thesis that life continued to run its course very much as if the war were not in progress. Trollope was bluff but warmhearted, and these qualities are apparent on almost every page. With a sharp eye and realistic insight, and a wonderful control of detail, Trollope wrote in a style that is often sparkling, sometimes whimsical, and always entertaining. In contrast with his mother, he found much to admire in the Americans. Not that he was uncritical. He disliked the widely spread "rowdiness" of religious expression, the too general talk about money, the haste with which people ate, the mendacious press, the corruption that blotched politics and the supplying of the armies, to say nothing of the effects of what he regarded as the undue deference shown to women. But these and other shortcomings which his shrewd eye detected and his facile pen recorded did not offend too much the Americans who reviewed and read his book with admiration when it appeared in 1862. For it was clear that Anthony Trollope genuinely liked the things that most Americans cherished—the high level of education, the equality of opportunity, the dignity of the common man, the industriousness of everyone, and the generally successful adaptation of institutions to the conditions and needs of the country. The book lacks the originality of Tocqueville's *Democracy in America* and the balanced architecture of Bryce's *The American Commonwealth*. But its genial and good-natured satire, the vigor and freshness of its detail, and the judicious generalizations would alone give it a noteworthy place among foreign commentaries on American civilization. The added facts that it marked a departure from the older, prevailing caricatures which so many British visitors had indulged in and that it was written by a gifted novelist, insure it a valued and permanent place in the literature about America.

MERLE CURTI, *University of Wisconsin*

THE AMERICANS AT HOME. By *David Macrae*. (New ed.; New York, E. P. Dutton, 1952, pp. 606, \$4.50.) In 1868 this amiable Scottish minister landed at Quebec. Thereafter he visited Boston, New York, Washington, and the South Atlantic and Gulf States. Ascending the Mississippi River, he stayed for a time in Chicago, and thence returned to New England and to Scotland. His travelogue is interspersed with essays on such topics as American women, Reconstruction and the freedmen, the temperance movement, religion, education, and journalism. He recorded numerous interviews and impressions of the prominent people whom he met, particularly with former Confederate leaders and the Boston intellectuals. Lack of profundity is balanced by fair-mindedness. The volume has previously been published only in Great Britain, first in 1871, and—written at a somewhat pedestrian level—probably offered comparatively little of interest to American readers of the period. Now the very unassuming nature of these observations serves to recall a vanished period. No editorial comment has been added to the present edition, and quite likely none was needed.

W. G.

ESSAYS HONORING LAWRENCE C. WROTH. (Portland, Me., Anthoensen Press, 1951, pp. xxi, 515.) The dedication of a *Festschrift* to Dr. Wroth, since 1923 librarian of the John Carter Brown Library of Brown University, will be noted with sincere satisfaction by all scholars, bibliographers, and librarians whose interests center in the history of the Americas of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. As a scholar Dr. Wroth amply deserves this highest form of tribute from his peers—witness the bibliography of his more than two hundred published writings, and he has also proved himself to be the "ideal librarian" eloquently described in the introduction by Wilmarth S. Lewis, himself a scholar, collector, and generous friend of learning. Furthermore the essays themselves, with their large proportion of bibliographic

content, have not only substantial intrinsic interest but they constitute a work of reference for Americana of permanent usefulness. Unlike many *livres d'hommage* this volume is likely to receive much usage in the hands of its owners. Seven of the essays deal with Columbus and early navigation and settlement, while seven others treat of colonial printing and the book trade and the remaining ten are devoted to a variety of themes. Unfortunately the space assigned to this review limits citation by title and author to only a very few of the essays, which have been selected for their representative quality and general interest: "Columbus in Sixteenth-Century Poetry," by Leicester Bradner; "... Bibliographical Description of ... One Hundred Maps and Charts of the American Continent Published in Great Britain ... 1600-1850," by Henry Stevens and Roland Tree; "American Booksellers' Catalogues, 1734-1850," by Clarence S. Brigham; "A Half-Century of Canadian Life and Print, 1751-1800," by Marie Tremaine; "The Beginnings of Systematic Bibliography in America, 1642-1799," by Jesse H. Shera; "Eighteenth-Century American Fiction," by Lyle H. Wright; "The First Decade of the Federal Act for Copyright, 1790-1800," by Frederick R. Goff; "Hispanic Americana in the John Carter Brown Library," by Henry R. Wagner; "The River in the Ocean," by Lloyd A. Brown; "The Melody of 'The Star-Spangled Banner' in the United States before 1820," by Richard S. Hill; "The Browns and Brown University," by William Greene Roelker. The essays not included in the foregoing list are equally worthy of mention. In conclusion the reviewer cannot forbear to repeat a suggestion which he has already often made, that a major bibliographical desideratum would be the progressive publication of a classified list of the contents of *Festschriften* dedicated to American scholars. There is gold in those hills.

WALDO G. LELAND, *Washington, D.C.*

THE PAPERS OF HENRY BOUQUET. Volume II, THE FORBES EXPEDITION. Edited by S. K. Stevens, Donald H. Kent, Autumn L. Leonard. (Harrisburg, Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1951, pp. xxxiii, 704, \$7.00.) This, the first published volume of the *Papers of Henry Bouquet*, includes chiefly Bouquet's correspondence, June 1-December 1, 1758, and his Orderly Book, June 17-September 15, 1758. The period was a critical one. Braddock's defeat had left the French in possession of Fort Duquesne, and English influence on the western frontier was at a low ebb. A well-equipped and organized force was a necessity if the French were to be driven from Fort Duquesne. General Forbes arrived in April, 1758, to take charge of an expedition planned to follow the traders' route directly across Pennsylvania. Forbes's serious illness shifted to his second in command, Colonel Henry Bouquet, a Swiss officer, the chief burden of gathering and collecting supplies, organizing the force, and the construction of the all-important Forbes Road. In the sequel General Forbes took over Fort Duquesne, which he promptly rechristened Fort Pitt and thus restored English control of the Ohio Valley and the western frontier. The important part which Colonel Bouquet played in the final victory is vividly shown in this volume of *Papers*. The volume is an exceptionally comprehensive one and includes material from all the important collections of Bouquet papers, notably those of the British Museum and the Huntington Library. So exhaustive has been the research of the three co-editors that a pertinent question may be raised whether the relative importance of Bouquet himself and the Forbes Expedition justifies so extensive a volume. The details of the editorial work have been intelligently and thoroughly done. The papers are arranged chronologically, and there are English translations of all the documents originally in French. The difficult problem of notes has likewise been solved in excellent fashion, to give ample explanations without pedantry. The illustrations are well chosen, and there is an excellent index. Altogether, the volume

is a model in the careful editing of papers which form a valuable contribution to the eighteenth-century history of the western frontier.

BEVERLEY W. BOND, JR., *University of Cincinnati*

THE PAPERS OF SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON. Volume X [1758-1763]. Prepared for Publication by *Milton W. Hamilton*, Senior Historian, the Division of Archives and History, and *Albert B. Corey*, Director and State Historian (New York). (Albany, University of the State of New York, 1951, pp. xiv, 998.) The publication of *The Papers of Sir William Johnson* was begun in 1921. The first three volumes were edited by Dr. Richard E. Day and the contents were based largely upon the Johnson manuscripts preserved in the New York State Library. When Dr. Alexander C. Flick became state historian in 1923, he instituted a thorough search for additional Johnson material in other depositories in the United States, Canada, and Europe, which resulted in the discovery of a very large number of additional items. Wherever possible this new material was included in its appropriate chronological position in succeeding volumes as they were published. However, so many new items had been brought to light relating to the period already covered by Volumes I-III that it became necessary to plan a series of supplementary volumes containing documents relating to the earlier years. Volume IX, the first of these supplementary volumes, appeared in 1939, and now we have Volume X, which deals with the Seven Years' War and the conspiracy of Pontiac and covers the years from 1758 to 1763. Thus, chronologically, its contents run parallel to those of Volume III and a part of Volume IV, a fact which should be noted by anyone using the collection. It appears probable that there will be at least two more supplementary volumes to follow. Among the depositories drawn upon for the papers printed in the present volume are the Public Record Office, London; the Public Archives of Canada; the William L. Clements Library; the Henry E. Huntington Library; the New York Historical Library, and many others. As in the case of earlier volumes, the basis of selection of material has been very generous and the papers here published will be indispensable to anyone studying the history of the American frontier toward the close of the Seven Years' War and during the troubled years which followed. There are innumerable documents relating to military operations and problems of frontier defense, the fur trade and its regulation, Indian conferences and treaties, subsidies and presents, land grants and titles, missionary activities, etc. The editing has been done in accordance with the most exacting standards of scholarship and the student is supplied with all available information which will facilitate the use and interpretation of each document. Not the least attractive feature of this volume, as of its predecessors, consists in a selection of excellent illustrations, which include portraits, maps, plans, etc. It is to be hoped that the many new and varied materials assembled not only in this volume but in the entire monumental collection will lead to a renewed interest in the remarkable career of Sir William Johnson and the history of the eighteenth-century frontier with which he had so many significant contacts.

WAYNE E. STEVENS, *Dartmouth College*

PIEDMONT PARTISAN: THE LIFE AND TIMES OF BRIGADIER-GENERAL WILLIAM LEE DAVIDSON. By *Chalmers Gaston Davidson*. (Davidson, N.C., Davidson College, 1951, pp. 190, \$3.00.) This is a well-organized, beautifully written, and heavily documented account of one of North Carolina's most successful Revolutionary leaders. William Lee Davidson entered the service as a major in the Continental Line and was used effectively as a recruiting officer in the state in 1776 and the first half of 1777. He participated in the battle of Germantown, his only major

battle, after which he was promoted to the rank of lieutenant colonel. He served at Valley Forge, Philadelphia, and West Point during the next year, and in November, 1779, was ordered south with his regiment for the defense of Charleston. His absence on furlough prevented his presence at General Lincoln's surrender of that city to the British on May 12, 1780. Davidson was severely wounded at Colson's Mill, July 21, but returned to action exactly one month later—as brigadier general of the North Carolina militia. Davidson achieved his fame as a militia leader. He had the confidence of his men, personal knowledge of the terrain and frontier psychology, and the ability to avoid a general engagement with the British forces. Though he was not present at King's Mountain, many of his men fought there, and Davidson's letter to Jethro Sumner, October 10, 1780, "was the first written account of the battle which turned the tide of the Revolution in the South." Davidson was killed at Cowan's Ford on the Catawba, February 1, 1781. Two counties, one in Tennessee and one in North Carolina, and a noted liberal arts college have been named in honor of this distinguished "partisan leader." Appropriately it is Davidson College that issues the volume, with a twentieth-century Davidson as author.

HUGH T. LEFLER, *University of North Carolina*

HENRY C. CAREY AND AMERICAN SECTIONAL CONFLICT. By *George Winston Smith*. [University of New Mexico Publications in History, No. 3.] (Albuquerque, University of New Mexico Press, 1951, pp. 127, \$1.50.) Judged on the basis of pages of theoretical work published in book form, Henry C. Carey was the most important pre-Civil War American economist. And while other economic writers may have been more acute in their theorizing, Carey, at least, spoke true doctrine for the rising promoters of mines and factories. In the name of free enterprise he justified general incorporation acts, limited liability, and the protective tariff. Clearly such a thinker had to resort to complex rationalizations, and there is a strong probability, as pointed out by Joseph Dorfman in *The Economic Mind* that these rationalizations fitted well with Carey's private financial interests. Two main criticisms that may be made of this most recent discussion of Carey's views on sectional conflict is that Mr. Smith does not give us a rounded picture of Carey's personality, and does not sufficiently relate Carey's views to his personal affairs. It might be argued that in a 120-page discussion of one segment of Carey's ideas there is not space for detailed discussions of their settings and origins. This poses the question of how much knowledge the specialist may assume on the part of the reader. In the case of Carey it is unfortunate to have to presuppose too much, as he had unorthodox meanings for many of his words and an unusual range of private interests. As a record of Carey's activities in connection with sectional politics and the Civil War, Mr. Smith's work, prepared from the Henry C. Carey Papers at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, is scholarly and probably as complete as the subject warrants. Carey hoped to achieve enduring union by tying the upper South to Pennsylvania and the states of the Ohio Valley. Railroads and industry were to be the common bonds. The prime essential for this program, as he saw it, was a protective tariff, but he never succeeded in convincing the leaders of the southern states.

THOMAS C. COCHRAN, *University of Pennsylvania*

THE MYSTERIES OF OHIO'S UNDERGROUND RAILROADS. By *Wilbur Henry Siebert*. (Columbus, Ohio, Long's College Book Co., 1951, pp. xxix, 330.) Professor Siebert has long been known for his distinguished study, *The Underground Railroad from Slavery to Freedom* (1898), a pioneer work largely composed of original materials. It adequately defined the place of the underground railroad in the anti-

slavery crusade and provided the data necessary to determining its actual scope, distribution, and manner of operation. Because of its necessarily secretive nature, data relating to underground activities were relatively sparse and had to be expanded by personal reminiscences, a large personal correspondence, and field trips. Since then, Professor Siebert has strengthened the record with monographs dealing with the underground railroad in Vermont and Massachusetts. His present monograph deals with what was, perhaps, in view of its strategic position in antislavery, coupled with its proximity to the slave states, the most important of the states furnishing "underground" facilities to fugitive slaves. Again the record is gratifyingly augmented. Cincinnati and other river ports on the Ohio receive the intensive treatment due them, but inland stations and the lake shore ports are also covered conscientiously. The record is varied and picturesque, adding new material on hiding places, disguises, and tricks used to frustrate slave-catchers. Individuals associated with the underground were extremely diverse, including not only such famous personages as the Rev. John Rankin: a Henry Roberts became superintendent of a gang of skilled slaves on the lower Mississippi in order to help Negroes escape north; Benjamin R. Hanby conducted fugitives from Westerville, in central Ohio, further north, and also penned "My Darling Nelly Gray"; and James Rose, of northeast Ohio, felt like a thief in conducting Negroes clandestinely, and proceeded to do so in broad daylight. Although this volume adds little in the way of conclusions respecting the role of the underground railroad in antislavery, it underscores its fundamental nature in the field, and provides a wide variety of information which can be utilized for other purposes. There are numerous illustrations which help to impart vitality and interest to the text, and excellent maps.

LOUIS FILLER, *Antioch College*

AN ALASKAN GOLD MINE: THE STORY OF NO. 9 ABOVE. By *Leland H. Carlson*, Northwestern University. [Northwestern University Studies, Social Science, Series, No. 7.] (Evanston, Ill., Northwestern University Press, 1951, pp. xii, 178, \$3.50.) Denominational colleges and theological seminaries have played a significant part, earlier, in developing the cultural aspects of America's history, with some less happy in it than others. Among those which have resisted successfully the trend toward secularization in the twentieth century is North Park College, established in Chicago by a Swedish sect, the Evangelical Mission Covenant Church of America. Mr. Carlson produced the centennial history of this college in 1941, becoming thereby greatly interested in the gold-mining proclivities of some missionaries sent to Alaska's Seward Peninsula by this denomination in the strategic decade of the gold rushes. The missionary whose gold claims panned out best was Peter H. Anderson. Some of the brethren looked with envious eyes upon his good luck near Nome, cast aspersions upon his donations to the church and college, widely publicized his relations with a certain lady of the territory, and tried to bring into Covenant coffers more of the profits from the disputed mine. The struggle to deprive Mr. Anderson of the metallic part of his holdings involved eighteen years of litigation in eleven different courts and four appearances before the United States Supreme Court. All this is described in some detail by Mr. Carlson who makes it abundantly clear that the lawyers benefited considerably and Mr. Anderson only moderately, while the denomination was sadly rent by the ungodly pursuit of filthy lucre. The episode was shameful enough but not uncharacteristic of Alaska or other gold diggings. Presumably the Swedish historical group formed in 1948 to preserve the story of their pioneer endeavors in America will sponsor other works of wider appeal and significance.

JEANNETTE P. NICHOLS, *Swarthmore, Pennsylvania*

THREE HUNDRED YEARS' AMERICAN: THE EPIC OF A FAMILY FROM SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY NEW ENGLAND TO TWENTIETH-CENTURY MIDWEST. By *Alice F. and Bettina Jackson*. (Madison, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1951, pp. xii, 368, \$4.00.) No reviews of textbooks or genealogies is a rule of the *Review*. By reason of the split personality sought and achieved by an appeal to the bookstore public some of the first group get by. Here is the first schizophrenic genealogy with so much interesting history in it that it deserves the notice of social historians and historians of immigration. Very skillfully the authors have intertwined the history of two English families with innumerable progeny and better than average economic status who started from England three hundred years ago and finally come together in Newton, Massachusetts, and Madison, Wisconsin. Along the way the authors linger to give interesting accounts of life in England (especially in the mid-nineteenth century), colonial New England, the American Revolution (with forty-four Jacksons in one unit of Washington's army around Boston), the westward trek to the wilds of Dane County, Wisconsin, where other English preceded and followed, the Civil War, and finally Madison, the capital between the lakes, with "the twin heights of law and learning." The Jacksons were typical seventeenth-century colonialists. The Hobbins family from the Midlands waited until smoke and industrial development and depression after 1848, and glowing literature straight from the governor of Wisconsin, set them in motion. They headed for Wisconsin because, of course, a governor would not send deceptive literature. There were twenty-six members of the families, plus seven servants, something not usual in the history of nineteenth-century migration. Some could not stand the hardships, and the Wisconsin winters, and returned. Jacksons and Kenricks sent offshoots from Newton to Madison. All were letter writers and keepers of diaries, and the authors of this volume had the wisdom to quote and thus give their story a vividness that makes it a source book which, by judicious skipping of the necessary genealogical details, becomes interesting reading. A nice touch in acculturation or Americanization is the English-born father grudgingly but graciously buying fireworks for his children on the Fourth of July. The last paragraph mentions the founding by "Old Doctor" Jackson and his two sons, Reginald and James, of the Jackson clinic, a parallel to and imitation of what was done by another old Englishman, Dr. W. W. Mayo, and his two sons in Rochester, Minnesota. It was the last paragraph that convinced the reviewer that he had known some of the Jacksons, for it was Dr. Reginald that saved his daughter's life when as a consultant he stopped a young sprig from operating for appendicitis in a case of paratyphoid fever, and another brother, Joseph, was pitcher on my last college baseball team. The reviewer is naturally grateful that the Jacksons and the Hobbins' came to America and ultimately intermarried and that the sisters of Dr. "Reg" have made his and their genealogy a contribution to the making of America.

G.S.F.

AMERICAN CULTURE AND RELIGION: SIX ESSAYS. By *William Warren Sweet*. (Dallas, Southern Methodist University Press, 1951, pp. 114, \$2.50.) These six essays were written at various intervals between the years 1944 and 1951 and are concerned with the historic relations between religion and culture in the United States. Dr. Sweet is eminently qualified to discuss these questions because of his long and honored experience as professor of American church history at the University of Chicago. These essays are fresh and appealing in style and original and suggestive in content. The topics dealt with include cultural pluralism, protestantism, natural religion, denominational unity, sect and cult, and ecumenicity. In discussing these topics, Dr. Sweet deals less with economic and social origins than would seem justi-

fied by the available historical data. The longest essay is concerned with the influence of the movement for natural religion on the separation of church and state in the United States. It might be said that the author could also have stressed the practical considerations that led to the doctrine of separation. In this instance, conditions may have been as influential as ideas. This particular chapter is still, however, one of the best in this scholarly and rewarding volume of essays.

DONALD G. TEWKSBURY, *Teachers College, Columbia University*

HIBERNIAN CRUSADE: THE STORY OF THE CATHOLIC TOTAL ABSTINENCE UNION OF AMERICA. By *Sister Joan Bland*, Sisters of Notre Dame of Namur. (Washington, Catholic University of America Press, 1951, pp. ix, 297, \$3.00.) This valuable dissertation is written from a wealth of material. In order to present conflicting and varying points of view within the framework of the general subject, the author presents a mass of detail. The narrative is frequently interrupted by extracts from the sources in which participants in the controversies are given a hearing. Contemporaneous with the Hibernian Crusade was a nation-wide temperance crusade which antedated the former. The religious emphasis was predominant in both. Catholic and Protestant reformers stressed the moral iniquity of intemperance and the evils inherent in the American saloon. Both made use of the pulpit, the printing press, the pledge, mass meetings, and conventions. Not infrequently did Catholics and Protestants join hands and appear on common platforms. The author points out that in accommodating Catholics to the American scene some leaders seemed willing to accept a number of Puritan ideas, although laymen were less prominent and influential than in the American Temperance Society and its auxiliaries and affiliates. Greetings received at a Catholic convention from the W.C.T.U. were enthusiastically applauded. There were priests who deemed it important to show that the element most opposed to the Sunday closing of saloons were Continental Catholics. As Catholics and Americans they did not propose to submit to the degradation they would suffer if the American Sunday became disgraced by customs brought from foreign lands. Archbishop Ireland of St. Paul, who rose to eminence as a civic leader in the Northwest, won the respect and plaudits of individuals and groups regardless of church or creed. On the other hand, there were leaders who feared that, by committing the church to certain affiliations and organizations, in the public eye the church might appear to have compromised with heresy. When the temperance movement moved into the final phase and espoused prohibition, the cleavage between the Catholics and the Protestants grew consistently deeper, partly because it was suspected that the Anti-Saloon League was infested with anti-Catholics. Sister Joan concludes that the Catholic Total Abstinence Union was different from any other Catholic society in United States history. "To an unusual degree it accepted the point of view of respectable, Protestant America. In a sense it was the incarnation of Archbishop Ireland's ideal of a prosperous, civic-minded, Americanized Catholicism. In the early days there was emphasis upon the Irish loyalties of the membership, but this was gradually diminished, to be replaced by an almost fanatical Americanism."

GEORGE M. STEPHENSON, *University of Minnesota*

SHOWBOATS: THE HISTORY OF AN AMERICAN INSTITUTION. By *Philip Graham*. (Austin, University of Texas Press, 1951, pp. x, 224, \$3.75.) Say "showboat," and what is conjured up in the general imagination is a bright, gaudy dream-cloud in which something in the nature of an old-fashioned plantation wedding takes place on the stage of the Roxy Theater. It's the old story all over again, the triumph of fancy over fact. The fact of the showboat was always there, however, waiting for a

man who thought it worth the bother, and in Mr. Graham it has found its man. If the dream-cloud is not dispelled, the fault will not be his—here is the factual story of the American showboat, dated, documented, and most entertainingly delivered. What we see in Mr. Graham's book is the coming together of the early American frontier and the early American theater. Out of that meeting something had to happen and something did—the creation of a new domestic institution and a new chapter in our social history. Mr. Graham does an excellent job of examining the one and interpreting the other. The main emphasis of his study, however, is where it should be, on the showboat itself. Drawing upon manuscripts, letters, diaries, log-books, newspaper files, personal interviews, and other source materials, Mr. Graham follows the development and history of the showboat from the time "Ludlow's Noah's Ark" played Natchez-under-the-Hill in 1817 to the end, around 1930, of the glory trail. It is a long story, full of interest, drama, and humor, and, since it must have taken years to assemble, our thanks are due Mr. Graham all around. The illustrations, I might add, are a special joy.

HAMILTON BASSO, *New York, N.Y.*

THE HERMIT PHILOSOPHER OF LIENDO [EDMUND MONTGOMERY]. By I. K. Stephens. (Dallas, Texas, Southern Methodist University Press, 1951, pp. x, 402, \$5.00.) This admirable biography of Edmund Montgomery (1835-1911), philosopher and scientist, and of his wife, Elisabet Ney (1833-1907), Bavarian sculptor, leaves little to be desired. Born in Edinburgh, Montgomery spent his early life in Paris and Frankfurt on the Main. His medical studies took him to Heidelberg, Berlin, Bonn, and Würzburg, where he earned his M.D. degree in 1858. After postdoctoral work at Prague and Vienna he practiced medicine in London, France, and Italy. In 1871, with his wife, whom he had married at Madeira in 1863, Montgomery came to the United States, and after a two-year interlude in Georgia bought a plantation in Waller County, Texas, where he spent the rest of his life. Here, harassed by financial difficulties and "in utter scientific and philosophical seclusion," he conducted laboratory experiments on the physiology and behavior of the protista and produced nearly all his most original and important works—articles in German, British, and American journals and five books, the most significant of which was *Philosophical Problems in the Light of Vital Organization* (1907). In spite of his isolated life, the "hermit philosopher" became known among scientists and philosophers as the scholar who, on the basis of experimental studies, combated for almost fifty years the current materialistic-mechanistic explanation of vital phenomena, and in his philosophy of vital organization anticipated by at least forty years modern organicism. Views akin to Montgomery's were later published by Benjamin Moore, J. Arthur Thomson, C. Lloyd Morgan, A. N. Whitehead, H. S. Jennings, and especially William E. Ritter (*Unity of the Organism*, 1919). In this admirable analysis of materials drawn from the most diverse sources Professor Stephens has rescued from oblivion one of the keenest minds that ever worked in the Southwest and has given us a well-written and definitive biography of a great pioneer in the history of philosophy.

S. W. GEISER, *Southern Methodist University*

THE SELECTED LETTERS OF HENRY ADAMS. Edited with an Introduction by Newton Arvin. [Great Letters Series.] (New York, Farrar, Straus and Young, 1951, pp. xxxiv, 279, \$3.50.) In the rich heritage which Henry Adams left to posterity, his letters have a significance quite different from anything else he wrote. During his lifetime he probably wrote three or four thousand—some still unpublished—of sufficient distinction to establish him a master of the form. They contain almost no repetition, and they are molded on a sense of the importance of structure, manners,

thought, and especially of friendships. It is in his letters alone that Adams wrote naturally and therefore most revealingly. There only we find him directly addressing a sure audience, often with an unconstricted pen, without the customary mask, and, especially in the latter half of his life, with an ease of style and humor that made him most engaging. He was fortunate in having a wide and responsive audience for his letters, and the world is fortunate that so many of them were saved and have been published. A reading of the letters for a period of years shows the development of his mind in a manner which all his books taken together fail to indicate clearly. Of the few top letter writers America has produced, Adams is the first to be chosen for the "Great Letters Series," and Louis Kronenberger, the editor in chief, has found in Newton Arvin an able editor for this collection. However, the little more than one hundred letters in this volume cannot do justice to the many-sided Henry Adams. Of course one can always quarrel with such a selection. This one in particular is not large enough to be satisfactory; it neglects the writer's personal life; it omits most of his scholarly accomplishments and the range of his probing mind. Also the teacher in Adams is lacking; his interest in helping young people to think for themselves and his ability to give sound instruction to the budding writer and artist. The editor, as we should expect, is primarily interested in Adams the expert letter writer. It happens that the letters chosen reveal much more of Adams the traveler and boon companion, one of the most restless and observing travelers of his day. The book is well edited; it is organized into periods, each introduced by a brief background story; the main characters are identified in a section by themselves; and the whole is preceded by an introduction in which Mr. Arvin makes several new and sound observations. This small volume should serve to convince the reader that Adams the historian, biographer, and novelist was also a master letter writer.

HAROLD DEAN CATER, *Minnesota Historical Society*

BROOKS ADAMS, CONSTRUCTIVE CONSERVATIVE. By *Thornton Anderson*, University of Maryland. (Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1951, pp. xiv, 250, \$3.75.) In this first book-length estimate of Brooks Adams, Professor Anderson carefully sets down in a smoothly integrated matrix of quotation and paraphrase the major ideas of Brooks Adams particularly in respect to his philosophies of law, of imperialism, of bureaucracy, and of education. In law he disliked finding the cause of each judicial decision in some preceding decision from which it was deduced by reasoning, and he vigorously supported instead the theory that law was the result of the conflict of forces and the product of the struggle for existence among men. Brooks Adams in his enthusiastic nationalism and with an eye to national economic advantage supported American imperialism. He believed imperialism to be a kind of substitute for the coinage of silver which he supported as a means of raising prices and inducing prosperity. In his philosophy of administration he searched for unity, order, and authority, and he was not especially sympathetic to the democratic means of attaining such stability. In proposing to shift the balance of American government toward centralized administration and rule by managers, he preferred the military mind even in matters traditionally under civilian control. Military education, he believed, was a model for all education. A Darwinian, Brooks Adams thought that the capacity to adapt to changes in environment could be augmented by education to the point where new generalizing minds presumably of the military type and capable of administering society efficiently would be created. However, toward the end of his life, Brooks Adams came to the conclusion that all efforts to change society and its motion were apparently hopeless. Men were evidently automatic animals who took the easiest path, and all attempts to guide them into other lines were doomed to

disappointment. In other words, mankind had failed to listen to Brooks Adams' arguments, and, in typical Adams fashion, Brooks Adams was generalizing his frustration. These arguments and conclusions which Professor Anderson has clearly and accurately set forth resemble closely those of the totalitarian philosophies of more recent vintage. The social and political milieu of Brooks Adams may have been different, but the similarity of arguments should have interested for a scholar who calls Brooks Adams a constructive conservative. But Professor Anderson is not really concerned with the contemporary relevance of Brooks Adams' master ideas but only with establishing the fact that Brooks Adams has earned and has deserved a place in American thought. Professor Anderson has demonstrated this, but he has not given us a critical interpretation of Adams' concepts. There is not the bold if vulnerable projection of imagination such as Brooks Adams himself was capable of, nor is there such mastery of Adams' ideas and their sources and background that the reader is immediately aware of their value in the history of thought. There is, however, conscientious exegesis. We have Brooks Adams admirably summarized, and sympathetically presented.

HENRY WASSER, *City College of New York*

MEN OF WEST POINT: THE FIRST 150 YEARS OF THE UNITED STATES MILITARY ACADEMY. By *R. Ernest Dupuy*, Colonel, U.S.A., Ret. (New York, William Sloane Associates, 1952, pp. xvii, 486, \$5.00.) This is not a biographical dictionary of West Point graduates nor a history of the United States Military Academy. It is a narrative, sometimes sketchy, sometimes detailed, of events in which West Point men have played a part. Some four hundred of them are named: generals in high command, civilians in every walk of life, lieutenants who died heroically. It is a remarkable catalogue, which perhaps no one but this author would have the knowledge or the patience to compile. Some graduates are omitted who made more of a mark on the history of the army than scores of those mentioned, but it would be unfair to ask Colonel Dupuy to duplicate Cullum's *Register*. The book is pitched throughout in the high strain of exaltation which convention seems to require of writings about West Point. It is not chiefly a matter of definite error or exaggeration, though these are not absent, but rather of a romantic haze which hangs over the narrative, shrouding all imperfections and extending even over the individuals who are mentioned. Through it some mediocre men loom large and the rather sharp flaws in the characters of some others are obscured. The glorification of the honor system would be a little too lyrical at any time, and in the light of recent revelations it reads like bitter satire. Nevertheless the book has a field of usefulness extending beyond the group of West Point alumni for whom its appeal is obvious and those large libraries which acquire any and all new books on American history. One half of the text is devoted to the operations of World War II, a subject so vast and complex that the ordinary reader despairs of getting more than a nebulous conception. Here is a clear account of the campaigns in all the theaters of war; not a complete and well-balanced history, for, as the author points out, its interest is "only in the men of West Point engaged." So the Navy's work is described only as it directly affected land operations. But allowing for its avowed limitations the book provides the information wanted by the nonprofessional reader, and in easily readable form. It is suitable for the shelves of small libraries as well as large.

THOMAS M. SPAULDING, *Washington, D.C.*

THEY FOUGHT WITH WHAT THEY HAD: THE STORY OF THE ARMY AIR FORCES IN THE SOUTHWEST PACIFIC, 1941-1942. By *Walter D. Edmonds*. With an Introduction by General George C. Kenney, USAF. (Boston, Little, Brown, 1951, pp. xxiii, 532, \$5.00.) Japanese armed forces opened hostilities against the

United States at the periphery of its power under conditions most favorable to them, subjecting the United States and its allies to months of delaying tactics, of heroic and sacrificial effort, and of bitter losses before the two sides were brought to balance. In this first of two volumes, Mr. Edmonds deals with the early phase of the war in the Southwest Pacific, and from the point of view of the men engaged in the field. Avoiding explicit military criticism, what he occasionally implies falls in general into the familiar pattern of the inveterate hostility of the men of tactical units toward headquarters staffs. The author obtained 13 diaries and personal narratives, 12 written statements, and 136 interviews, some of them with groups of participants, which he subsequently checked against some pertinent archives and published sources. His research began in the spring of 1945, about three years after the events discussed in the interviews, when he undertook to write a volume for the Personnel Narratives Office of the Chief of Air Staff. Since then he has benefited from the publication of the volumes of the official history of the Army Air Forces in World War II and of Morison's history of United States Navy operations, and has had assistance from historical officers and others. The book gives so much attention to individuals, particular missions, and even individual aircraft that the narrative becomes a series of episodes. Only enough of the strategic issues and the contemporary ground and sea operations is provided to link the episodes into an understandable pattern. The point of view in treating these matters is closer to that of the men then fighting than that of today's students of World War II seeking a balanced history. Mr. Edmonds excels at description, providing a graphic aerial view of many places which came under Japanese attack. He gives discerning attention to matters of morale. He turns aside from the air war to relate sympathetically the frustrated efforts of Colonel John A. Robenson to execute his urgent orders from the War Department to get supplies into Bataan from the Netherlands East Indies. He has succeeded in writing with commendable objectivity and ample grace.

GEORGE FREDERICK HOWE, *Washington, D.C.*

DOCUMENTS ON AMERICAN FOREIGN RELATIONS. Volume XII, JANUARY 1-DECEMBER 31, 1950. Edited by *Raymond Dennett* and *Robert K. Turner*. (Princeton, Princeton University Press for World Peace Foundation, Boston, 1951, pp. xxvi, 702, \$6.00.) The make-up of the 1950 volume of *Documents on American Foreign Relations* reflects, as was to be expected, progress away from one war and into another. "Occupation Policy" disappears as a main heading; for occupation policies in Japan, Germany, and Austria one must look in the appropriate geographical sections. The "Economic Reconstruction and Development" of earlier volumes becomes simply "Economic Development." "Asia and the Pacific Area" replaces "Eastern Asia and the Pacific Area," though the countries of western Asia appear in another section headed "Middle East and Africa." "Europe" stands alone instead of being bracketed, as formerly, with "Africa and Western Asia." Other headings remain unchanged; as in the 1949 volume, there are fifteen in all. While World War II fades into the background, the Korean war comes over the horizon. Secretary Acheson, in a now famous speech before the National Press Club, defines the "defensive perimeter" of the United States in the western Pacific. United States and United Nations intervention in behalf of the Republic of Korea, and Chinese counterintervention, are recorded in the relevant documents. The resolutions on "Uniting for Peace," adopted by the U.N. General Assembly in November show how that body assumed the authority to act to halt aggression in the event of failure by the Security Council. Other significant documents, chosen more or less at random, are the conclusions and recommendations of the Bell Mission to the Philippines, the treaty of alliance of

February 14 between the USSR and Communist China, a State Department list of treaty violations by the USSR, and the communiqué issued by the NATO Council at its sixth session, recording the request that President Truman make General Eisenhower available to serve as Supreme Commander of NATO forces. These items are sufficient to illustrate the wide range of usefulness of the volume.

JULIUS W. PRATT, *University of Buffalo*

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NEW ENGLAND AND MIDDLE COLONIES AND STATES

ARCHITECTURE AND TOWN PLANNING IN COLONIAL CONNECTICUT.

By *Anthony N. B. Garvan*. [Yale Historical Publications: History of Art, VI.] (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1951, pp. xiv, 166, \$7.50.) A major weakness of this fine monograph is its inexact title. Yale University Press did Professor Garvan no great service when it broadened the scope of the 151-page volume, in title at least, by implying that it covered the whole of the colonial period. The author himself is more explicit when he says in his conclusion, "This work has been concerned chiefly with demonstration of the European precedents for the settler's customs." This chore he does well, so well that he has already received the ultimate accolade of his colleagues and peers, the annual gold medal of the Society of Architectural Historians for the outstanding contribution in architectural history by an American author in 1951. An excellent synthesis of the character of the early Connecticut migration leads logically to a discussion of town and land planning. In the Ulster adventurer town is found the closest prototype for nuclear settlement, after which colonial ingenuity and adaptation took over, resulting in an influence on planning that has never been lost. The second half of the book then concerns itself with the architecture of the settlers, which, not unexpectedly, is declared to have sprung from England in traditional rather than precise terms. Possibly the most illuminating discussion concerns itself with the hitherto widely accepted evolutionary theory—that is, that there was in Connecticut a progression from the first one-room house to the final familiar two-story gable roof structure. To this reviewer's satisfaction at least, Professor Garvan has proved that the single origin theory is fallacious. Because the dating of early houses is often difficult, there is room for conjecture, but an excellent case is made for a rich variety of early architecture, stemming from differences in the settlers' social and economic positions. The Yale Historical Publications, of which this is the thirty-first, assisted in producing a handsome, well-illustrated volume, lacking only a general map of Connecticut for those who are not acquainted with every nook and cranny in that state. If only the editors and publishers had not yielded to the temptation to mistitle it! *FREDERICK L. RATH, JR., Washington, D.C.*

LIFE ON THE UPPER SUSQUEHANNA, 1783-1860. By *James Arthur Frost*, State Teachers College, Oneonta, New York. (New York, King's Crown Press, 1951, pp. xii, 172, \$2.75.) The Empire State is so diverse in pattern as to defy generalization. There is a temptation to deal with it by regions. There have been produced in the state in the past few years a number of interesting and useful regional histories; and this one may be added to them, albeit, with a scant 128 pages of text, it is definitely on the thin side. The text is followed by 22 pages of notes, which could better have been placed at the bottoms of the pages to which they belong and surely with little added cost. The notes are followed by an excellent 16-page bibliography and by a 6-page, double-columned index that seems adequate for a text of this length. There are two modest, ink-drawn, outline maps that the reader will turn to often, one of

the upper valley boundaries and tributaries and the other of the roads about 1810. One will still go to Francis Whiting Halsey's *The Old New York Frontier* for the romantic story of the first settlements at Cherry Valley and Otsego Lake in colonial days, and of the retreat during the Revolution when the Cherry Valley massacre and the terror it caused left the valley desolate. This volume begins with the reoccupancy after the peace and the greater population surge that followed, 1790-1795. There follow three chapters treating respectively the frontier economy, the social structure, and the struggle for political control, all dealing with the years prior to 1820. A chapter on the rise of capitalistic enterprise serves as a transition to the 1830-1860 period, which, in turn, is covered by three chapters emphasizing adjustments to the national economy, new migrations, and social attitudes. In a final chapter entitled "The Upper Susquehanna Valley and the American Scene, 1783-1860," the author offers some well-stated general observations and summary interpretations. The organization is excellent. The author displays good training in the technical aspects of scholarship. The writing, if undistinguished, has the virtues of being straightforward and meaningful. There remains an impression that the material is thin or that it has not been fully used. The main reason, this reviewer has concluded, is that no local records appear to have been drawn upon to give that solid structure and rich detail that they can provide when intelligently and imaginatively used. The author has this strange statement in the introduction to his bibliography: "For the period prior to 1860 the records of local governmental units are meager and scattered. Many are lost. In general, those that have been examined were disappointing and did not contribute substantially to this study." This may be true of town records but cannot apply to the more important county records, which he has overlooked or chosen to ignore. Perhaps the author is not alone to be blamed. Our graduate schools of history have for a generation ignored them almost as though the Historical Records Survey with its hundreds of inventories had never existed. Yet our regional history will remain thin as long as young scholars are taught to base it on peripheral sources.

OLIVER W. HOLMES, *The National Archives*

- A PHILADELPHIA STORY: THE PHILADELPHIA CONTRIBUTIONSHIP FOR THE INSURANCE OF HOUSES FROM LOSS BY FIRE. By *Nicholas B. Wainwright*. (Philadelphia, Philadelphia Contributionship, 1952, pp. 260, \$5.00.) Although the title of this attractive volume is suggestive of works of fiction, it is good history, based on original sources, and written with considerable literary charm. To this are added well-chosen, beautiful illustrations, typography, and make-up, worthy of "B. Franklin, Printer." On the other hand, there is no index. The supposition that a volume commemorating the two hundredth anniversary of the Philadelphia Contributionship will be read, rather than consulted, is a dubious assumption even in the case of so "venerable and rich" an institution. The "story" as it is developed from a remarkably complete series of records, beginning with the deed of settlement of March 25, 1752 (cf. pp. 239-60), is enlivened by the author's keen sense for the tone of the social and cultural background of the old institutions of Philadelphia. Among these, the Contributionship is outstanding. Throughout its long history, it has steadfastly adhered to "writing perpetual fire insurance . . . on brick and stone buildings in Philadelphia and adjoining Counties." It has never responded to the lure of other types of risks, like marine insurance, or ventured outside the territory described in the deed of settlement. Even in this restricted area, the officers and directors were extraordinarily cautious, scrutinizing all risks with meticulous care (cf. survey no. I, p. 40, and that of Franklin's home, p. 88), to the point of declaring against insurance on houses "which have a tree or trees planted before them in the streets." Protesting

policy holders withdrew, organized a separate company in 1784, and adopted the name and symbol of the Green Tree in contrast to the Hand in Hand. Nevertheless, the Contributionship grew and flourished, its financial stability attested by assets of nearly twenty per cent of its risks, and the payment of ten per cent dividend, even in the depression years after 1929, to policy holders of ten years' standing. One is tempted to speculate on what so successful a direction of the corporation's affairs would have achieved, had it expanded, in response to Franklin's dynamic idea of mutual assistance, into the broader field represented today in a vast network of mutual insurance companies in every state of the nation.

WILLIAM E. LINGELBACH, *Philadelphia, Pennsylvania*

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SOUTHERN COLONIES AND STATES

IMPRESSIONS RESPECTING NEW ORLEANS: DIARY AND SKETCHES, 1818-1820. By *Benjamin Henry Boneval Latrobe*. Edited with an Introduction and Notes by *Samuel Wilson, Jr.* (New York, Columbia University Press, 1951, pp. xxiv, 196, \$8.75.) It is always a pleasure to find a book which presents an example of artistic book-making. The Columbia University Press has achieved that in this volume—in the printing, in the illustrations, and even in the jacket. The unusual proportions of this book, even though a bit awkward for the reader, may be regarded as justified by the fact that it reproduces most of Latrobe's drawings and water colors in the same size as the originals. The original manuscripts in the collection of the late Ferdinand Latrobe II, great-grandson of the author, are now first published in their entirety, for only portions were published in 1905 in *The Journal of Latrobe* by Appleton. The manuscript comprised originally eight small copybooks, of from forty to sixty-five pages each, but one, number three in the series, seems to have been lost. Samuel Wilson, Jr., an architect and lecturer at Tulane University, has discharged very satisfactorily his task of editing the work, providing in the introduction an account of Latrobe's life and work and elucidating the text with copious notes. He has secured his data not only from the letter books and letters in the possession of members of the Latrobe family but also from the usual printed sources. From Latrobe's sketch-book have been reproduced twenty-five sketches and maps, which are appended to this volume. In addition scattered through the pages appear numerous illustrations, some simple pen-and-ink drawings of birds, fish, and seaweed; others are full-page illustrations in color; and a frontispiece furnishes appropriately a reproduction of a portrait of Latrobe attributed to Charles Willson Peale. Latrobe was not only a cultivated and widely traveled architect, with a large circle of influential friends; he was also a widely read and informed man, whose philosophy is reflected through the pages of his journal, indicating, as the editor says, the changes in thought from the rationalism of the eighteenth century to the revivalism of the nineteenth. He meditates on the virtues of sin (pp. 26-31), on the importance of life, a passage which smacks of Hindu philosophy (pp. 37-39), and reflects something of his early years in Germany in his attitude toward observance of Sunday (pp. 46-49). Latrobe manages to sweep over a wide field of human thought. He comments on the wisdom of cremation as a means of disposing of the dead; on sentimentality toward Indians, on Spanish cruelty toward freemasons, on the peculiarity of retail trade as carried on by Negro peddlers in that southern city, and on the complexity of French and German methods of designating numerals. His strictures on our state and national capitals do not make agreeable reading. In the appendixes are inserted several letters by members of the family, one by his daughter and two by his wife, which further illuminate the journal.

ELLA LONN, *Baltimore, Maryland*

THE HEALTH OF SLAVES ON SOUTHERN PLANTATIONS. By *William Dosite Postell*. [Louisiana State University Studies, Social Science Series, No. 1.] (Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University Press, 1951, pp. xiii, 231, \$3.00.) This offset printed book by the medical librarian of Louisiana State University adds much new in-

formation on some aspects of its subject and may facilitate the research of specialists through its bibliography and 761 footnotes. "Sympathetic appreciation" of southern traditions has led the author to draw an unrealistic picture of general slave health and medical practices. He relies on manuscript plantation records far more than contemporary travel accounts or newspapers and shies away from harsh evaluations, observing, "It is very difficult to find adverse criticism of the physical care of slaves in travelers' accounts." He finds that "Crude as medical practice was at this time, the planter provided the same care for his slaves as he did for his family." Comparing percentage expenditures for medical care by families, 1935-36, with those by planters for slaves, he claims that "it appears that the planter was spending as much as, and in many cases more than, families are spending today [1951] for medical care." He divided medical disbursements by total disbursements in each case, but a check of two of his five plantation sources shows that one plantation "family" of slaves totaled one hundred and another at least several hundred. The result is a mathematical absurdity (p. 73). Postell equates days of work lost through sickness by slaves with urban figures, 1935-36, without inquiring how sick a slave had to be to become a "lost day" statistic (pp. 147-51). Comments by Olmstead about slave cabins on two atypical plantations are converted into generalizations applying to three states (p. 45). His final conclusion is, "The over-all picture of slave health is simply a picture of health conditions in the United States, and their health status was no better and no worse than that of the populace as a whole for that period." Is this even true of the slaves belonging to what Hofstadter called in attacking the methodology of U. B. Phillips "the upper crust of the upper crust" (*Journal of Negro History*, XXIX, 119)? Postell's boycott of the attitudes and historical contributions of the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History was disastrous. It facilitated his omission of the point made by Pickard and Buley in *The Midwest Pioneer: His Ills, Cures, and Doctors* (p. 289), a conclusion invalid for plantation slaves: "At all times the pioneer reserved the sovereign right to try to make the science of medicine conform to his concept of democracy, to criticize, complain, refuse to regulate, do his own doctoring or none at all." It must be said regretfully that this volume's sources are not well rounded, that its methodology is inadequate, and that its major conclusions are not necessarily valid.

VAUGHN D. BORMET, *Stanford University*

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH CAROLINA. Volume I, SOUTH CAROLINA COLLEGE.

By *Daniel Walker Hollis*. (Columbia, University of South Carolina Press, 1951, pp. xii, 343, \$3.50.) The first volume of the projected sesquicentennial history of the University of South Carolina carries the story from the founding in 1801 to the disruption in 1862. To the considerable body of literature dealing in one way or another with this institution, Mr. Hollis has added his own serious investigation and synthesized the whole into a clear, concise, and not uncritical study. If the net result is to confirm and document what has previously been reported rather than to add significantly to our knowledge, it is perhaps because of the limits the author has set. This book is essentially a history of the administration of the college. Budgets, appointments, and construction programs are carefully related, and the author deals knowledgeably with the effects on the college of migration of power from one set of pressure groups to another. He has done a thorough job of tracing these shifts, but his conclusions should surprise no one. The waxing power of the upcountry Presbyterians and the progressive hardening of taboos relating to constitutional and racial questions are familiar themes. The intellectual life of the college is not so competently treated. The author's conceptual framework is inadequate and his acquaintance with contemporary practices in higher education is evidently limited. The rich potentialities of the subject

are never fully exploited. The distinction of the faculty and the prominence in antebellum South Carolina of alumni and officers of the state college all suggest the imperative need for a careful analysis of this enterprise of learning. The fundamental question is whether the college was a dynamic force in crystallizing values in that particularist culture or merely a passive agency that adjusted itself to the changing temper of the society that supported it. The author's approach to this difficult problem is confused and his resolution of it ambiguous. THOMAS LEDUC, *O'Leary College*

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WESTERN TERRITORIES AND STATES

NEW MEXICO: A PAGEANT OF THREE PEOPLES. By *Erna Fergusson*. (New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1951, pp. xii, 408, vi, \$5.00.) Erna Fergusson, one of New Mexico's most distinguished writers, has interpreted her native state, its land and people, as has no one else. Brought up with the dust and wind and color of New Mexico's mesas and mountains in her veins, Miss Fergusson writes with a touch of the artist's skill and the scholar's insight into the complex forces that have made New Mexico what it is. She knows the land from travel and study; and she knows its people from living among them and observing their customs with keenness and alertness. The author divides the work into three distinct parts reflecting the cultural heritage of Indian, Spaniard, and gringo. By this division there emerges a clear-cut picture of the racial groups that have inhabited the New Mexico scene. Part One, which is devoted to the Indian, consists of nine chapters. In these we find a general introduction to the establishment of Indian society in the Southwest and of its development through the ages. Particular descriptions are given of the Pueblos, who inhabit the Rio Grande Valley, and to the Apaches and Navajos, whose chief habitat is in western and northwestern New Mexico but who spill across into the contiguous areas in Arizona. Miss Fergusson treats the history of each group succinctly, discusses their relations with the United States government, and includes an account of their adjustment to society in the twentieth century, an adjustment that has been long delayed because of the persistence of native customs and the reluctance of the "European" elements to mix with them. The effect of two world wars, and the distant military camps and war factories of all kinds into which the younger Indians flocked in increasing numbers, have, however, broken down old barriers and opened new vistas of opportunity for these people. After the Indian had established himself in the land and lived there for centuries, the intruding Spaniard came, with his zest for gold and conversion. There was the Coronado exploration of the 1540's, settlement of the colony under Oñate, reconquest by Vargas nearly a century later after a great Pueblo revolt, and thereafter a steady growth of Spanish society, European in every respect, but isolated nearly a thousand miles from any other colony. This isolation prohibited easy

communication with other parts of the empire and left its imprint on New Mexico and her people. With the collapse of the Spanish Empire and the westward sweep of manifest destiny, the gringo entered New Mexico. This story is Part Three of the book. The gringo was at first largely "Anglo," and that term was used to denote every non-Spaniard or non-Indian. Miss Fergusson prefers the term gringo, however, a change that has merit in view of the varied racial intermixture of the people who have come to the territory since the American invasion of 1846. In this third part, we find the mountain men of the fur-trading days, the soldiers of Kearney and his army, migration of Texans to the higher and cooler ground of New Mexico, and chapters on mining, stock raising, water, artists, and the influx of "federal men" with the development of military bases, conservation, and atomic projects in New Mexico's vast domain. *New Mexico: A Pageant of Three Peoples* is a delightful, informative, and authoritative book. It is a splendid introduction to the newcomer to the Southwest and a pleasant and satisfying companion to one who may have lived long in the area.

GEORGE P. HAMMOND, *University of California, Berkeley*

STEAMBOATS IN THE TIMBER. By *Ruby El Hult*. (Caldwell, Idaho, Caxton Printers, 1952, pp. 209, \$4.00.) *Steamboats in the Timber* is the story of several of the more picturesque phases of pioneering development in the Coeur d'Alene district of northwest Idaho. The small inland lake of Coeur d'Alene, which with its two principal tributaries was navigable by small steamboats and rafts, was the center of successive booms in mining, timber, and, more briefly, railroad construction. The mining boom got under way in the early 1880's and the ensuing rush of thousands of prospectors to the region led to the introduction of a few steamboats a lively traffic in passengers and supplies, and the rise of several lusty mining communities. The short-lived gold rush was followed by the far more substantial, if less spectacular, growth of silver mining which provided a prosperous business for the lake boats until the completion in 1890 of a direct rail connection to the mining district by the Northern Pacific quickly wiped out the water traffic in ore and supplies. The large-scale exploitation of the timber lands of the Coeur d'Alene area began in the closing years of the century and by 1904 the mills of one lumber town alone were turning out a half million board feet a day. Log driving assumed large proportions on the short rivers which tapped the rich timber country of the hinterland. A lesser boom to business and steamboat traffic came with the location and construction through the district of the Pacific Coast branch of the Milwaukee Railroad. The purpose of the author, a journalist of some experience, is not to exhaust the subject but to interest and, perhaps, amuse the casual reader. It should be of particular interest to those living in or familiar with the Coeur d'Alene area. If the role of the steamboat in the economic development of the district is somewhat overplayed, water traffic does provide a convenient thread on which to string the several episodes recounted here. The material is rather loosely organized and the style at times is trivially anecdotal. Yet the story is pleasantly readable and the author has succeeded well in accomplishing her limited objective. There is no bibliography and only a dozen footnote references, all told; but the volume is handsomely illustrated with some forty photographs and an excellent fold-in map.

LOUIS C. HUNTER, *American University*

TRAIL DRIVING DAYS. Text by *Dee Brown*. Picture research by *Martin F. Schmitt*. (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1952, pp. xxii, 264, \$7.50.) Old-time saloons in the cattle country often displayed the long horns of Texas cattle, carefully steamed and stretched to unnatural lengths. The first page of illustrations in this pictorial history reproduces a photograph of live cattle with horns as unnatural as the saloon

specimens. Your reviewer would like more research on this picture. He suspects some early-day photographer of retouching it for the same reason that the saloon horns were distorted—a provocative commentary on what the public has long demanded of the wild and woolly West. In this book 228 other pertinent pictures have been gathered for arm-chair riders interested in the plains cattle industry prior to the turn of the century. A few are drawings and paintings but the book's value, as well as its charm, will be found in the numerous photographs of cattlemen engaged in their lonely, dangerous, picturesque work. Many of these snapshots have been reproduced before but nowhere, to your reviewer's knowledge, have so many been corralled in one volume. The illustrations, together with some 185 pages of text, describe the development of range cattle trails on the plains. These routes were closely associated with the building of our transcontinental railroads. The cattle-shipping towns in turn developed famous western law-enforcing officers whose energy and integrity added to the cowboys' trail song a new stanza beginning, "Oh, I woke up broken-hearted in the old Dodge City jail." A few big operators like Charles Goodnight, Joseph McCoy, Samuel Maverick, H. H. Campbell, and Murdo Mackenzie are singled out, with their outfits, for special treatment. John Chisum and Jesse Chisholm are differentiated properly. The Lincoln County War is outlined satisfactorily in six and a half pages. A hitherto unpublished picture of Billy the Kid is given the full page it deserves. The 1866 drive up the forbidden Bozeman Trail and the often neglected eastward trail from Oregon are mentioned briefly. Theodore Roosevelt and his neighbor on the Little Missouri, the marquis de Mores, receive due attention. A reader looking at these pictures must be struck with the difference in facial expression of cowboys in the 1890's and today—as unmistakable as the difference between a reservation Indian and a "wild" savage. Modern cowboys appear to be cleaner looking, more intelligent and tolerant individuals but their faces lack the unconquerable granite arrogance of the earlier generation which could stare, without blinking, into the camera lens of the 1890's. Here in dramatic pictures the pioneers of a free country-with-a-future are separated by only a few pages from the residents of a fenced country-with-a-past. This volume will interest all students of the West. Minor errors should be corrected in later printings, and an index would add materially to the book's usefulness.

JAY MONAGHAN, *Huntington Library*

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Latin-American History

James S. Cunningham

GENERAL

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- WALTER, GÉRARD. *Répertoire de l'histoire de la Révolution française (travaux publiés de 1800 à 1940)*. Vol. II, *Lieux*. Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale. 1951. Pp. 614.
- WALTERS, F. P. *A History of the League of Nations*. Two vols. Published under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs. New York: Oxford University Press. 1952. Pp. xv, 463; viii, 465-833. \$11.50.
- WARDLOW, CHESTER. *The Transportation Corps: Responsibilities, Organization, and Operations*. United States Army in World War II: The Technical Services. Washington: Department of the Army. 1951. Pp. xvii, 454. \$3.25.

- WAXELL, SVEN. *The American Expedition*. Translated from Johan Skalberg's Danish version, with introduction and note by M. A. MICHAEL. Edinburgh: William Hodge; New York: Macmillan, 1952. Pp. 236. \$3.00.
- WEBER, SHIRLEY HOWARD, (comp.). *Voyages and Travels in the Near East Made during the XIX Century: Being a Part of a Larger Catalogue of Works on Geography, Cartography, Voyages and Travels, in the Gennadius Library in Athens*. Catalogues of the Gennadius Library, I. Princeton: American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1952. Pp. x, 252. \$5.00.
- WHITELOCK, D. *The Beginnings of English Society*. Pelican History of England, Vol. II. Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1952. Pp. 256. 65 cents.
- WILEY, BELL IRVIN. *The Life of Billy Yank: The Common Soldier of the Union*. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1952. Pp. 454. \$6.00.
- WILLIAMS, T. HARRY. *Lincoln and His Generals*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1952. Pp. viii, 363, iv. \$4.00.
- WILMOT, CHESTER. *The Struggle for Europe*. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1952. Pp. 766. \$5.00.
- WILSON, WOODROW. *Leaders of Men*. Ed. by T. H. VAIL MORTER. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1952. Pp. viii, 70. \$2.00.
- WISH, HARVEY. *Society and Thought in Modern America; A Social and Intellectual History of the American People from 1865*. Society and Thought in America, Vol. II. New York: Longmans, Green, 1952. Pp. xii, 618. \$5.00.
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- WOOD, H. J. *Exploration and Discovery*. Hutchinson's University Library: Geography. New York: Longmans, Green, 1951. Pp. 192. Trade \$2.25, text \$1.80.
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- WRIGHT, LEON E. *Alterations of the Words of Jesus: As Quoted in the Literature of the Second Century*. Harvard Historical Monographs, XXV. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1952. Pp. x, 153. \$3.00.
- WSZELAKI, JAN H. *Fuel and Power in Captive Middle Europe*. New York: Mid-European Studies Center of the National Committee for a Free Europe, 1952. Pp. 63.
- YARMON, MORTON. *Early American Antique Furniture*. New York: Sterling Publishing Co. 1952. Pp. 144. \$2.95.
- Yivo Annual of Jewish Social Science*, Vol. VI. Ed. by KOPPEL S. PINSON. New York: Yiddish Scientific Institute, 1951. Pp. 320.
- ZAVALA, SILVIO. *El Instituto Panamericano de Geografia e Historia*. Documentos, VII. Mexico, D.F.: Instituto Panamericano de Geografia e Historia, Comision de Historia, 1952. Pp. 25.
- ZINOVIEV, M. A. *Soviet Methods of Teaching History*. Trans. from the Russian by ALEXIS MUSTIN-PUSHKIN. Ann Arbor, Mich.: J. W. Edwards for American Council of Learned Societies, 1952. Pp. 163. \$3.00.
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American Historical Association

The following item is the required official notice to all members of the American Historical Association that at the business meeting in December the Council will present an amendment to Section I of Article III of the Constitution. This amendment, duly approved by the Council, proposes changes in the annual dues, life membership, and the establishment of a reduced fee for graduate students. The proposals stem from a consideration by the Council of the Association's finances and obligations. All expenses in the normal operation of the Association have increased, some of them sharply. The profits from the *Review* have declined. Major committees, for example the nominating committee, have not been able to meet. The allotment of funds from the Smithsonian will cover the printing of a brief annual report and *Writings on American History* but not the important Matteson consolidated index of all volumes of the *Writings* to 1940. It is presumed that a successor to the present Executive Secretary cannot be secured at less than twice the present salary item. The salaries of other members of the staff must be reviewed from time to time with some regard to prevailing salaries and living costs in Washington. No forward planning is possible on the present budget. It is well known to the members of the Association that similar organizations have increased their dues in recent years, some by percentages higher than those proposed in the following Council recommendation, which was drafted by a committee consisting of Paul Knaplund, chairman, Leo Gershoy, and Joseph R. Strayer. If adopted, it will go into effect immediately:

Any person approved by the Council may become an active member of the Association. Active membership shall date from the receipt by the Treasurer of the first payment of dues, which shall be \$7.50 a year or a single payment of \$150 for life. Any graduate or undergraduate student registered in a college or university may become a junior member of the Association upon payment of four dollars and after the first year may continue as such, as long as he is registered as a student, by paying the annual dues of four dollars.

Consular reports to the Department of State indicate that members of learned societies traveling abroad would find letters of accreditation from their societies useful. Such a letter will be given members of the American Historical Association on application to the Executive Secretary with an indication of the applicant's itinerary.

Other Historical Activities

The Library of Congress has acquired a group of manuscripts supplementing the papers of William Short, diplomat and private secretary to Thomas Jefferson.

This addition of Short and Henry Family Papers (1786-1860) consists of eighty-seven items, among them the letters of Robert Pryor Henry (1781-1824) relating to his term as member of Congress from Kentucky from 1823 to his death in 1826. Three letters of Henry Clay to Dr. John F. Henry of Chillicothe, Ohio, written during 1827 relate primarily to public affairs. Many of the other letters are on family matters and conditions in Kentucky during those years.

The papers of Leland Harrison, career diplomat, have come to the Library through the generosity of Mrs. Harrison. Much of the material relates to the Peace Conference of 1919—Harrison was diplomatic secretary to the American Commission—and to his long diplomatic service in various posts. Harrison was minister to Switzerland in the crucial period just before and during World War II.

Mrs. Charles L. McNary has presented to the Library a considerable group of the papers of Charles L. McNary, justice of the Supreme Court of Oregon from 1913 to 1915, United States senator from 1917 to the time of his death in 1944, minority leader during the last twelve years of that service, and vice presidential candidate in 1940. The collection includes correspondence, memorandums, bills, resolutions, and speeches, relating mainly to McNary's years of service in the Senate.

Mrs. Harold L. Ickes has donated the personal papers of the late Secretary of the Interior. It is a large collection, numbering over 150,000 items, and is, for the time being, restricted. The papers date from about 1907 to 1951 and include Mr. Ickes' correspondence, articles, and speeches reflecting his work as a lawyer in Chicago, his activities in early municipal reform and in national politics, and his noted service as the head of the Department of the Interior.

The papers of Sydney Howard Gay, antislavery editor and American historian, have been placed in the Harvard College Library by his heirs. A long series of letters written by James Russell Lowell when Gay was editor of the *American Anti-Slavery Standard* comprise the first portion of the collection. Many of these are unpublished. Also included in the gift are Lowell's manuscripts of verse and prose contributions to the *Standard*, including the greater part of the first series of *The Biglow Papers*. Other important manuscripts included in the Gay Papers are: letters of war correspondents with the armies of both the North and the South during the Civil War, written to Gay as managing editor and chief aide to Horace Greeley on the New York *Tribune*; letters of many famous contemporaries written to Gay while he was on the *Standard*, on the *Tribune*, and later on the Chicago *Tribune* with Joseph Medill and on the New York *Post* with William Cullen Bryant; the papers of the pre-Revolutionary leader of the American colonies, James Otis, Sr., of James Otis, Jr., and of Brig. Gen. Joseph Otis, appointed by Washington during the Revolution; some of Gay's personal journals and the source material for his four-volume work, *A Popular History of the United States*, published in 1876-81. A collection of Gay's own letters is in the Library of Congress.

Henry Holt and Company, book publishing firm founded in 1866, has presented its complete files to the Princeton University Library. The collection contains over 400,000 letters and documents.

The Canadian Library Association (46 Elgin Street, Ottawa, Canada) has issued a catalogue of the microfilms of Canadian newspapers made between 1948 and 1951. In addition, the committee in charge of microfilming is co-operating with the Canadian Archives in reproducing rare Canadiana such as letters of Sir John A. MacDonald, the Selkirk papers, the American Fur Company papers, etc. Annual lists will follow for the years after 1951.

Under the auspices of the National Historical Publications Commission a committee has been formed in Virginia under the chairmanship of David J. Mays of Richmond to consider plans for the publication of James Madison's papers. Other members of the committee are Lyman H. Butterfield, director of the Institute of Early American History and Culture at Williamsburg, and Francis L. Berkeley, Jr., of the University of Virginia.

The history department of the University of Kentucky, with the co-operation of the National Historical Publications Commission, is endeavoring to compile and publish the papers of Henry Clay. Letters both to and by Clay, other materials of which Clay was the author, and particularly significant items about him will be included. Any assistance readers of the *Review* can give in the search for these documents will be appreciated. Professor James F. Hopkins of the University of Kentucky, Lexington, is in charge.

John G. Biel, 316 Star Building, Terre Haute, Indiana, and the Indiana Historical Society Library, wish to locate garrison orderly books of old Fort Harrison, from 1811 to about 1820. Two copies of a 4th Regiment orderly book for this period are known, one in the society's library and the other in the Burton Collection of the Detroit Public Library. News of any other orderly books will be welcomed by Mr. Biel.

The External Research Staff of the Department of State has prepared in mimeograph form a list of research in progress in history and the social sciences. It is arranged by areas. Scholars planning work in areas such as Southeast Asia, the USSR, China, Japan, the Far East, Korea, western Europe, the Near East, or international affairs would do well to consult these very useful lists and to report their own project. Inquiries addressed to the Chief, External Research Staff, Room 602, State Annex No. 1, Department of State, Washington 25, D.C., will be gladly answered.

The eighteenth volume of the *International Bibliography of Historical Sciences*

covering publications for 1949 appeared last December and the nineteenth volume, for 1950, will be published in the near future. Less well known on this side of the Atlantic than in Europe, the *Bibliography* is a selective list of articles and books, and citations of significant reviews, in all fields of history arranged under a rather elaborate system of subject headings. It includes contributions from as many countries as possible, each country's contribution being the responsibility of a national committee. Thirty national committees collaborated in the publication of Volume XVIII. The American Historical Association is responsible for providing the United States entries. The first fourteen volumes of the *Bibliography* appeared during the years 1926-39. Publication was interrupted during the war (1940-46) but was resumed with Volume XVI for 1947. (It is hoped that funds will some day be available to publish Volume XV covering the period from 1940 to 1946.) Pierre Caron, with the assistance of Marc Jaryc until his death in 1943, directed the publication of Volumes I through XVI. After his resignation because of ill health, Dr. Jirina Sztachova, who had worked with M. Caron on Volume XVI, was appointed editor for Volumes XVII and XVIII. The *Bibliography* is under the general supervision of the Bibliographical Commission of the International Committee of Historical Sciences, which, as reorganized during the Ninth International Congress last year, is composed of representatives from France, Germany, Poland, the United States (Dr. Solon J. Buck), England, Italy, and Sweden. Resumption of publication after the war was made possible by the assistance of UNESCO. Information concerning the price of each volume and the 10 per cent reduction allowed for the purchase of the whole collection may be obtained from the Librairie Armand Colin, 103, Boulevard Saint-Michel, Paris V. The Bibliographical Commission will welcome criticisms or suggestions regarding the quality and utility of the *Bibliography* from American scholars to whom it might be of use.

The Mediaeval Academy of America sends the following report of its annual meeting, held in Boston April 25-26, 1952: Announcement of the award of the Haskins Medal to Alexander A. Vasiliev for his book *Justin the First* was made at the annual meeting of the Mediaeval Academy of America. The Haskins Medal is awarded annually for the best scholarly book dealing with the Middle Ages. Professor Vasiliev was elected second vice-president of the Mediaeval Academy for a term of three years. John Nicholas Brown, of Providence, Rhode Island, was re-elected treasurer. Mrs. Robert Woods Bliss of Washington, D.C., Kemp Malone (professor of English at Johns Hopkins), William M. Milliken (director of the Cleveland Art Museum), and B. Wilkinson (professor of history at the University of Toronto) were elected to the Council. Professors Roger S. Loomis of Columbia and Carl Stephenson of Cornell were elected Fellows. Six foreign scholars were elected Corresponding Fellows: Gustave Cohen (France), Alexander J. Denomy (Canada), Joan Evans and Kenneth H. Jackson (Great Britain), Lis Jacobsen (Denmark), and Monsignor Auguste Pelzer (Vatican

City State). The speakers were Professors Helen Maud Cam of Harvard and Radcliffe ("The Old English Franchises and the Quo Warranto Proceedings of the Thirteenth Century"), Robert S. Lopez of Yale ("An Aristocracy of Money in the Early Middle Ages"), A. J. Denomy of Toronto ("Courtliness and Courtly Love"), and Kenneth J. Conant of Harvard ("The Last Phases of the Cluny Project").

The Mississippi Valley Historical Association held its annual meeting in Chicago April 17-19. At the annual dinner Merle Curti of the University of Wisconsin delivered the presidential address, entitled "The Democratic Theme in American Historical Writing." Officers elected for this year are James L. Sellers, University of Nebraska, president; Fred A. Shannon, University of Illinois, vice-president; and Mrs. Clarence S. Paine continues as secretary-treasurer. The 1953 meeting will be held in Lexington, Kentucky.

The Conference on British Studies (see *AHR*, April, 1952, p. 845) held its first official meeting on April 5 at New York University. About thirty colleges and universities in the northeastern area of the United States were represented. After a brief business meeting presided over by the president, Professor Harold Hulme, Professor Wallace Notestein of Yale read a paper entitled "Some Comments on the Seventeenth-Century English." The fall meeting of the conference will be held in early November.

The eighth annual Institute of International Affairs of the University of Wyoming will be held July 14 to August 15, 1952. The theme this year is "Inside Russia." Among the participants will be Samuel F. Bemis of Yale, Anatole G. Mazour of Stanford, James B. Reston and Harry Schwartz of the *New York Times*, and Alexander Kerensky. Gale W. McGee of the University of Wyoming is chairman.

The 1952 annual meeting of the Economic History Association will be held at Oberlin College, September 12-13. The program has been planned by a committee under the chairmanship of John G. B. Hutchins of Cornell University. Local arrangements and reservations will be made by a committee headed by Thomas LeDuc of Oberlin College.

The program to encourage the study of the United States in Japan carried out during the past two years by Stanford University in co-operation with the University of Tokyo will be extended through 1956 under a grant appropriated by the Rockefeller Foundation. The four-week seminar this summer will be under the chairmanship of George H. Knoles, professor of history at Stanford.

Chauncey S. Boucher, Abraham Lincoln lecturer in American civilization at

Knox College, delivered a series of lectures on April 23 and 30 and May 7 at Knox College entitled "Intimate Glimpses of Five Americans." Professor Boucher retired from Knox College in June.

On March 6 and 7 Merle Curti of the University of Wisconsin delivered two lectures at the University of Cincinnati under the auspices of the Charles Phelps Taft Memorial Fund. The titles of the lectures were "The Exportation of American Know-How" and "Prelude to Point Four."

Loren C. MacKinney delivered the inaugural lecture of the J. C. Trent Society of the History of Medicine at the Duke University Medical School, February 19, 1952.

The American Group of the Société des Amis de la Bibliothèque Nationale et des Grandes Bibliothèques de France is being reorganized and is ready to accept members. Information about the purposes of the group, the privileges accorded members, and membership fees may be obtained by writing Professor Casimir D. Zdanowicz, Acting Secretary-Treasurer, 2214 Commonwealth Ave., Madison 5, Wisconsin.

The John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation has announced the award of 191 fellowships for 1952-53. This year the average age of Fellows is forty and their ages range from twenty-two to seventy-four years. California leads all states in the number of its residents awarded fellowships, and faculty members of the University of California received more fellowships than the professors of any other institution. Thirty-five Californians were awarded fellowships, and twenty University of California faculty members are on the list. Yale University is next with ten members of its faculty awarded fellowships. The committee of selection consisted of Edgar Anderson, professor of botany in Washington University, St. Louis, Missouri; Henri M. Peyre, professor of French in Yale University; Carl O. Sauer, professor of geography in the University of California, Berkeley; Edwin B. Wilson, retired professor of vital statistics, Harvard University School of Public Health; and Louis B. Wright, director of the Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, D.C. Recipients of fellowships include the following scholars in history and related fields: Rev. Maynard Geiger, O.F.M., Old Mission, Santa Barbara, California, biographical studies of Fray Junipero Serra, O.F.M., 1713-1784, founder of the California Missions; Douglas Southall Freeman, Richmond, Virginia, the life and times of George Washington; Carl Parcher Russell, superintendent of the Yosemite National Park, California, history of the American West, especially of the trade goods and equipment of fur traders and trappers; Francis Butler Simkins, Longwood College, Farmville, Virginia, Jefferson Davis; Julian Boyd, Princeton University, Thomas Jefferson; Kenneth Milton Stampp, University of California, Berkeley, Negro slavery in the United States, 1820-60;

Gilbert Chinard, Princeton University, European concepts relating to America; John Horace Parry, University College of the West Indies, Mona, Jamaica, municipal government in the Spanish Indies from the Conquest to independence; Charles Gibson, State University of Iowa, Valley-of-Mexico peoples in colonial times; William H. Jordy, Yale University, effects of the concept of the "City Beautiful" on city planning in the United States; Marvin Chauncey Ross, Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, the American soldier and painter, General Seth Eastman; Wallace Stegner, Stanford University, Major John Wesley Powell, founder of the plan of scientific bureaus in the federal government; David Crockett Graham, Wenatchee, Washington, studies of the Ch'iang peoples of southwest China; Ferdinand Diederich Lessing, University of California, Berkeley, Tibetan Buddhist symbolism; Richard Casper Rudolph, University of California, Los Angeles, history of Chinese archaeology; Raymond Adrien de Roover, Wells College, medieval financial history; John Lawrence Thomas, S.J., St. Louis University, cultural pluralism in the United States; Nathan Laselle Whetten, University of Connecticut, rural life in Guatemala; Dan Stanislawski, University of Texas, structure of Portuguese society; Hannah Arendt, Jewish Cultural Reconstruction, Inc., New York City, a study of totalitarian elements in Marxism; Henry M. Pachter, New York correspondent for the *Deutsche Zeitung* of Stuttgart, Germany, recent changes in the social status of the intelligentsia; Lionel Casson, New York University, maritime commerce in Greek and Roman times; Solomon Katz, University of Washington, Bithynia as a client kingdom of the Roman Empire; Brooks Otis, Hobart College, Roman thought; Carl Angus Roebuck, University of Chicago, economic and social development of the Ionian Greeks; Lily Ross Taylor, Bryn Mawr College, Roman politics in the last two centuries of the Republic; William Clarence Askew, Colgate University, relations of Italy with the Great Powers, 1896-1914; George P. Cuttino, Swarthmore College and Bryn Mawr College, history of European culture; Richard Wilder Emery, Queens College, New York, credit and trade in southern France, 1250-1350; Franklin Lewis Ford, Bennington College, history of Strasbourg under the Old Regime; Felix Gilbert, Bryn Mawr College, political and historical ideas in Italy from 1494 to 1530; James Russell Major, Emory University, the Estates General of France; Charles Donald O'Malley, Stanford University, a biographical study of Andreas Vesalius, 1514-64; George R. Coffman, University of North Carolina, a study, centering on John Gower, of the conservative middle class of fourteenth-century England; Kathrine Koller Diez, University of Rochester, relationship between literature and changes in English thought in the seventeenth century; F. Michael Krouse, University of Cincinnati, studies of Milton's part, and that of his adversaries, in the controversies following the execution of Charles I of England; Leonard John Trinterud, McCormick Theological Seminary, Chicago, the rise of Puritanism in England; Alice Sperduti, Smith College, Renaissance literary criticism; René Wellek, Yale University, history of literary criticism; Gay Wilson Allen, New York University, a biographical study of Walt Whitman; James Franklin Beard,

Jr., Dartmouth College, letters and papers of James Fenimore Cooper; Frederick Albert Pottle, Yale University, biographical studies of James Boswell; Henry Caraway Hatfield, Columbia University, the rise of paganism in German literature; Glenn Raymond Morrow, University of Pennsylvania, studies of Plato's laws and of Greek legislation and political tradition; Walter Collins O'Kane, retired Deputy Commissioner of Agriculture of the State of New Hampshire, Durham, beliefs and views of the Hopi Indians; Alexander Spöehr, Chicago Natural History Museum, peoples and cultures of Micronesia.

The Fund for the Advancement of Education of the Ford Foundation has awarded one-year fellowships to 246 men and women engaged in college teaching. Recipients are to spend the year in such a way as to enable them to become better qualified as teachers in their respective fields rather than in research. The general object of the awards is to strengthen liberal education in the United States. The following teachers in history are recipients of fellowships for 1952-53: Raymond H. Fisher, University of California at Los Angeles; Douglas H. Maynard, University of California at Berkeley; Henry Cord Meyer, Pomona College; George K. Tanham, California Institute of Technology; Lloyd Edson Worner, Colorado College; Clifford Laity, Montana School of Mines; Emil Lucki, University of Utah; Donald E. Emerson, University of Washington; John A. Garraty, Michigan State College; Henry B. Hill, University of Wisconsin; Merrill Jensen, University of Wisconsin; Frank L. Klement, Marquette University; James S. Ferguson, Millsaps College; Richard Bardolph, Woman's College of the University of North Carolina; Edward O. Guerrant, Davidson College; Lenore R. O'Boyle, Woman's College of the University of North Carolina; Eugene E. Pfaff, Woman's College of the University of North Carolina; Theodore L. Agnew, Oklahoma A. and M. College; Thomas P. Govan, University of the South; Henry L. Swint, Vanderbilt University; William R. Braisted, University of Texas; Noble M. Rippey, Texas Christian University; Ernest Wallace, Texas Technological College; Carl J. Bode, University of Maryland (department of English); David Spring, Johns Hopkins University; Jane Eleanor Ruby, Smith College; Walter Everett Bezanson, Rutgers University; David Maldwyn Ellis, Hamilton College; Edward Roser, City College of New York; Louis L. Snyder, City College of New York; Paul Harold Beik, Swarthmore College; Ira Vernon Brown, Pennsylvania State College.

The Social Science Research Council has awarded the following grants-in-aid of research to historians: Selig Adler, University of Buffalo, a study of the neo-isolationist movement, 1918-1929; O. Fritiof Ander, Augustana College, research in Sweden on Swedish immigration and immigrants in the United States; Robert G. Athearn, University of Colorado, W. T. Sherman and Indian policy after the Civil War; Paul H. Beik, Swarthmore College, research in France on political and social philosophies of the French Revolution; Leslie V. Brock, College of Idaho, the currency of the American colonies, 1700-75; David Bushnell, University of

Delaware, research in Colombia on late nineteenth-century Colombian trade and tariff policy; F. Hilary Conroy, University of Pennsylvania, study of materials on Japanese expansion in northeastern Asia; Louis Filler, Antioch College, a study of abolition and reform, 1830-60; Alfred J. Hanna, Rollins College, and Kathryn Abbey Hanna, research in France on French intervention in Mexico, 1861-67; Mark D. Hirsch, High School of Music and Art, New York City, a study of New York City political history from Tweed to LaGuardia; Frank L. Klement, Marquette University, research on midwestern Copperheadism, 1861-65; George E. Lewis, Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College, further research on Samuel Wharton, Indian trader and land speculator; Alexander Marchant, Vanderbilt University, research in Brazil on relations between the United States and Brazil; Edmund A. Moore, University of Connecticut, research on the church-state issue in the Smith-Hoover campaign; Robert E. Quirk, Indiana University, research in Mexico on the ideology of the Mexican Revolution, 1910-13; Martin Ridge, Westminster College, Pennsylvania, research on the public career of Ignatius Donnelly; Ronald V. Sires, Whitman College, research in England on Liberal reform, 1906-14; George B. Tindall, University of Mississippi, research on the public career of Wade Hampton of South Carolina; William R. Willoughby, St. Lawrence University, research on the politics of the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence Seaway and Power Project; Henry R. Winkler, Rutgers University, research in England on British labor and the League of Nations. Travel grants for area research have been awarded to: Charles S. Blackton, Colgate University, research in Australia on the development of nationality and loyalty to Empire, 1850-1900; Harold C. Hinton, Georgetown University, research in England on British trade with China; Donald C. McKay, Harvard University, research in Italy on the Risorgimento. Ph.D. candidates who have been awarded area research training fellowships are: Phyllis L. Le Roy, Radcliffe College, research in Southern Rhodesia on its recent political history; Kermit E. McKenzie, Columbia University, research in the United States on world revolution and the Soviet Union in Comintern theory, 1928-43; John M. Thompson, Columbia University, research in the United States on the relations between Russia and the West, 1919-20. Ph.D. candidates awarded research training fellowships are: Thomas M. Gale, University of Pennsylvania, sociological training and research on urbanism, and Robert E. Thomas, Columbia University, research on ratification of the Constitution in Virginia.

Among the fellowships and grants-in-aid announced by the Huntington Library for 1952-53 are: Edmund S. Morgan, Brown University, life of Ezra Stiles; Charles R. Anderson, Johns Hopkins University, civilization in Charleston, S.C.: 1660-1865; Bell Ivin Wiley, Emory University, a history of the Confederacy; Ralph P. Bieber, Washington University, the gold rush to California; A. P. Nasatir, San Diego State College, the French in California; Eugene Keith

Chamberlin, Montana State University, study of political and economic development of Baja California.

Applications for all fellowships and grants-in-aid at the Huntington Library for the academic year 1953-54 should be addressed to the chairman of the fellowship committee not later than January 1, 1953. Applicants should state specifically the field in which they are working and the particular topics they plan to study. The purpose of the fellowships and grants-in-aid is to enable scholars to complete significant research; therefore, no grants will be made for initial or exploratory researches.

Carlton J. H. Hayes was the recipient of the Alexander Hamilton Award of Columbia College for 1952.

The Pulitzer Prizes for history and biography for 1952 have been awarded to Oscar Handlin's *The Uprooted* and Merlo J. Pusey's *Charles Evans Hughes*.

Personal

APPOINTMENTS AND STAFF CHANGES

Henry Steele Commager, professor of history in Columbia University, has been appointed to the Harmsworth Chair of American History at Oxford University for the academic year 1952-53.

The department of history in Amherst College announces the appointment to its staff of Theodore P. Greene, Walter A. Sedelow, Jr., and John B. Halsted. Edwin C. Rozwenc has been promoted to professor of history.

Basil Rauch has been promoted to a full professorship of history in Barnard College.

Barnaby C. Keeney, dean of the graduate school of Brown University, who has been on leave of absence for government service during the past year, returns to his former post on July 1 and will also assume the duties of acting dean of the College.

Julius W. Pratt, Capen professor of American history and dean of the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences at the University of Buffalo, will lecture and conduct a seminar in American diplomatic history at the Salzburg Seminar in American Studies this summer.

Henry May left Scripps College at the end of the last academic year and will

join the department of history at the University of California, Berkeley, in the fall.

Catherine E. Boyd, associate professor of history in Carleton College, has been granted a leave of absence for the second semester, 1952-53, and will go to Italy for further research in the history of that country.

Joseph C. Robert, professor of history in Duke University, will assume new duties as president of Coker College on August 1.

Edward O. Guerrant, associate professor of history in Davidson College, is teaching in the summer session of the University of Southern California. He will be on leave of absence from Davidson College during 1952-53 and will study recent American foreign policy at the School of International Relations of the University of Southern California.

At Emory University, Bell I. Wiley, professor of history, will be on leave of absence for the academic year 1952-53. Teaching in the summer session are Festus P. Summers of West Virginia University and Joseph O. Baylen of New Mexico Highlands University. Thomas J. Wertenbaker, emeritus professor of history at Princeton, will serve as visiting professor at Emory during the winter quarter of 1953. Samuel R. Gammon, III, has been appointed instructor in history for 1952-53.

R. Homer Norton, chairman of the department of history in Grinnell College, has been elected chairman of the faculty.

Crane Brinton of Harvard University will be on leave of absence in western Europe from the end of July to the first of February, 1953.

Hans Kohn of the City College of New York is teaching in the Harvard University summer school.

Paul F. Sharp of Iowa State College is in Australia on a year's leave of absence as the recipient of a Fulbright award. He is lecturing on American history in the universities of Sydney and Melbourne.

Guido Kisch, research professor of history at the Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion, has been lecturing in Europe during a sabbatical leave of absence for the spring semester, 1952.

Stella R. Clemence has retired as Hispanic manuscripts specialist of the Library

of Congress, and Schafer Williams has been appointed to succeed her. Howard H. Bell, doctoral candidate at Northwestern University, has been appointed accessioner and specialist in American literary and social developments on the staff of the Manuscripts Division.

Allen M. Cline, Proctor professor of American history at Middlebury College, retired at the close of the past academic year.

Arnold Lloyd, a member of this Association, formerly of Wollaton, England, has gone to the University of Natal as professor of education.

Wilbur S. Shepperson has been promoted to assistant professor of history and political science in the University of Nevada.

Elisha P. Douglas, professor of history at Elon College, has been appointed assistant professor of American history at the University of North Carolina, beginning September 1, 1952.

At North Carolina State College, Stuart Noblin has been promoted to the rank of associate professor, and Charles F. Kolb and Marvin L. Brown, Jr., have been promoted to the rank of assistant professor.

Albert Norman, assistant professor of history in Norwich University, is teaching in the summer session of the College of the City of New York.

Sidney G. Morse, has been promoted from assistant professor to a professorship of history in Norwich University and has been named head of the department of social sciences to succeed Kemp R. B. Flint, who retired in June after forty-five years of service.

Howard Robinson of Oberlin is concluding a year's leave of absence during which he was a Fulbright lecturer in Australia.

Kenneth F. Millsap, formerly with the State Historical Society of Iowa, has accepted a position as head of the Mid-American Heritage Foundation at Parsons College at Fairfield, Iowa.

Roy F. Nichols has been elected dean of the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences of the University of Pennsylvania. He will take office on September 15.

At Princeton University, Walter Phelps Hall has retired, and Robert R. Palmer has succeeded him as Dodge professor of history. Julian P. Boyd, formerly

librarian, has been made a full professor of history, and Jerome Blum, assistant professor of history, has been named James Madison preceptor.

The Center for Research on World Political Institutions in the Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs of Princeton University has appointed three more historians: Martin Lichterman, formerly instructor in history at the Newark College of Rutgers University; Sidney E. Burrell, lecturer at Barnard College, from which he will take leave of absence for one year; and Raymond E. Lindgren, associate professor of history in Vanderbilt University.

Selig Adler, associate professor of history in the University of Buffalo, has been granted a leave of absence to teach at the University of Rochester during the academic year 1952-53.

Edward White of Stanford University has accepted an appointment in the department of history at Scripps College.

The summer school faculty at Stanford University includes Louis Gottschalk of the University of Chicago, Roy F. Nichols of the University of Pennsylvania, and John S. Curtiss of Duke University.

C. Easton Rothwell has been named director of Stanford University's Hoover Institute and Library on War, Revolution, and Peace. Harold H. Fisher will continue as chairman of both the institute and library and will pursue his research on two documentary studies of Soviet foreign policy from 1920.

At the University of Toledo, Duane D. Smith has been promoted to professor of history and named chairman of the department, succeeding Andrew J. Townsend, who will continue as a member of the department and will serve as dean of the College of Arts and Sciences. Willard A. Smith has been promoted to associate professor of history.

Walter B. Posey of Emory University and Agnes Scott College and Ruth Scarborough of Shepherd College are teaching at West Virginia University during the summer session.

Harold M. Helfman, formerly of Ohio State University, has been appointed director of the field program in the Office of Command Historian of Headquarters, Air Research and Development Command, Baltimore.

RECENT DEATHS

Albert Beebe White, professor emeritus of history in the University of Minnesota, died on May 10. He had apparently recovered from a major operation last

summer and his death now was sudden and unexpected. He was in his eighty-first year. Professor White was born in Holbrook, Massachusetts. From the Boston Latin School he went to Yale for his undergraduate work receiving his bachelor's degree in 1893. After four years of teaching in preparatory schools he began graduate work in the University of Leipzig and attained his doctorate at Yale in 1898. Under the influence of George Burton Adams his interest had been turned to English constitutional history and from that interest he never deviated. The man and all his work are marked by conscientious care and temperate judgment. No man on the staff at Minnesota was held in higher respect. The appreciation of students for his clear exposition and high standards was a tribute that increased with the years, for, to many, English constitutional history under Mr. White was the most rewarding course in their undergraduate years. Mr. White was the author of *The Making of the English Constitution* (last edition, 1925), *Source Problems in English History* (with Wallace Notestein), and a most suggestive little volume, *Self-Government by the King's Command*. He was a member of Phi Beta Kappa and a life member of this Association, having first joined in 1897. He was a valued contributor of articles and reviews to this periodical. It was his wish that he be buried beside his New England forebears. He was throughout his life a bit of Massachusetts on loan to Minnesota.

Arthur Charles Howland, Henry Charles Lea emeritus professor of medieval history at the University of Pennsylvania and curator of the Henry Charles Lea Library, died on March 29, 1952, at the age of eighty-two. Born in the northern part of New York, he was educated at Cornell, and received his Ph.D. degree at the University of Pennsylvania after studying at Leipzig and Göttingen. After brief service at the University of Illinois and at Teachers College, he joined the faculty of the University of Pennsylvania in 1904. In 1934 he became Henry Charles Lea professor and served until his retirement in 1940. Since that time he has been actively at work as curator of the Henry Charles Lea Library. As Lea professor and curator he edited and published the three volumes of Lea's *Materials toward a History of Witchcraft* (1939) and collected and edited the *Minor Writings of Henry Charles Lea* (1942). Earlier in his career he was active in managing the university's series, "Translations and Reprints from Historical Sources." He was a gifted teacher who had a great capacity for making the Middle Ages live both to graduates and undergraduates. He was a very kindly man, much interested in his students, and they found in him a sympathetic adviser. The University of Pennsylvania conferred upon him the honorary degree of Doctor of Humane Letters in 1940.

Andrew Fish, professor emeritus of history in the University of Oregon, died at his home in Claremont, California, on March 21, 1952, after a lingering illness.

Professor Fish was born in 1880 at Newcastle-on-Tyne, England, received his early education in British schools and at the University of London, and entered the Protestant ministry. He came to Canada shortly before World War I, and later moved to Eugene, Oregon, where he served as pastor of the Unitarian Church. He received the B.A. degree from the University of Oregon in 1920 and the M.A. in 1921; further work at Clark University brought him the Ph.D. degree in history in 1923. From 1920 to 1923 Professor Fish was assistant professor of English at the University of Oregon. After his return from Clark, he became assistant professor of history, in which department he rose to the rank of full professor in 1940. After his retirement in 1947, he taught history for two years at the University of Washington, and for one quarter at the University of Utah.

Professor Fish served for two years (1943-45) as president of the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association. Although he taught English history, his specialty was a course dealing with the great historians. In this field he read a number of papers at meetings of the Pacific Coast Branch, two of which were published in the *Pacific Historical Review*. He was a stimulating teacher and conversationalist, and possessed a gift for trenchant writing. He will be remembered as a much loved friend by those who knew him best, and as a true gentleman and scholar by all who came in contact with him.

Everett E. Edwards, historian in the Department of Agriculture, died May 1 of a heart ailment. His health had been precarious for the last two years but to the limit of his powers he had kept steadily at his appointed tasks. Mr. Edwards was fifty-two years old. Born in Minnesota he graduated from Carleton College in 1921 and took his master's degree at Harvard in 1924. He taught in the public schools of Minnesota and in Northwestern University before joining the staff of the Department of Agriculture twenty-five years ago. He served also as a professor of agricultural history in the graduate school of American University. He was active in forming the Agricultural History Society and founded and edited its periodical. He was also the author of many bibliographies, government reports, and articles in professional periodicals. He was a member not only of this Association but of many learned state and national organizations for promoting historical work and archival economy. Quiet, modest, well-poised, and scholarly, he served faithfully in the discharge of the many responsibilities he was asked to assume. His name had become almost synonymous with the field of his special interest, American agricultural history.

The American Historical Association lost a very distinguished member in the death of John Dickinson April 9. Mr. Dickinson, a direct descendant of the signer of the Declaration of Independence, had made a name for himself in the fields of law, jurisprudence, and history. He received his bachelor's degree from the Johns Hopkins University and his doctor's degree from Princeton and taught

history at Amherst and Harvard before taking his degree in law at Harvard. After five years' practice in California he returned to teaching at Princeton and later in the law school of the University of Pennsylvania. His intellectual interests were unusually broad. In history he was learned in the medieval field to which he made several useful contributions. He left a partly finished manuscript on the history of political theory. He will be chiefly remembered as a public servant, a great lawyer, and a very gracious person who bore modestly the many honors that came to him. At the time of his death, at the age of fifty-eight, he was chief counsel and vice-president of the Pennsylvania Railroad.

Belatedly, but for reasons beyond its control, the *Review* chronicles the death on June 15, 1951, of Julian P. Bretz, professor emeritus of history in Cornell University. Professor Bretz retired from teaching in 1944 and was in his seventy-fifth year at the time of his death. Practically his whole teaching career following his doctorate from Chicago in 1906 was spent at Cornell. He was chairman of the history department and well known to older members of the profession, having served on the Council and the Executive Committee of the Association. His interest was in his teaching. His modesty, good judgment, and pleasant personality made him a valued adviser whether to students or to his colleagues.

Sydney MacGilvary Brown, professor of history at Duquesne University since 1947, died April 6 at the age of fifty-six. A graduate of Bowdoin College (1916) and Oxford (1921), Dr. Brown earned his M.A. from Oxford in 1927 and returned as a Rhodes Scholar to get his Ph.D. from the same university in 1937. Before going to Duquesne, he had taught at Lehigh University as assistant professor of European history (1923-25), associate professor (1925-30), and professor (1930-41), and had served in both world wars. He was author of several textbooks on medieval history and at the time of his death was preparing a translation and commentary on the Register of Visitations of Eude Rigaud for the "Records of Civilization" series of Columbia University, and had contracted to write two other books in the field of medieval history.

John Schwartz, professor emeritus of history in Bowling Green State University, died on March 13 at the age of seventy-four. Dr. Schwartz had served the university from 1923 until his retirement. He had been a member of this Association since 1910.

Louis Bréhier, emeritus professor in the university of Clermont-Ferrand and member of the Institut, died in Reims, October 13, 1951, at the age of eighty-three. Many volumes and a still larger number of articles bear witness to his tireless activity and careful scholarship in the fields of Byzantine and Western religion, art, and history. The best known books are *Le Schisme oriental du xi^e*

siècle (1899), *La querelle des images* (1904), *L'Eglise et l'Orient: les croisades* (1907; 5th ed., 1928), *L'art chrétien et son développement iconographique* (1918), *L'art en France des invasions barbares à l'époque romane* (1930), *La sculpture et les arts mineurs byzantins* (1936), and *Le style roman* (1941). He continued to the last to work and attend conventions of scholars. It was granted him to crown a long, honest life by publishing a three-volume synthesis, *Le monde byzantin* (1948-50), in Henri Berr's monumental "L'évolution de l'humanité." Emile Bréhier, younger brother of Louis Bréhier and also of the Sorbonne, died recently. He was author of many books and articles, the most important of which was his *Histoire de la philosophie* (Paris, 1935-40).

Communications

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

Owing to a year's absence in Europe, I have only now been able to read Mr. Milton V. Anastos' review of my book *Sacred Fortress* in the *AHR* (LVI [October, 1950], 173 f.). Every one of his quotations or summaries of passages in my text are either false or misleading and I may be permitted to set the record straight.

Mr. Anastos claims that my attempt to interpret the San Vitale mosaics in the light of theopaschite theology is "based solely on the lack of a Crucifixion. . . . But the Crucifixion is of the utmost rarity in the monumental art of the period; and its omission from the apse, where von Simson says it ought to appear, should occasion no surprise whatever. What is surprising is that although von Simson considers San Vitale to be dominated by the Theopaschite point of view simply because it has no Crucifixion, he dubs the Passion cycle in Sant'Apollinare Nuovo Arian or Nestorian despite its apparently deliberate avoidance of this subject."

Here is what I say in the passage "quoted" by Mr. Anastos: "The iconography of the Passion and the Crucifixion in the sixth century and the extreme rarity of such representations in that period have their cause undoubtedly in those theological views. It is noteworthy that the many mosaics of Ravenna depict the Passion of Christ but once; in S. Apollinare Nuovo; and these mosaics are almost certainly Arian in origin. In S. Vitale, the emphasis on the eucharistic motif seems to render the representation of the sacrifice on Calvary inevitable. Instead this event is no more than alluded to in the O.T. scenes. . . . And in the apse, not the Son of Man but the Second Person of the Trinity is depicted in the awe-inspiring majesty of the Second Epiphany."

I think every one of Mr. Anastos' aforementioned charges is repudiated by this quotation, except that of my having "dubbed" the S. Apollinare cycle "Arian or Nestorian." Besides acknowledging the view, now generally held, that the mosaics are "almost certainly Arian in origin," I stress the fact that they point stylistically, iconographically, and theologically to Rome. This is what I say: "the very contrast [between the Miracle and Passion cycles] is like an illustration of the distinctness of the two natures which Leo the Great had stressed. To Byzantine eyes such a distinction must have been indistinguishable from Nestorianism . . . the mosaics in S. Apollinare are Roman in inspiration."

Mr. Anastos asserts that I have sought to connect S. Vitale with the Byzantine

liturgy but that my "principal texts are found only in Latin liturgies." In point of fact I state that the liturgy of Ravenna "seems to have united certain features of the Ambrosian and Gallican rites with elements of the Byzantine liturgy." These Byzantine elements I subsequently identify as the oblation of the Emperor (I do not know which of the Latin texts I have quoted refers, in Mr. Anastos' opinion, to this exclusively Byzantine rite) and the prayers of intercession on behalf of the Emperor which, in a detailed and cautious investigation, I have sought to link with the imperial offertory. What matters within the context of my argument is less the wording of these prayers than the fact of their existence in the sixth century. However, I do quote from the liturgy of John Chrysostom (though acknowledging its later origin) and from that of Alexandria which is known to have contained prayers on behalf of the Emperor since the fourth century (and which even Mr. Anastos will hardly call "Latin").

Mr. Anastos observes that my interpretation of the episodes from the life of Moses (in S. Vitale) leans heavily on Cosmas Indicopleustes "without taking account of the apposite material on the same head in Augustine, Cassiodorus, and other Latin writers." It is quite true that the Moses exegesis is in many respects the same in the East as in the West. It is the figure of Moses the Shepherd, however, so remarkably isolated and emphasized both in the mosaic and in the illumination of the Vatican Cosmas that directed my attention to Greek exegesis. The interpretation of Moses the Shepherd as an allusion to his monarchical calling, of great significance for my thesis, occurs first in Philo of Alexandria and is adapted by Eastern theologians, including Cosmas. I should be grateful to Mr. Anastos if he would refer me to a relevant passage in either Augustine or Cassiodorus.

Mr. Anastos takes me to task for overlooking the "striking resemblance" between the S. Vitale version of Abraham and the Three Angels and its counterpart in S. Maria Maggiore. The resemblance is not as striking as he would have us believe, but I have myself called the presence of the theme in both cycles "noteworthy."

"Still worse," according to the reviewer, is my conclusion that the great mosaic showing Justinian and Maximian can have been commissioned only under this bishop rather than under his predecessor Ecclesius, since to the latter "Byzantium would not have conceded so prominent a place." My central thesis in this chapter is that, contrary to prevailing opinion, the entire program of mosaics was planned and executed under Maximian and reflects his political aspirations. (This thesis, which in the meantime has been corroborated by F. W. Deichmann, at present the foremost authority on S. Vitale, is ignored by Mr. Anastos.) Had the great double portrait of Emperor and Bishop originally shown Ecclesius in the place of Maximian, my interpretation would have been invalidated since only Maximian was an exponent of Justinian's policy. The conventional honor bestowed elsewhere on the deceased Ecclesius as founder of the church does not affect my interpretation of the dedication mosaic.

Mr. Anastos concludes that I indulge "in loose generalizations [fall] frequently into self-contradiction, and often [fail] to provide adequate documentation." This harsh opinion is not shared by other critics. It makes strange reading in a review that contains almost a dozen errors on a single page and presents an uninterrupted sequence of false or inaccurate quotations in order to back up its charges.

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